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HISTORICAL ORIGINS

COMPRISING

"THE CHALDÆAN AND HEBREW AND THE CHINESE AND HINDOO ORIGINES."

THE ASSYRIAN, MEDO-PERSIAN AND LYDIAN AND THE GREEK AND ROMAN ORIGINES.

"THE ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION OF THE NILE'S VALLEY:"

AND

HISTORICAL CRITIQUES

COMPRISING

"A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTS OR GAELS," ETC.

"A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT."

BY

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"CREATOR AND COSMOS;" OF "COSMO-THEOLOGICAL DISCOURSES;" OF "THE HEBREW COSMOGONY;" OF "THE ORIGIN OF THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION, WITH REFLECTIONS UPON THE MIRACLES AND HEROES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT;" OF "AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY," WHICH EMBRACES AN ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS OF THE GOSPELS AND THE ACTS, SHOWING THEIR UNITY IN SEVERALTY; OF "PROPHECIES OF REVELATION AND DANIEL, DEVELOPED IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTENDOM," WITH AN APPENDIX COMPLETE IN PROOF, AND A "CHAPTER UPON THE CYCLES OF THE ANCIENTS;" OF THE "ANCIENT COSMOTHEOLOGIES OF THE WORLD;" OF THE "PHOENICIAN COSMOGONIES," ETC., ETC.

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INTRODUCTION.

(Chaldæan and Hebrew and Chinese and Hindoo Origines.)

Most enquiring minds among us are very desirous to know just about how far back those eastern nations go in their records concerning the origin of the world and of their own respective nations. Our people have somehow got it into their minds that the Chinese, the Hindoos and the Chaldæans have records in their books of a surpassingly wonderful antiquity for their nations, and surpassingly strange, if any, of the origin of the world. The object of these "Origines" is to preserve, and perpetuate those cosmogonical and ethnological records, so that our people may be able to see for themselves what they are and to compare them with the Hebrew Cosmogony and Origines with which we all are familiar.

If it be remarked, as it doubtless will, that they are but scarce as they appear in this compendium, it may be answered, as in the case of some of our other Cosmogonical treatises, that as here they contain much in a limited space — *multum in parvo*, as the saying is — but they will, nevertheless, be found sufficiently full to give as satisfactory a view as is necessary, expedient or feasible for us now to attain upon the subjects whereon they are. Here they are set forth in our language, in a lucid way, for what they are; and as faithfully mirroring the full originals, which they represent; and this is, of course, what is required in this case; nothing less, nothing more.

They will assuredly be found no less interesting in their representation of the rise of the magnificent races, arts, sciences and civilizations which in the primitive ages spread themselves over the valleys of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Indus and the Ganges,

and from the Hindoo Koosh are said to have spread themselves to the east and the west, as parental to the Chinese, the Japanese, the northern Asiatic, the Æthiopian proper and the Indo European races, languages and civilizations, than they are in the portrayal of the recorded beliefs of those peoples in their very ancient books concerning their cosmogonies, origines and foretimes.

My knowledge from long experience of the great desire men have for the possession of this knowledge, pure and simple, and my belief that this knowledge will by comparison of it with the Hebrew records help to a knowledge of the truth, as properly apprehended in the Scriptures, has shown me the expediency if not the necessity of placing this treatise in my cosmical system of works, thus to afford to the people an opportunity to exercise their judgment on the data themselves.

R. S.

St. Louis, 1889.

THE CHALDAEAN AND HEBREW ORIGINES.

The Traditions of the Babylonians Regarding the Genesis of the Human Race, and the Foretimes of their own People, as According to Berosus.

(*Translation from the Greek and Latin.*)

Eusebius and Syncellus, following Alexander Polyhistor, have left us the following from the First Book of the Babylonian History of Berosus.

"Berosus relates, in his First Book of Babylonian History, that he, a contemporary of Alexander, son of Philip (King of Macedon) had copied the codes of very many authors, which had been preserved with great care at Babylon for 215,000 years before his time: That in those books were contained the reckoning of the times, and, likewise, written histories of heaven and earth and sea, and of the primal origins of things, as well as of the kings and of their individual acts."

"And, indeed, firstly, he says, the Kingdom of Babylon is situated near the river Tigris, but that the river Euphrates, flows through it; and that there grows wild, in the country, wheat and barley, lentils and vetches and sesame. More overin the marshes and reedy bottoms, adjacent to its rivers, certain edible roots are produced, which have the strength of barley bread and to which the name of Gongis has been given. Finally, there are there produced palm and apple and other fruit trees of many kinds and fishes as well as fowls, which pertain to both wood and marsh. A far off part of that kingdom is arid and noticeably destitute of vegetation,

while the part which is situated in the opposite direction from Arabia is mountainous and abounds in fruits."

"Now, in that city, Babylon, there are occupied, in various ways, an immense medley of men of different races, who, forsooth, constitute its population, and, without order or restraint, lead such a luxurious life as pertains to a long established, beastly custom of theirs."

"And he relates that in the first year (*i.e.*, of the recorded history) there emerged from the Red Sea and passed into the bounds of the Babylonians a certain horrid beast, which had the name of Oannes and which Appollodorus also mentions in his history. This monster, was, indeed, a fish as to his whole body, but under his fish's head, he had another head and in his lower parts he had feet after the similitude of a man's while also his voice gave the impression of the human; the outlines of his appearance are preserved to this day.

"This monster, he said, was occupied in the day time among the people and partook of no food: He taught them letters and various kinds of arts, descriptions of cities, structures of temples, knowledge of justice and the doctrine which pertained to the regulating of boundaries: Moreover, he instructed them as to seeds and the gathering in of fruits and indeed as to all things which directly pertain to a mundane society, so that since that time no one has discovered anything extraordinary as to fruit.

"Moreover, at about the time of sunset this monster, Oannes, plunged again, unaccompanied, into the deep and passed the night in the immense sea and so led a kind of amphibious life. After that, other monsters similar to the first came forth, concerning which he promises to relate in the history of the kings. And, besides, he says, Oannes wrote concerning the origin of the kings and the public government and taught language and industry to men.

"A time, said he, was when this universal orb was occupied with darkness and water: and in these elements sprung up marvelous animals, apparently possessing a double nature. For two-winged men were produced and some also with four wings and two faces; and some indeed having only one body but two heads thereon, the same person being both male and female, and having the generative organs also double. There were also other men which had goat's thighs, with a horned head; others again with horse's hoofs;

others finally with the hind parts those of a horse but the anterior parts human, which have the form of hippocentaurs.

"Bulls, he said, were created with human heads and dogs with a four fold body having the tails projecting from the haunches, like as fishes; horses, moreover, with dog's heads and men and other animals with the heads of horses, as well as human forms with the hind parts of fishes: a multiplicity of other animals, moreover, having the form of dragons; finally fishes similar to sirens, and reptiles and fishes and other wild animals in wondrous variety differing from each other, whose images accurately depicted are preserved in the temple of Belus. Now, there governed all these a woman, whose name was Homoroka; but in the Chaldaean language it was Thalath, while in the Greek it is interpreted *θαλαττα* which means the sea, and by an equal authority *Σελήνη*, *i.e.* the moon," the Mylitta of the Tyrians.

"And when all those things were mingled together, Belus supervening cut the woman in two in the middle, out of one half of whom he made the earth, out of the other the heaven, all living things which had been in her being thus made to disappear.

As concerning the nature of those things, he says, they were so related allegorically: And, indeed, at what time all these things were in a state of moisture and there existed nothing there excepting animals, that God cut off his own head and the blood thence flowing having become commixed with the earth, the other Gods created therefrom men, who for this reason were not only endowed with intelligence but participated in the Divine Mind.

"Let this be as it may, they say Belus, whom the Greeks call Zeus (but the Armenians Aramazd) having cut off the darkness separated the earth from the heaven and arranged the world beautifully; but the living creatures not being able to bear the force of the light, died. Then Belus, when he saw the region deserted, yet fruitful, commanded some of the Gods to bring the earth into a cultivable state and to form men with the other living beings and brutes which were able to bear the light out of the blood which flowed from his own decapitated head. Belus created, likewise, the stars and the sun and moon and the five wandering stars (*i.e.*, the five planets).

These things Alexander Polyhistor, being the witness, Berosus related in his First Book.

2. Concerning Things before the Deluge from the Second Book of Berosus.

(Eusebius Chron. Lib. I, Cap. 1. ex-interpete-Armenio.)

Translation from the Latin.

"(These things indeed Berosus narrated in his First Book; but in the Second, he reviews the kings one after another. As he says himself Nabonnassar was at that time king. And, indeed, he collected diligently the names of the kings; although he recites no work peculiarly theirs, perhaps because there was nothing he deemed necessary to be remembered. From him only, therefore, is it permitted us to draw the series of the Kings.) In this way, then he begins his narration, as Appollodorus says: namely, that the first king that reigned was Alorus, a Chaldaean from the city of Babylon. He possessed the government during ten Sari. Farther, he concludes a Sarus as consisting of 3600 years. He adds, also, I know not exactly what the Neri and Sossi are; but, says he, a Nerus consists of 600, a sossus of sixty years. Thus does he, after the manner of the ancients, compute the years.

"Having premised so much he goes farther and enumerates the kings of the Assyrians singly in their order: Ten (kings) there were, forsooth, from Alorus, the first king, to and including Xisuthrus, under whom, he says, that great primeval deluge took place, which Moses, also, commemorates. Now, the sum of the periods, he says, in which these kings reigned is 120 Sari, namely 432,000 years. Again in well chosen words he writes as follows: Alorus, says he, having died, his son, Alaparus, reigned three Sari. After Alaparus, Almelon, a Chaldaean, from the city of Pantibiblos, reigned thirteen Sari. To Almelon succeeded Ammenon, likewise a Chaldaean from the city of Pantibiblos, who reigned twelve Sari. In his age a certain wild animal, whose name was Idotion, emerged from the Red Sea, of a mixed form of man and fish. Hence Amegalarus from Pantibiblos reigned eighteen Sari. After him reigned Daonus, a shepherd from Pantibiblos, who, even himself, possessed the government ten Sari. In this man's reign there emerged again from the Red Sea four monsters having the same form, namely, of man and fish. After these things reigned Edoranchus, from Pantobiblos eighteen Sari. In that time there appeared from the Red Sea a certain other wonder, similar to a fish and a man, whose name was Odacon. Of the sum of those things, said he,

which had been taught by Oannes, this one made an exact exposition to all the people. After this there governed Amempsinus, a Chaldaean from Lancharis, ten Sari. Otiartes, a Chaldaean from Lancharis, succeeding, held the government eight Sari. Finally, Otiartes having died, his son, Xisuthrous, ruled the kingdom for eighteen Sari, and in his time occurred the great Flood. There are, therefore, collected in the foregoing the sum of ten kings and one hundred and twenty Sari. This is, farther, the series of the Kings:

THE TEN PREDILUVIAL EPOCHS OF THE BABYLONIANS:

I.	Alorus,	Saris 10
II.	Alaparus,	Saris 3
III.	Almelon,	Saris 13
IV.	Ammenon,	Saris 12
V.	Amegalarus,	Saris 18
VI.	Daonus,	Saris 10
VII.	Edoranchus,	Saris 18
VIII.	Amempsinus,	Saris 10
IX.	Otiartes,	Saris 8
X.	Xisuthrus,	Saris 18
Sum total,	10 Kings;	120 Sari = 432,000 lunar years.

"Now, from these one hundred and twenty Saris they say, are computed forty-three myriads and twice one thousand years besides; that is, provided a Sarus equals three thousand and six hundred years. These things are narrated in the books of Alexander Polyhistor."*

I have remarked elsewhere (Cosmotheologies pp. 36–37), that the first historic dynasty of Kings of the Chaldaeans is said to have been preceded by ten great epochs, from Alorus to Xisuthrus; that these

* While Syncellus, Abydenus and Alexander Polyhistor tell us that the Saros was a period of 3600 years, Suidas, an author contemporary with Syncellus says the Saros was a period of lunar months amounting to 18½ years. In this Sir Isaac Newton agrees with Suidas when he says, the Sarus was a period of 18 years and 6 intercellary months.

That the first ten kings of the Chaldaeans should have reigned each so many Sari will not appear so wonderful provided we take Suidas' calculation of 222 moons to a Sarus. Thus the 10 Sari which Alorus reigned would equal 185 years, the age which Josephus informs us the patriarch Isaac had reached at his death: but those who are said to have reigned 18 Sari must have lived 333 years, according to this reckoning, which is but 33 years over half the life of Shem the son of Noah, most of which he lived after the Flood; and the whole 120 Sari before the Flood would be 2220 lunar years instead of 432,000, as given above. This would be equal to from sixty to seventy successive generations of men.

prediluvian epochs have been frequently compared to the so-called ten generations from Adam to Noah inclusive, as given in Genesis ; but that no such comparison can be justly made for that in the oldest Hebrew traditions there are no such ten generations mentioned.

In order to make this more clear I will proceed farther to collate the Babylonian account of the Flood given by Eusebius from Polyhistor with the account given of the Flood in the Book of Genesis first giving a synopsis and tabulation of what is contained in the foregoing. —

As seen in the above translation, which I have made, Berosus states in his first book, that he, a contemporary of Alexander the Great compiled those records, which he gives us, from the registers, astronomical and chronological, which were, many in number, preserved at Babylon, and which covered a period of 215,000 years: He states that Babylon lies near the river Tigris, but having the river Euphrates running through the city; that corn and many edible things grew wild there; that on the Arabian side it was a desert country, but on the opposite side undulating and fertile; that in the city and fertile parts of the province vast numbers of peoples of various races led a sensual life; that in the first year, Oannes, a Merman, came out of the Red Sea and instructed the the people; that other similar Oannes, appeared subsequently, of whom he would give an account in his list of kings. For the first nine ages he recorded no further remarkable occurrence only for the tenth:

I begin the tabulation of the lists out of the Second book: (Euseb. Armen. Version, 1. Compare Sync. 1, 17, Seq.).

I.	Alorus, Chaldaean from Babylon 10 Sari: Lunar years.....	36,000
II.	Alaparus, his son, 3 Sari: Lunar years.....	10,800
III.	Almelon, from Pantibiloi, a Chaldaean, 13 Sari: Lunar years.....	46,800
IV.	Ammenon, also from Pantibibloi; in his time the Merman teacher Oannes came out of the Red Sea: 12 Sari: Lunar years.....	43,200
	Era of Babylon: 13 Sari: Lunar years.....	46,800

The two epochs appear as father and son.

V.	Amelagarus, from Pantibibloi: the fourth Annedotes, Merman, came out of the Red Sea in his time: 18 Sari: lunar years.....	64,800
VI.	Daonus, Shepherd from Pantibibloi: in his age four m: ıen come out of the Red Sea: 10 Sari: Lunar years.....	36,000
VII.	Edoranch·s, from Pantibibloi: Another Merman, Odakon, comes out of the Red Sea. All those later Mermen taught more fully the doctrines inculcated by Oannes: 18 Sari: lunar years....	64,800
VIII.	Amempsinus, from Lancharis, (Sync. Laranchi: Rawlinson, Sancharis) Chaldaean 10 Sari: Lunar years.....	36,000
IX.	Otiartes, from Sancharis; (Sync. Laranchi) 8 Sari: Lunar years.....	28,000
X.	Xisuthrus, son of Otiartes; (Syncellus, p. 30, son of Adratus). 18 Sari: Lunar years..... In his reign the deluge took place.	64,000
	Sum total 120 Sari: Lunar years.....	432,000

Era of Pantibibloi (translated city of writing: Sipparuaya, Sepharvayim, 2 Kings, XVII, 24, Isa. XXXVI, 19. Heb. Sepher, writing: Kirjath-Sepher, the city of writing. In the Chaldaic and Greek names, Sipparuya and Bibloi, the plural is generally used.) Five epochs: in the fourth (VI) a Shepherd reigns: in the second, third and fifth, at least, (IV, V, VII.) men receive instruction.

Era of Sancharah, (a city in Susiana.) three epochs in 36 Sari: the length of the first two periods of it being the same as that of the last, namely 18 Sari; just as the length of the third epoch of the series is equal to the added lengths of the two preceding it, as father and son.

In the epoch of Xisuthros occurs the flood and with this event Berosus properly begins his human history. Of course in the prediluvial epochs the existence of man is implied, although not much is recorded of him. The revelations which are represented as having been made by mermen are traditionary, doubtless, and embellished with myth. It is, however, noticeable, that the ten epochs are divided into three great eras, traditionary of different localities: the first and second epochs or the Chaldaeo-Babylonian tradition or era; the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh, or the Sipparic, to the northeast of Babylon; and the Sancharic, to the southeast of Babylon in Chusiana, *i.e.*, Persia. To this latter Xisuthros belongs, he

being described as the son of the second Sancharic dynasty or epoch. These epochs are, as their manner of calculation implies, astronomical cycles and the chronological references are ideal in the same way as those in the calculations concerning the Gods, and Demigods in the mythic history of Egypt. It is clear that none of these prediluvial epochs contain any chronological data. To satisfactorily unravel this whole business some have very anxiously sought for light from the cuneiform inscriptions.

BEROSUS' ACCOUNT OF THE FLOOD OF XISUTHROS, COMPARED WITH THE RECORD OF THE FLOOD IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS (Euseb. Chron. 1, ch. 3; Sync. Chron. p. 30, 31) :—

"The same Alexander (Polyhistor) speaking from the history of the Chaldaeans and descending in order from their first king Adratus (acc. to Syncellus, but) Alorus (acc. to Eusebius) to the tenth, called by them Xisuthrus, speaks as follows: —

Now, Adratus having died, his son Xisuthros ruled during 18 Sari. In his time a great Kataclysm took place, of which the history has been recorded as follows: —

"Kronos revealed to Xisuthrus in a dream that on the fifteenth day of the month Daisios (the eighth of the Macedonian year) the flood would commence, [in which all mankind should perish; that he must proceed to bury all the books in Sippara, the city of the Sun, and build a ship five stadia (3125 feet) long, two stadia (1250 feet) broad for himself, his children and nearest relatives; that he should provide for them the necessary food and drink; and that he should take with him all sorts of animals, four-footed beasts and fowls. When Xisuthros asked where he should sail to, he received for answer: To the Gods, with an accompanying prayer that it might fare well with mankind.

The flood at length coming with great violence, and soon decreasing, Xisuthrus sent forth certain birds, which, finding neither food nor place of rest, returned and were received into the ship.

"And God said unto Noah the end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them and behold I will destroy them from the earth."

"And behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of water upon the earth, to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life from under Heaven; and everything that is in the earth shall die."
Gen. VI., 13, 17.

"Make thee an ark of gopher wood, the length of which shall be 300 cubits, the breadth 50 cubits and the height 30 cubits." Id. verses 14, 15.

"And thou shalt come into the ark, thou and thy wife and thy sons and thy sons' wives with thee. And of every living thing of all flesh two of every sort

Again in some days after he sent forth other birds, which likewise returned to the ship with mud on their feet. Finally, and for the third time, he having sent forth birds when they did not return to the ship Xisuthrus knew that the land was laid open before him (*i.e.*, the earth was visible, dry). Then having partially broken the roof of the ship, he saw the ship itself resting upon a certain mountain; and soon he himself with his wife and daughter and the architect of the ship having disembarked, and built an altar he fell prone upon the earth and offered thanks to the Gods. This having been accomplished he, with those who disembarked from the ship with him, never appeared again. But the rest, who had been in the ship and had not debarked with the company of Xisuthrus, as soon as their debarkation was accomplished, began to inquire after him and wandering about they called upon him by name. But, indeed, it was not permitted that Xisuthrus should be seen any more; a voice, however, was heard from the air loudly urging them that they should worship the Gods. For not only used he to come of religious piety to the temples of the Gods but with the like honor did his wife and her daughter and the pilot of the ship reverence them. Then he commanded them to return to Babylon and in accordance with the command of the Gods, that they should dig up those books which had been buried at the city of Sipparis and deliver them to men. But the place where they, having debarked from the ship, then stood is the region of the Armenians. They having been instructed concerning all those matters and having sacrificed to the Gods, straightway bent their course on foot to Babylon.

Of that ship, which at last rested in Armenia, some fragment, they say, remains in the Armenian mountain inhabited by the Kurds, even in our

shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female." Id., verses 18, 19. Comp. vii, 1-5.

"Thus did Noah; according to all that God had commanded him." Id., v. 22.

"In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up and the windows of heaven were opened." — "And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters." — "Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail and the mountains were covered." — "And Noah only remained alive and those that were with him in the ark. And the waters prevailed upon the earth 150 days." — "And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the sixteenth day of the month upon the mountains of Ararat." — "On the first day of the tenth month were the tops of the mountains seen." Vii. verses 11, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24; viii, 4, 5.

"At the end of forty days Noah sent forth a raven, which returned not again to him" — afterwards "he sent forth a dove," which "found no rest for the sole of her foot and returned unto him into the ark; for the waters were on the face of the whole earth; then he put forth his hand and took her and pulled her in unto him into the ark."

"After seven days he again sent forth the dove out of the ark. And the dove came in unto him him in the evening; and lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf plucked off. So Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. And he stayed yet other seven days and sent forth the dove which returned not again unto him any more." viii. vrs. 6-12.

"And Noah removed the covering of

age; they say, also, that certain persons bring back thence the bitumen, scraped off for the purpose as a remedy and preservative against those things which are unpropitious and should be averted. But those people having returned to Babylon are said to have exhumed the books in the city of Sipparis, to have founded many towns, to have constructed many churches and to have rebuilt Babylon."

the ark and looked and behold the face of the ground was dry. And Noah went forth and his wife and his sons and his sons' wives with him — and Noah builded an altar unto the Lord; and took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savor and said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground for man's sake," viii, 13, 18, 20, 21.

So far as much or any confidence is placed by the critics in the authenticity of the accounts of the Babylonian beginnings they end here. In fact Syncellus evidently did not himself believe in the truthfulness, perhaps not in the authenticity, of the last part at least, of the account he gives from Polyhistor as coming from Berosus, the Chaldean priest; for as a final sentence, coming from himself, he gives, referring, of course, to what had gone before the following:—

"These things from Alexander, the Polyhistor (*i.e.*, the very learned), as being from Berosus, that man, who, in relation to Chaldean history spoke falsely, being now before you," etc. Syncellus himself, however, is not altogether free from the imputation of having put forth lying tales for true with a fair gloss from his hand. His statements (p. 44, Chron.) and those from Eusebius (Arm. Chron., iv; Conf. Euseb. Praef. Ev. ix. 5) from Polyhistor are supposed to be borrowed from Persian records through the medium of a Sybilline book. It begins: "The Sybil says," which is reasonably supposed to indicate its character as a concoction of some Alexandrian or other Hellenistic Jew.

After the above the fragment then proceeds as follows: "when men still spoke but one language they built a very high tower in order to go up to heaven. The Almighty (in Syncellus, the Gods) however sent a strong wind and threw down the tower. After that men spoke different languages; from which circumstance the place is called Babylon." Babel=Confusion. But it is clear that had the old tradition or history contained anything of this kind Berosus would have mentioned it. Moreover, according to Hyppolytus (Haeres, v. 7, p, 97,)the Chaldeans called the man who was born of the earth, but who afterwards became a living soul, Adam; which appears consistent and natural. But Berosus has not mentioned

this, neither has Eusebius, and Hyppolytus in making that statement may possibly have had in mind the Chaldeans of Palestine, the Phœnicians or Israelites.

The Chaldaean account of the flood terminates in local reminiscences and its sacerdotal authors evidently intended it to be understood that books of theirs, written before the deluge, had been saved from that catastrophe, having been concealed in the ground at Sippara.

The Chaldaean and Hebrew Accounts of the Creation Put into Juxtaposition and Compared with Each Other.

From the mutual similarity of the Chaldaean account of creation and that in the Book of Genesis one would be disposed to conclude them different versions of the same. The conclusion of the critics generally I find to be that the old Chaldaean tradition is the basis of them both. The fundamental idea is that of the emanation of the world from the creative will of the Almighty and Eternal God. There is perceived in both accounts five noticeable stages of creation:—

Chaldaean Creation.	*Hebrew Creation.*
1. Darkness and water, wherein are generated all monstrous things and in which, finally, the woman, Moledeth, mother of life, appears conspicuous.	1. Darkness and chaos (Gen. 1, 2.) "And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."
2. This woman Belus split up into two halves; out of one of which he made the earth, out of the other the heavens; and he destroyed all previous creation in her, the woman.	2. Separation of the upper from the lower by a firmanent. (Gen. I, 3-13.)
3. He then reduced the world to order and created animals that could bear the light: those which could not perished.	3. Creation of sun, moon and stars. (Gen. I, 14–19.)
4. Last of all he cut off his own head, but the Gods mingled with dust the blood which flowed therefrom and out of the compound formed men. On this account (adds Berosus) men are rational and partake of the divine reason.	4. Creation of animals. (Gen. I, 20–25.)
5. This same Belus created the stars also, the sun and moon and the five planets.	5. Creation of Man. (Gen. I, 26-31; II, 7.)

We have in the one case the creation of the natural world represented in a mythological way; in the other prominence is given to the Divine in the world's formation, that is, to the idea of God as antecedent to nature. Berosus himself states, however, that the Chaldaean account of the creation is allegorical

As to the Beginnings of Babylon, the Tower of Babel and Nimrod, the Mighty Hunter: His Empire and Age:

Nimrod and his history are pronounced by the critics to be either a myth or the most remarkable relic of ancient political history. The Biblical narration (Gen. X, 8–11), is the only information we have of him under that name. He is put down there as son of Cush and grandson of Cham. The name Cush in ancient history is applied to those called Ethiopians, a people of which name inhabited ancient Asia as well as Africa, and specifically also it is applied to the Turanian Cusians, a Scythian race pertaining to the highlands of Asia.

The Babylonian researches have proved that no dynast named Nimrod was introduced among the kings of the first Chaldaean dynasty, and therefore the critics conclude that if any king reigned under that name he must have preceded it. Eusebius as well as Josephus knew from the works of Berosus and Polyhistor the names of 87 kings of which the first Babylonian dynasty consisted, and no one of these was entered under the name of Nimrod. They conjectured that Nimrod might have been the one named Euechios, the first of that dynasty, who is said to have reigned 3,000 years, and whose son and successor, Chomasbelos, reigned 2,700. Bunsen calls this an unfortunate conjecture of the Christian annallists; but I think I can perceive some foundation for their idea; for Nimrod was a distinguished hunter, and Euechius in the primitive language would mean a horseman, for Each means a horse, and Evech, or Echach, would mean a horseman, the case ending, us or os, not belonging to the word proper. Chomasbelos is a compound of Cham and Bel, a name, if I interpret correctly, not unrepresented in Gallic history, and it is quite likely that this man's father's name was Ethach (*i.e.*, Nethach, *i.e.*, Setheach), and that he was distinguished in ancient history by the form Neach or Neamhraidh (the amh for ach) (*i.e.*, of the family or race of Nedhamh or Noah): thus his name would come down to us in the hard, unaspirated form Nimrod. *

The implication in this conjecture might, however, be taken as a kind of proof that those writers attributed to Nimrod a very re-

*Neach is Each, a horse, whence our verb "to neigh."

mote antiquity; for irrespective of the vast period assigned to those two so-called rulers, the remaining 85 of that dynasty are said to have reigned nearly 30,000 years.

The Median conquest was the commencement of the regular chronological registration of the oldest Chaldaean kings, and criticism supposes it has reduced the historical part of the first dynasty to 1550 Julian years before this conquest; viz., 87 kings, multiplied by an average reign of 18 years, as deduced by Newton, equals 1566 years. Hence the following:—

Capture of Babylon by Zoroaster.....	2234 B. C.
Chaldaean kings preceding.....	1550 years
Beginning of Chaldaean historic chronology.....	3784 B. C.

So that criticism leaves the beginning of their historic dynasties to be at least approximately 3800 years B. C. later than which it supposes Nimrod did not reign. But the dynasty of Nimrod means, literally, as I have explained above, namely, the dynasty of the race (Gaelic Raidhe) of Neamhaidh (the Heavenly or Holy man, Priest) Noah. Thus, the 87 kings, doubtless, occupied as much time as we ascribe to them above.

Now, as to the original home of Nimrod, the son of Cus and grandson of Cam, it would seem unreasonable to conclude that a revolution in Central Asia should have had its origin in the African Ethiopia, which lies to the southwards of Egypt and includes the equatorial regions of that continent. But the vowels o and u especially being but slight variations of the same sound, the same Hebrew word (*e.g.*, Gen. 2, 13) may be read Cus or Cos. The Cossians were an ancient tribe occupying the mountainous country to the east of the Tigris, which is the ancient abode of the Scythians. Thus it may appear plain that Nimrod's original home was in the continent of Asia and how that the beginning of his kingdom is stated to have been the plain of Shinar or Southern Babylonia. (Gen. X, 10). There are, however, other things besides the topographical nomenclature, which is common to both countries, which would lead the investigator to conclude that the ancient country of Saba (called by Cambyses Meroë, after the name of his sister), near the sources of the Nile, was possessed in the very early ages by the same race as that which founded Babylon. But we are treating

here of very remote ages in the progress of which the race of Nimrod (Nedhamhraidhe) doubtless dominated both continents.

"Nimrod," says Bunsen (Egypt, IV., 4, 12) "is the oldest individual personage sprung from the race or country of the Cossians, or the Turanian-Scythian race, represented by him, which formed a vast historical empire. This kingdom must be prior to all the Semitic kingdoms, as the Turanian language is prior to the Semitic."

The distinction of the Cusian from the Semitic language might at first sight be regarded as, to a certain extent, merely a play upon words; for the statement that Shem and Cham were brothers and sons of the same father, Noah, would of course imply that they used the same language, and not only them but their descendants not only in the third but, likely, in the twenty-third degree, as language in Asia does not change remarkably fast; and the Semitic, as Bunsen speaks of it, could only have been a variation of the old Turanian tongue. Even two thousand years ago, after the revolution of so many ages, its general physiognomy bore so remarkable a similarity to its northern mother, as to leave no doubt of its Airyan-Turanic-Scythic derivation.

That the Nimrodian empire was not of a brief and transient nature is evidenced by the many places, which have the name Nimrod or in whose name that appears as a component. This name is said to be connected with all the cities and towns as far as the highlands of Kurdistan and even to Phrygia in the west; the probability that his army furnished the historical nucleus for the legend of Atlantis is considered as independent of the name of his native country.

Rollin (Anct. Hist. II. 44 etc.) says Nimrod is the same with Belus, who under this appellation was afterwards worshiped as a God. He says also that some writers have confounded Nimrod with Ninus, his son, of whom Diodorus (lib. II. p. 90) speaks as follows: —

"Ninus, the most ancient of the Assyrian kings mentioned in history, performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike disposition and ambitious of the glory, which results from valor, he armed a considerable number of young men, who were brave and vigorous, like himself; trained them up a long time in laborious exercises and hardships and by that means accustomed them to

bear the fatigues of war patiently and to face dangers with courage and intrepidity."

"Most of the profane writers," says Rollin, "ascribe the founding of Babylon to Semiramis others to Belus. It is evident that both the one and the other are mistaken, if they speak of the first founder of that city for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis nor to Nimrod but to the foolish vanity of those persons mentioned in the Scriptures, who desired to build a tower and a city, that should render their memory immortal." He considers it probable that the building remained in the state in which it was when God put an end to the work by the confusion of tongues; and that the tower consecrated to Belus, which was described by Herodotus, was the celebrated tower of Babel. He considers it probable that Nimrod was the first who surrounded the city with walls, settled therein his friends and confederates and subdued those who lived round about it, beginning his empire there but not confining it to any narrow limits. "And the *beginning* of his kingdon was Babel and Erech and Accad and Calneh in the land of Shinar." "Out of that land went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh and the city Rehoboth and Calah." (Gen. X. 10, 11.) But from the fact that this last verse may be as justly translated in a somewhat different way, namely: "Out of that land he went out into Assyria," Rollin and others have concluded that Nineveh was founded by Nimrod himself. Here Assur (Aes-Sethir, the Sun-God) is regarded as the name that country, in which Nineveh is situated, already had; and Nimrod as the subject of the verb in that sentence, "he" who went forth from Shinar into Assur and founded Nineveh. This would in effect make the same man to have founded those two great cities; but it is, at least, perfectly in accordance with reason and with the facts in this case to conclude that those two cities were founded, if not by the same individual man, yet by the same Nimrodian dynasty.

The country of Assyria is supposed to have derived its name from Asshur, the son of Shem, who settled therein; but the prophet (Micah v:6) seems to describe it as being "the land of Nimrod," so, of course, by conquest.

With other things I find this in Rollin concerning Nimrod: "Among other cities he built one more large and magnificent than the rest which he called Nineveh, from the name of his son Ninus" (in Gaelic Nin mac Pel, *i.e.*, Ninus the son of Belus), "in order to immortalize his memory. The son in his turn, out of veneration

for his father, was willing that they, whom he had served as their king, should worship him as their God and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears evident that Nimrod is the famons Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions and who showed others the way to that kind of immortality which human acquirements are supposed capable of bestowing." Id.

"The holy penman," says the same writer, "has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us; and seems to have put them so near together on purpose that we should see an example in the former of what is admired and coveted by men and in the latter of what is acceptable and well-pleasing to God. These two persons, so unlike one another are the first two and chief citizens of two different cities, built on different motives and with different principles; the one self-love and desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the deity; the other the love of God even to the contemning of one's self."

Brief Description of Nineveh:

It is after his return from a tour of conquest which extended from India and Bactria to Egypt that most ancient authors represent Ninus, the son of Nimrod as founding Nineveh. His design, says Diodorus, was to make Nineveh the largest and noblest city in the world and to put it out of the power of those that came after him ever to build or hope to build such another. Nor does he seem to have been much deceived in this for he succeeded in building a city of immense size and surpassing magnificence. It was 150 stadia (or $18\frac{3}{4}$ miles) in length and ninety stadia or ($11\frac{1}{4}$ miles) in breadth, and consequently was an oblong square or parallelogram. Its circumference was 480 stadia or sixty miles. We, therefore, find it said in the book of Jonah that *Ninevah was an exceeding great city of three days journey* (Jon. iii:3) which is to be understood of the whole compass of the city. From Diodorus we learn, also, that the walls of Nineveh were one hundred feet high and of such thickness that three chariots might go abreast upon them. These walls were fortified and adorned with towers, two hundred feet high, and fifteen hundred in number.

Ninus and Semiramis:

Ninus having accomplished the building of this city put himself at the head of his army of 1,700,000 men and resumed his expedition against the Bactrians. Here it is supposed he would have signally failed were it not for the assistance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of uncommon courage and remarkably exempt from the weaknesses peculiar to her sex. Her birthplace is said to have been Ascalon, a city of Syria. Of her birth Diodorus related a wonderful account, which includes her having been nursed and brought up by pigeons, an account which he himself places no confidence in, looking upon it as a fabulous story.

To continue: It was Semiramis who instructed Ninus how to attack a principal fortress of the Bactrians, by which he took their city, in which he found immense treasures. Consequent on this Ninus conceived a warm affection for Semiramis, which her husband noticing that she reciprocated, it caused him to die of grief on which Ninus married his widow.

By her he had a son whom he named Ninyas; and not long after this he died and left the government to his wife. She erected a monument to his memory which remained long after the ruin of Nineveh.

According to some authors Semiramis came into the possession of the government through intrigue: they say that having secured the chief men of the state and attached them to her interests by her benefactions and promises, she influenced the king to entrust to her the sovereign power for five days. All the provinces of the Empire were thereupon commanded to obey Semiramis; which orders were executed but too strictly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death either immediately or after some years imprisonment.

Become secure in the government, this princess according to Diodorus, applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name and to compensate for the meanness of her extraction by the greatness of her enterprises. She proposed to herself to surpass all her predecessors in magnificence and grandeur and to that end undertook the enlargement of the already mighty Babylon, in which work she is said to have employed two millions of men, which were collected

out of the many provinces of her vast empire. This city, which she succeeded in rendering so magnificent, some of her successors further adorned with new works and embellishments. Without intending to assert by what particular monarch of the Chaldaeans it was built or enlarged I would say that a general description of Babylon is, in place here in order that the reader may have some idea, however inadequate it may be, of that stupendous city.

Description of Babylon.

The principal works which rendered Babylon so famous were the walls of the city; the quays and the bridge; the lake, banks and canals made for drawing water from the river; the palaces, hanging gardens and the temple of Belus; works of such extraordinary magnificence as is scarcely comprehensible. Dean Prideaux's description is of course, more full than what will be given here, which is, however, sufficiently full to answer every purpose of ours, without doing injustice to or belittling the subject itself.

I. The Walls.

Babylon stood on a spacious plain of a remarkably rich soil; and was the manufacturing center and mart for supply, in those ancient times, of a very extensive region. The walls were in every way prodigious, being in height 350 feet, in thickness 87 feet and in compass 60 English miles. The walls of this city were in the form of a square, each side of which was fifteen miles, and all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime, exuding from the earth of that country. This is said to bind together much more firmly than mortar and in time to become much harder than the bricks or stones which it keeps together.

These walls were encompassed on the outside with a vast ditch, full of water and lined with bricks on both sides. From the clay dug out of this foss were made, it is said, the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and so from the great height and thickness of the wall the width and depth of the foss may be inferred.

In each side of this great square were 25 gates, that is, 100 gates in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is that when God promises to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon he tells him (Isa. XLV. 2) that he will break in pieces before him the gates of brass. Between every two of these gates were three towers and

there were four more situated at the four corners of the square, namely, one at each corner; each of these towers were ten feet higher than the wall; but this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall where there was thought to be need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates on each side of this perfect square there led off twenty-five streets, in straight lines towards the gates which were directly over against them in the opposite side, so that the whole number of the streets was fifty, each fifteen miles long, of which twenty-five went in one way and twenty-five in the other, directly crossing each other at right angles. And besides there were, also, four half streets, which had houses only on one side and the walls on the other; these went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them 200 feet broad; the rest were about 150.

By the intersecting of these streets with each other the whole city was cut out into 676 squares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. Round these squares on each side towards the street stood the houses (which were not contiguous but had void spaces between them), all built three or four stories high, and beautified with all manner of ornaments towards the streets. The space within in the middle of each square was likewise all empty ground, employed for yards, gardens and other such uses; so that Babylon was greater in appearance than in reality, nearly one-half the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Quintus Curtius.

The Quays and Bridge.

A branch of the river Euphrates ran quite through the city, from the north to the south side; on each side of the river was a quay and a high wall, built of brick and bitumen, of the same thickness as the walls that encompassed the city. In these walls over against every street that led to the river were gates of brass and from them descents by steps to the river, for the convenience of the inhabitants, who used to pass over from one side to the other in boats, having no other way of crossing the river before the bridge was built. The brazen gates were always open in the day time and shut in the night.

Neither in beauty nor magnificence was the bridge inferior to

any of the other buildings; it was a furlong in length and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. The arches were made of huge stones, fastened together with iron chains and melted lead. Before they began to b uild the bridge they turned the course of the river and laid its ch annel dry having another view in so doing besides that of laying the foundations more commodiously, as shall be explained hereafter. And as everything had been prepared beforehand both the bridge and the quays, which I have just described, were built in that interval.

The Lakes, Ditches and Canals made for Draining and Irrigation.

These works, the objects of contemplation for the the inventive of all ages, were still more useful than magnificent. In the beginning of the summer on the sun's melting the snow on the mountains of Armenia there ensues a vast increase in the volume of waters in the rivers, which running into the Euphrat es in the months of June, July and August, makes it overflow it banks and produces such another inundation as does the Nile in Egypt. To prevent the damage which the city and country would receive from these freshets at a very considerable distance above the town two artificial canals were cut, which turned the course of those waters into the Tigris before they reached Babylon. And to secure the country yet more from danger of inundations and to confine the river within proper limits, they raised prodigious banks on both sides of the river, built with brick cemented with bitumen, which began at the without doing injustice to or belittling the subj ect itself.

To facilitate the making of these works it was necessary to turn the course of the river, for which purpose there was dug a prodigious artificial lake 45 miles square, 160 in compass and 35 feet deep (as according to Herodotus but 75 as acc. to Megasthenes), to the west of Babylon. Into this lake was the whole river turned by an artificial canal cut from the west side, till the whole work was completed, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates, in the time of the freshets, might not overflow the city through the gates on its sides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was still preserved. The water received into the lake at the time of the overflows was kept there all the year, as

in a common reservoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices at convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. The lake, therefore, was doubly useful in preserving the country from injury by inundations and in rendering it fertile.

Berosus, Megasthenes and Abydenus, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius, represent Nebuchadnezzar as the author of most of those works; but the bridge, the two quays of the river and the lake are by Herodotus ascribed to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. It is more reasonably supposed that Nitocris may have finished some of the works which her father-in-law left incomplete at his death, on which account the historian might have ascribed to her the honor of the accomplishment of the whole.

The Palaces and Hanging Gardens.

On the authority of Diodorus we find that at the two ends of the bridge there were two palaces, which had communication with each other by a vault built under the river's channel between the two at the time of its being dry. The old palace, which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs (or three miles and three-quarters) in compass; near which stood the temple of Belus, yet to be described. The new palace which stood on the west side of the river, opposite to the other, was sixty furlongs (or seven miles and a half) in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, having considerable spaces between them. These walls, in like manner of those of the other palace, were embellished with a vast variety of sculptures representing vividly all kinds of animals. Among the rest was a curious hunting piece, in which Semiramis, on horseback, was throwing her javelins at a leopard and her husband, Ninus, piercing a lion.

In this last palace (as acc. to Diodorus) were the hanging gardens so celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a square of four hundred feet on every side and were carried up in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the height equaled that of the walls of the city. The ascent from terrace to terrace was by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches raised upon arches one above another and strengthened by a wall surrounding it on every side of twenty-two feet in thickness. On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long and four broad; over these was a layer of reeds

mixed with a quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaster. The whole was covered with thick sheets of lead upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was combined to keep the moisture of the mould from evaporating through the arches. The earth laid hereon was so deep that the greatest trees might take root in it; and with some such the terraces were covered, as well as with other plants and flowers which were used to adorn flower-gardens. In the upper terrace there was an engine or kind of pump, by which water was elevated from the river and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which rested this whole structure, were large and magnificent apartments that were very light and had the advantage of a peculiarly fine prospect.

According to Berosus, Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country), and having been much delighted with the wood and mountain scenery of her native land, Nebuchadnezzar, supposing it would gratify her, caused that enormous structure to be raised. Of this matter Diodorus, without however naming the persons, gives much the same account.

The Temple of Belus.

Another of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus, which, according to Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo, stood as mentioned before, near the old palace. It was most remarkable for a prodigious tower which stood in the midst of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, a half mile in circumference, and (according to Strabo) it was also a furlong in height. It consisted of eight towers, one raised above the other, decreasing regularly towards the top, on which account Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. If the height given by Strabo be correct, then this tower was 660 feet high, which leaves it to have been 175 feet higher than the Great Pyramid. Whether or not we agree with him, Bochart (Phal. part I, c. 9) has asserted this to be the very same tower which was there constructed at the confusion of languages. In this, however, he found many to agree with him, some of whom asserted that this tower was all built with bricks and bitumen, of which the

Scriptures (Gen. XI. 3.) say the tower of Babel was built. This last would indicate it to be that tower of bricks which Josephus (Ant. Book I., c. 11) refers to as built by the Sethites to preserve their discoveries, astronomical and otherwise.

The ascent to the top was by stairs on the outside round it, which indicates there may have been an easy, sloping ascent in that inside of the outer wall, which turning by slow degrees in a spiral line, eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the like appearance, as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In these different stories were many large rooms with arched roofs supported by pillars. On the top of the tower, placed above the whole, was an observatory, which the Babylonians used for astronomical purposes, and by the use of which some think they became more accomplished in astronomical science than all the other nations in history.

But the chief use made of the tower was for the worship of the God Belus of Baal as well as the other Deities in the Chaldaean circle for which purposes there were a vast number of chapels in different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in statues, tables, censers, cups and other sacred vessels, all of massy gold, were immense. Among the images there was one forty feet high, which weighed 1000 Babylonian talents. The Babylonian talent, according to Pollux in his *Onomasticon*, contained 7000 Attic Drachmae and consequently was a sixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but 6000 Drachmae.

The sum total of the riches contained in this temple, as calculated by Diodorus, amounts to 6300 Babylonian talents of gold. If we add to that sum its sixth part, namely, 1050, we have 7350 Attic talents of gold.

Now, 7350 Attic talents of silver are upwards of 2,100,000 pounds sterling. The proportion in the value of gold to silver, as reckoned by the ancients, was about as ten to one, therefore 7350 Attic talents of gold amount to above 21,000,000 pounds sterling which now would be worth about one hundred and five millions of dollars.

This temple stood till the time of Xerses (as according to Herodotus, Strabo and Arrian); but he, on his return from his Indian expedition, destroyed it entirely, after first having plundered it of all its immense riches. "Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his expedition against India, purposed to rebuild it, and in order

thereto, set 10,000 men to work to rid the place of its rubbish; but after they had pursued this labor two months Alexander died which put an end to the undertaking."

What we have now reviewed constitute the chief works which have rendered Babylon so justly celebrated: many of these were ascribed by profane authors to Semiramis, whether or not she really had anything to do with them. She is said to have lived sixty-two years, and of that to have reigned forty-two, and after her death to have been worshiped in Assyria under the form of a dove. The generally exaggerated account given of her, as well as the name, might indicate her to be a mythical character; but she was doubtless historical in some age, only during her life may not have been known by the form of name Semiramis.

As concerning the time of building of Babylon there is in existence some information which, as far as we know, or are now prepared to judge, is of an unimpeachable character, but has for some reason hitherto been generally overlooked. Philo of Biblos in his learned work upon celebrated cities (Hist. Graec, Frag. III, 575), as we learn from Stephanas of Byzantium, made the following statement about it: —

"Babylon was built not by Semiramis, as Herodotus says, but by Babylon, a wise man, the son of the Allwise Belus, who, as Herennius states, lived 2000 years before Semiramis." The extracts from Sankuniathon give us to understand that Philo must have been well informed as to the date of Semiramis.

This same account here given from Philo appears in Eustathius with this difference, that in the latter it is said to be 1800 years from the time of the erection of the tower of Babel to Semiramis: In regard to the Babylonian beginnings, then, the case stands historically about as follows: That antecedent to the building of Babylon and its temple there existed a historical series of Chaldaean or Babylonian Kings from six hundred to eight hundred years. But before this date there are computations of epochs, the traditional remains of the foretimes of their ancient people, embellished with myth. Berosus has comprised all such beginnings in the first race of Chaldaean Kings.

Meaning Suggested of the "Confusion of Tongues."

Now, as regards the matter of the confounding of language, this, it is thought, may have reference to the individualizations from that

one mass of languages called the Chinese; for that as the Egyptian language attests that primitive tongue, which does not possess "parts of speech," so called, had already been broken up in Asia at the close of the prediluvian period: that the great separation of the civilizing tribes in Asia had, however, not yet taken place at the time of that immigration into Egypt: that the elements afterwards recognized as Arian and Semitic were as yet unseparated: and that stage in the progress of the development of language is in Eastern Asia recognized as Turanism in Western Asia as Chamism: but that as the different tribes rose to a higher civilization, and as each impressed on its own language the stamp of individuality, so something analogous to the breaking up of the primitive monosyllabic language took place after the dissolution of the primitive Cusian or Scythic empire; that, moreover, individual religious feeling and individual social life took an independent shape and broke through the uniformity of the previous habits of life; that, thus, the Bible's narrative having a strictly historical basis will be found correct in its way, when properly interpreted, and may reasonably be supposed to go back in its history to at least the eighth thousand B. C.

Information Conveyed by the Cuneiform Inscriptions; the Date of the Founding of Babylon Illustrated by the Dates Given for the Different Foundations of Carthage:

As regards the Babylonian royal names which have been recovered by means of the cuneiform inscriptions and their chronological order, it is admitted that everything anterior to the 8th or 9th century B. C. appears to stand on a very unstable basis, owing to the want of a chronology and sometimes also on account of the uncertainty in reading the names. No doubt, so far as I am aware, is entertained as to the reality and historical charactar of the older royal names, discovered and deciphered by Rawlinson and others. It is thought possible, also, that there may have been, in the 9th century, a queen or wife bearing the name of Semiramis; but none of that name, for whom such a claim could be advanced, as that she had founded the empire of the Ninyads, has been yet discovered to have existed.

And finally, in regard to the time of the founding of the city of Babylon, why should it not, as was Carthage, have been built at

different times, and so the time of its building have been true of different dates?

Carthage is usually said to have been founded by Dido (proper name Elisa), a Tyrian princess, in about the year 875 B. C. But this does not, in fact, imply that the city did not exist before her time. It has been proved historically that her foundation was the third for that famous city. Howell has long ago discovered that the town consisted of three parts, namely, Cothon, or the port and buildings adjoining thereto, which he supposes to have been first built, and this event, in accordance with Appian, would have taken place 50 years before the capture of Troy, making, say according to Herodotus, about 1337 B. C.; Megara, which, in respect to Cothon, was called the New town or Cathado, was, if in agreement with Eusebius' statement, built 194 years later; and Byrsa (Bozra) or the citadel, built last of all, must needs, if in accordance with Menendar, cited by Josephus, have been built 166 years later than Megara. The dates here are, however, only approximations. But in this way it is seen Babylon may have been built at several times and have had the peculiar honor at one of those times of having had some female ruler of Chaldaea, a prototype of the Phœnician Dido, as its foundress.

Concerning the Dynasties which may have dominated over the Chaldaeans from the time of the Deluge Down to the times of the Persians.

A translation from the Latin of Eusebius (in Chron. 1. 4) from Alexander Polyhistor.

"Now to the aforesaid things the same Polyhistor adds the following: "After the deluge Evechins* reigned over the Kingdom of the Chaldaeans, during four neri: Then the government was administered by his son, Chomasbelos, during four neri and five Sossi. From Xisuthrus and the Deluge until the Medes occupied Babylon the total number of Kings Polyhistor supposes to have been six over eighty, whom singly and by name he recounts from the book of Berosus. Of all these he computes the sum of the years to have been three myriads (30,000) and three thousand and ninety-one besides. After these who, he says, came into the government in the regular order of succession, the Medes having suddenly collected a large force attacked and took Babylon and there instituted tyrants of their own. From this point he enumerates the names of eight of their tyrants, during a period of thirty-four years over two hundred; and in succession to these eleven Medes in two hundred and forty-eight years. Then, also, forty-nine Chaldaean Kings in four hundred and fifty-eight years: After this nine Arab Kings in two hundred and forty-five years. In the prescribed recension of these years he relates, also, concerning Semiramis, who governed the Assyrians. And going backwards he distinctly enumerates the names of forty Kings, distributing to these five hundred and twenty-six years.

After these, he says, there lived a King of the Chaldaeans, whose name was Phul (whom also the history of the Hebrews mentions, and whom it likewise names Phul). He (Phul) is said to have invaded Judaea. After this Polyhistor says that Senecherim possessed the Kingdom; whom, indeed, the Hebrew books refer to as

* *Ευηχιως ὁ Καὶ Νεβρώς*; Euechins, who is also called Nebros, Syncellus p. 79. B.: or *Ο παῤ ήμιν Νεβρώς*, who with us is Nebros. The b is here interchangeable with the m as in the Egyptian. This makes it clear enough that Nimrod is Euechius.

"Nimrod is also called Euechius." — *Cedrenus.*

reigning during the reign of Hezekiah, while Isaiah was prophesying.

But the Divine Book says in distinct language, that in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, Senacherim came up to the fortified cities of Judah and took them. As to the things accomplished of whose affairs, history makes record: And Asordanes, his son, reigned in his stead. And again as he progresses, he says, at that time Hezekiah was sick. Then, also, in order (he relates) that, at the same time, Merodaoh Baladan, King of the Babylonians, sent ambassadors with letters and gifts to Hezekiah. These things the Scriptures of the Hebrews transmit. And, morover, the historian of the Chaldaeans mentions Senacherim with his son Asordane and Merodach Baladan: with whom also (he mentions) Nebuchadnezzar, as is soon to be related. But, in this strain, he writes concerning them:

"After this and after the domination of Hagisa over the Babylonians, a brother of Senacherim discharged the government, who indeed, having not yet completed the thirtieth day of his reign was cut off by Merodach Baladane: Merodach Baladan, himself, assumed the government for six months, at which time a certain man named Elibus removed him and succeeded to the kingdom. Now, in the third year of the reign of this last, Senechrim, King of the Assyrians, led together his forces against the Babylonians and in a pitched battle with them came off superior; Elibus with his family and attendants having been taken captive he commanded to be transferred to Assyria. He, having become possessed of the Babylonians, imposed upon them as king, his own son, Assordane; but he himself accomplished his return to Assyria. Soon, however, a rumor was brought to his ears that the Greeks had collected a large army and invaded Cilicia; but he attacked them right forwardly and the battle having been joined, although many of his own soldiers had been before dismissed, he nevertheless overcame his enemies; and his image, as it were a monument of victory, he left standing in that place; upon which he commanded that the deeds done by himself should be inscribed for the everlasting memory of the times.

"Tarsus, also, he says, was a city built by him, after the pattern of Babylon, and to this same city the name Tharsin was given. Now, also, to the rest of the achievements of Senacherim, as recorded, he adds that he reigned eighteen years, until plots having

been laid for him, by his son, Ardamuzane, he was slain. Thus far Polyhistor.

"The chronology also reasonably accords with the narration of the Divine books. For in the time of Hezekiah Senecherim reigned, as Polyhistor intimates, eighteen years; after whom his son eight years; then Samuges twenty one years; and, likewise, his brother twenty-one; then Nabupalasar twenty years; and, finally, Nabuchodrossor three years over forty; so that from Senecherim to Nabuchodrossor eighty-eight years passed.

All these things having been accomplished Polyhistor proceeds again to explain some more of the exploits of Senacherim; and of his son he writes plainly in the same strain, in which (write) the books of the Hebrews; and of all these things he discourses very accurately. The learned Pythagoras is said to have been prominent in that age under these (Kings).

Now, after Samuges, Sardanapall governed the Chaldaeans twenty-one years.*

He sent a legation to Astyages, president and satrap of the nation of the Medes in order to bring about the betrothal of Amuites, one of the daughters of Astyages, to his son Nebuchodrossor. Then Nabuchodrossor dominated forty-three years; who, indeed, having collected an army and made an irruption into their countries, reduced the Jews, Phœnicians and Assyrians to servitude. (Nor may it be necessary that I should prove in many ways how that Polyhistor, in his narrative, is perfectly congruent with the Hebrew's history.)

After Nabuchodrossor, his son, Amilmerodach, reigned twelve years, whom the Hebrew records call Ilmarudoch. After him, Polyhistor says, Neglisar reigned over the Chaldaeans four years: Then Nabonedus seventeen years. While he was reigning Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, invaded the Kingdom of Babylon, by whom Nabonedus, having been engaged in battle, was conquered, and only saved himself by flight. Cyrus reigned at Babylon nine years, until, another battle having been joined, in the plain of Dahuras, he perished. Then Cambyses held the government eight years; after him Darius, thirty-six years; and then Xerses and the remaining Kings of the Persians.

* The same man is here called Sardanapall and Nebopallassar. Josephus Contra Apion (1.19) calls him Nabolassar.

"Now, concerning the Kingdom of the Chaldaeans, as tersely and distinctly as Berosus speaks, so directly speaketh Polyhistor."

The following two lists as derived from the above will be found to correspond with the numbers given for the two last dynasties over Babylon, as given some years ago on p. 37 second of my volume called "Cosmotheolgies etc." The rest, as given in the foregoing, will be found to correspond generally with the others, except that in the dynasty just preceding, the last Assyrian, Eusibus has forty Kings instead of forty-five elsewhere. His aggregate number also differs a little from the other, which may have arisen from mistakes of transcribers.

Assyrian Dynasty over Babylon. 8 Kings, 122 years.	Chaldaean Dynasty; 6 Kings; 87 years.
Phul.	Nebopollassar.
Hagisa.	Nebuchadnezzar.
Merodach Baladan.	Evilmorodach.
Elibus.	Nerglissor.
Senacherim.	* Laborosoarchod.
Asordane.	Nabonedus.
Ardamuzane.	
Samuges.	

To Nabonedus succeeded Cyrus, the first King of the Persian dynasties over Babylon.

* The name Laborosoarchod I find in Josephus (Contra Apion, Bk. I. 20), who elsewhere spells the name Labosordacus. In this last place also he enters Nabonedus as Naboandelus who, he says, was that Baltasar (Balshazar) from whom Darius, King of Media and Cyrus, King of Persia, having attacked Babylon with their united forces, took the Kingdom.

† Ardamuzane and Samuges may be the two sons of Senacherib, named Adrammelech and Sharezer (2 Kings XIX., 37) who conspired against and slew their father in the temple. Or they may have been son and grandson of Senacherib; but in the foregoing Eusebius gives a reign of 21 years each to Samuges and his brother.

The Records of the Hebrew Origines and Primitive History Examined into by Tuch, Ewald, Bunsen, Delitsch and Others:

An analysis of the Book of Genesis, in regard to the beginnings of the human race, discovers to us that the Babylonian epochs, though bearing some similarity to, are essentially different from the Biblical. The nine or ten Babylonian epochs of the prediluvial times have been aptly compared to the dynasties of the Egyptian Gods; but neither the Chaldæan nor the Egyptian traditions, as these appear developed in their respective systems, could have pertained in general to the old races as their common property. The one is formed according to the type of Chaldee life, bearing the local marks of the general Aramaic race; the other attained its formation in the valley of the Nile, assisted by Phœnicia. If the groundwork of them both was Asiatic, as some have supposed, it is remarkable that the Egyptians have no account of a flood, a piece of ignorance of theirs which was common also to the Phœnicians. If the groundwork of them both pertained to the Ethiopic regions about the Nile's sources, as might be thought to be suggested by their topographical nomenclatures and the ancient names of their deities being, to some extent, common in their ancient writings, why have they not developed into consonant and similar systems? But while, in one sense, the theologies referred to are particular and local, in another they are each general and universal representing, in as far as they do represent the Supreme Deity, as the same God and Father of the Human race, though under different or varying cosmical ideals and dialectical appellations. More distributive, if not more expansive, as to its ideal of Deity, than the Phœnician, the Egyptian system did not set forth all perfection and supremacy under the ideal of a man, in which some think it to have come short or not to have arrived at the most perfect simplicity attainable.

I have stated elsewhere (in Cosmotheologies, etc., p. 12) that the records of the early part of the book of Genesis are characterized by the use of two forms of the Divine name, the one El, plural Elohim, the other Jehovah; which latter is sometimes connected with the former as Jehovah-Elohim. This with other marks, also of an internal character, has proved to the satisfaction of the critics, that the Book of Genesis is made up of at least two ancient documents, from which it was compiled at a date posterior to their date or dates. It was said by Bunsen that the great merit of Tuch, in his commentary on Genesis, consisted in his having established "that the Elohim record forms a connected whole, while the Jehovistic writer is merely to be considered as offering a supplement to the earlier original records, which he found in existence. Tuch supposed the date of the original record to be about the end of the time of the Judges and the Jehovistic writer to have lived in the time of David.

Ewald, in his "History of the People of Israel," supposes the Pentateuch to be made up of four great written works and by four different authors, omitting a few later additions. The oldest, he believes, to be the "Book of the Covenant," composed in the time of the Judges, from written sources of information, then ancient, some of them derived from Moses himself. Of the other three he thinks the "Book of the Origines" the oldest. From it again he distinguishes a later authority, to whom, he attributes the 14th chapter of Genesis, with the narratives of the Mesopotamian and Chaldaean war in which Abraham was an actor, derived from a pre-Mosaic source; also the section containing the history of Joseph (Gen. xxxix — xli, etc.) with some smaller pieces. As regards the Book of Genesis the two accounts of the second and third compiler, as according to Ewald, coincide in the main with Tuch's original record; as does the fourth and, in regard to Genesis, the last in the series, with the Jehovistic record. The latter, however, Ewald does not suppose to be a supplement but a narrative complete in itself.

As regards the date of its origin, Ewald places the fundamental writing (A.) of the Book of the Origins at the beginning of Solomon's reign. There are in it many peculiarities, which he explains by reference to this date among others the remark (Gen. xxxvi, 31) "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." In the fundamental writing (B) of the third account he recog-

nizes the date of Elijah. The Jehovistic account he assigns to the beginning of the eighth century " B. C.

Of the second and fourth narrators he considers the former to have been a Levite and a man of great legislative mind; the latter of a prophetic and poetic genius, a learned man, who extracted from the mass of existing records the best materials with good judgment. He supposes the documents to have been originally private and to have emanated from men of great learning and piety.

Delitsch, a more modern expositor, coincides with the view that the Book of Genesis was made up out of earlier and independent records and with the view propounded by Tuch as to the Elohistic fundamental writings having been completed by means of the Jehovistic.

In regard to the components of the Pentateuch Dr. Bunsen thinks it originally divisible into two main portions, being in part made up of *external events* and in part of a history of the *internal life* of men of the Spirit: This being the real and the ideal element in all ancient history, out of a combination of the two the epic narrative has been made up. While in general acquiescing in Tuch's idea of two original records, he thinks the Jehovistic, which is supplementary to the other, to be rather of an ideal character and to indicate progressive research. He is, however, not at all opposed to the idea of the Pentateuch having been a compilation of the products of many different authors or an aggregation of their records, as will be understood in the following quotation: " If," says he, " the false or childish, not to say godless, notion of there having been a mechanical communication of the Sacred Books to a single man of God (that is, in the present instance, to Moses), for the purpose of transmission be abandoned, our faith will rest upon the assumption, that each compiler has told us something, not an invention of his own, but what he had learned or knew of his own knowledge; that he was a faithful vehicle of the traditions, which came down to him, and that each of his successors has preserved this national and humanizing treasure with veneration and fidelity. In this way that which seems to have no meaning becomes reasonable and an object of moral belief and serious contemplation to educated minds.

" We come," says he, " to this conclusion by sound science and research as much as by methodical thought. By sounding the laws of mind we become conscious of eternal ideas in a symbolical language. What we know not to be true by the logical process, we

find through historical investigation to have been believed and acted upon instinctively and expressed ritually and artistically. But, lastly, the discoveries in our own peculiar domain, those especially of Egyptian as well as Assyro-Babylonian antiquity, and pre-eminently those of historical ethnology have forced upon us the conclusion that there is a far more remote background of early history than critics ventured to assume at the begining of this century." (Egypt: IV. 384.)

The truth and soundness of all he has here said being admitted we must perceive that a proper understanding or restoration of the originals would be a great desideratum. What is understood as history is the varied picture of the living, active, human race: Historical, scientific research can, therefore, accept nothing as historical, which proves to be a picture not true to the life which it purports to represent; or which, in its general representation, is found to be at variance with the conditions of existence in time and space.

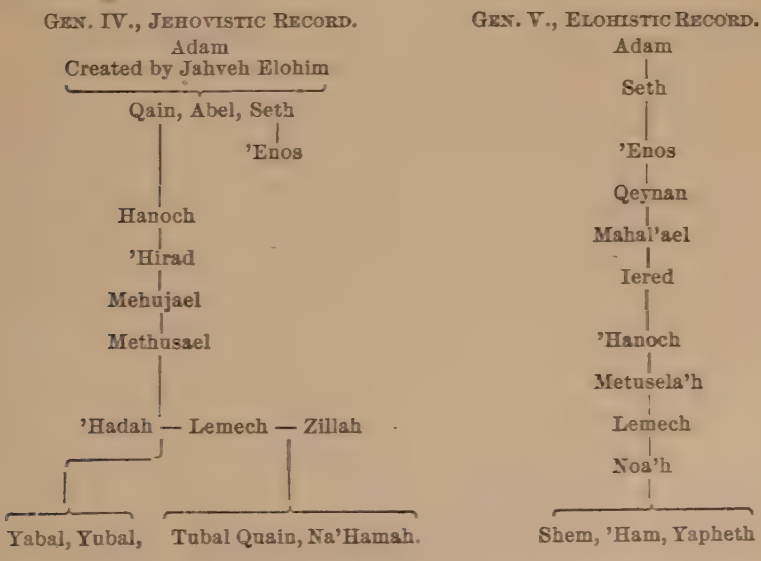
Taking such axioms as his guide the historical enquirer often finds himself opposed by the Jewish Rabinical belief. Has he found enough of cause for rejecting the historical view of a tradition? Yet he may not have the means at his disposal of finding an affirmative solution, explaining the origin of the tradition. It is recognized as the especial merit of some modern historical investigators to have exerted themselves to the utmost to effect a true and complete restoration as to the originals of the Old Testament, and that "the dreams of Dupuis and the scoffs of Voltaire" have vanished wherever the published results of their scientific-historic-Biblical researches have penetrated. It has, in fact, clearly demonstrated that Christianity, properly understood, lives and moves in a sphere of intelligent belief, which is strictly and necessarily consistent with truth and fact.

As to the Traditions Concerning the Patriarchs of the Pre-diluvian Age Found in the Book of Genesis.

There are in the early part of the Book of Genesis what appear to be two lists of Pre-diluvian patriarchs, descending from Adam, the one through Cain and the other through Seth, but which may, perhaps, be understood as representing only one.

Buttman observed that as both lists have at the end Lemach so the preceding links from Cain or Cainan downwards, correspond exactly with each other, excepting that in the first three after Cainan the order of the names are different. He also observed that the same names, Adam, Seth and Enos, correspond in the first three links of the Elohistic record. Further than this notice Buttman did not go in the matter; but mature research has proven unmistakably the name Seth to be that of the oldest Shemitic and Egyptian God; and this also suggests to our mind that the son of Seth is no other than Enos, the Man. Enos is said to be an ordinary Aramaic word for Man as a Hebrew word is Adam. But the word appears more correctly to mean son of Saedhamh or Adam. Aenghaes or Aensheach is Enos, or Enoch, the sh in the middle of the last word not being sounded in the old language.

The following are those two registers of ped igrees as they have come down to us: —



It is supposed the two versions, the Jehovistic and the Elohistic led the way to two independent series, which have the same starting point, and in which, leaving out of the question the change in the order of the intermediate names, the only difference is that division of mankind before the Flood is represented as taking place at the end of the one in the persons of the three sons of Lemech, namely, Jabal, Jubal and Tubal-Cain, whereas in the other, the separation takes place through the three sons of Noah, Shem, Cham, and Yapheth. If there should be thought to be any discrepancy in the name of the Creator it may, it is suggested, be kept in mind that the one truth which pervades them both is that God created man in his own image. In one of the traditions the Creator is put down as Jahveh Elohim and man himself Adam, while in the other he is called Seth and man Enoch. The first refers to the primeval country, the land of Aram, the second to Palestine, Canaan, the land of Seth, Suthech. If Noah be omitted in the first record, is that a reason for saying it excludes him? The one only treats of the early world, before the Deluge, the other includes this.

The following includes some of the explanations of the names of the Patriarchs: —

Cham is the dark, the black.

Shem, the illustrious, having a name.

Yapheth, the bright, the fair.

We have here the dark, the red or glorious, and the fair-complexioned, which may be thought to represent the colors of men in the habitable portions of the earth, from the equatorial outwards towards the polar regions.

In the view we are now presenting Yaveh and Yaveh Elohim as well as Seth, the names of the Deity in the different records are to be considered in the ideal character; so Adam, Enosh and Chavah (Eve), the life-giving, the mother of all living, as well as Hebel (Abel), the vanishing, belong to the same category.

There are many things which concur to lead investigators to the conclusion that the Jehovistic record is the original; one of which things is the spelling of the other names it affords.

The name Cain or Quain has in that form for one of its meanings a Smith. It is, therefore, by some explained as in the compound Tubal-Cain, as an Artist, the Technites of the Phœnician Mythology. The form Cainan is a diminutive of Cain and is doubtless sometimes used interchangeably with it. Mr. Bryant,

however, in his Mythology, gives us to understand that Josephus in his original copy, translated Cain as Cais, which suggests Caeth for Saeth as Cuth for Cush. Cain is also said to have gone to the land of Nod, which doubtless means that the land was so called after his name and that his name was one of the forms of which Seth is the principal. The root of Seth is Saedh, first root Edh, which unaspirated we have as first root in our name Edward, which latter we call, briefly, Ned. This land of Nod or Ned, too, is eastward of Eden, which suggests the name Seth and which means East, this latter being but a slight transposition of the letters, and the East meaning the Sun (Saeth, = East) rising; (Saethan = Sun).

Moreover, if in the Gaelic tongue we put the name Saeth in the genitive case after Mac and add the diminutive termination, an, which is sign of the genitive, we shall have Mac Shaithan, which (the sh and th being silent) is pronounced Mac Cathain or Mac Con. Hence in the old Gaelic pedigrees the Clan Saeth or Caeth or Cathan is Clan Conn. For example in about three generations after the Christian era you meet with in the Irish history king Lughaidh Mac Con Mac Niadh, which is, properly translated, Lughaidh son of Eochan son of Edhach, or anglicised Louis son of John son of Jack, the Edhach being their Niadh or Ned and equivalent to Sethach.

And as to Abel, the brother of Cain, when you say you are able (Norman Hable) you mean that you can, may possibly suggest here the proper interpretation, which however is only a suggestion and nothing more. A literal translation of Gen. IV. i, is: "And Adam knew Chavah, his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man, Jahveh." In the margin it is said that Cain is equivalent to gotten, which is strictly correct; but does not say that this was the name of the child that was gotten. Cain is gain, with the hard form of the g initial, and gain is gaethan, the th in the old language being silent and not appearing. So we say I have got or gotten, I get (gaeth) or I gather (gaether), &c., which shows you how Seth is equivalent to Sethan or Sethar.

Enoch (Chanoch) which is another form of Enos, is, in this form, usually explained the Initiated, or, in the passive idea the taught of God, in the sense of a priest, prophet, man of God. In one of the records it is seen he is the son of Cain and in the other he is the great-grandson of Cainan and the great grandfather of

Noah. The fact of his being stated to have lived 365 years, which is the number of days in a solar year and yet that "he was not, for God took him," may perhaps afford a clue to the interpretation of Enoch; for if the name Seth means the sun, and a year, or the course of the sun, so does Enos or Enoch in the old language.

A form for Cainan in the old language is Chna, which certainly is nearer Cain than Cainan, and shows there is no difficulty in identifying these two, so far as the forms of the same in the original are concerned.

To say that the form Irad of the one list here is merely a slight variation of the Iarad in the other would be, to one who understands the original, superfluous; but to say that they were originally intended to represent the same man or idea is to the purpose.

The identification, also, by Bunsen, of the Mehujael of the one list with the Mahalael of the other appears in order and correct.

As well as his identification of Metheushael with Methushelach.

And the Enoch or Chanoch of the one list with that of the other.

As well as again the Lemachs of the two lists.

Hadah (beauty) and Zillah (darkness) are said to be represented in the Phœnician mythology, the one as Dione, the other not named. Josephus says that Lemach had by these two wives 77 children. These two female names are mythological.

Yubal, the son of Hadah, is in Phœnician Esmun, *i.e.*, Samin, the God Hercules. Of Zillah, the dark complexioned, is born Tubal-Cain, the smith or worker in copper. Tubal is the ancestor of such as handle the harp and organ and his brother by the same mother and father is Yabal, who is the ancestor of such as dwell in tents and such as keep cattle.

It is noticeable that the Yah of Yahveh, connected with the birth of Cain, would, when compounded with Abel (Bael), give Yabal or Yubal. And since the Y generally arises from the aspiration of the T, then Tubal-Cain would be equivalent to Yahveh-Abel-Cain or Yahbelseth. The picture appears certainly ideal, the different appellations indicating variations of the same idea; and, of course, the ancients believed as firmly in their deity under those names as the moderns do in God Almighty under the name Jehovah.

The name Lemach some interpret strong man, others, as Ewald, man of violence. It might mean son of the heaven *i.e.*,El-mac.

Naamhah (Grace the graceful) the sister of Tubal Cain, accord-

ing to Philo's translation of the Phœnician names belong to the circle of the Phœnician Esmunidæ.

As to the Dates of the Patriarchs.

It is, indeed, generally agreed among the theological investigators that the dates assigned in the Elohistic records to individual names from Adam downwards are not to be taken in a literal sense as signifying the ages of individual men. They understand that such an assumption is at variance with all the laws of animal organism and as contrary to common sense as the notion of there being any chronology in the astronomical cycles of hundreds of myriads of years. It is, however, considered equally certain that the dates given are not merely arbitrary inventions and that in dealing with the subject of the Scriptural records the Hebrew text is to be preferred to the Samaritan or Septuagint.

According to the Samaritan version all the patriarchs excepting Enoch died in the year of the flood; but the object of the Septuagint is to throw back wherever possible, the year of the world, because the authentic dates of the Ægyptian monuments could not have been unknown to the translators at Alexandria, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus 270 B. C.

The following theses relating to this subject result from a consideration of it in its extended ideal and, may appear to be, on the whole, well grounded.

1. Among the Aramaeans, Egyptians and Greeks the orders of the Gods are identical, not only as to the fundamental conception, but also in many of the details, both as regards the idea and even the names.

2. In regard to the origin of the world and Divine worship they belong solely to the ideal conceptions.

3. The only account in which the ideal conception has been preserved in its integrity is the Biblical, which also represents the historical element of the character of humanity without mythological monsters.

4. The consciousness of the unity of God, which we recognize in the Abrahamic conception, gave rise to the ideal element; the historical part arose from primitive Aramaic traditions.

5. Generally not to individual men has the historical element reference, but to epochs and critical changes in the conditions of

the race, which have been handed down by oral or written traditionary accounts from age to age.

6. As experience has proved the Rabinnical view to be untenable critically and absurd, philosophically the Biblical tradition must be understood, according to the spirit, on the basis of the letter rightly understood. This method has been triumphantly proved, not only by a thorough research and a masterly, though delicate, handling of materials but by the experience and results of this process for over a century.

For the following tabulation we are indebted to Dr. Bunsen, who gives it as his restoration, telling us that in it we have instead of an unmeaning genealogy of impossible men a representation deserving of the highest respect and befitting the dignity of the sacred writings of the earliest reminiscences of the migrating Semites, as it was understood in Mesopotamia and recorded in the long interval between Joseph and Moses: —

A. Creation.

God.	God.
'El, 'Elohim Yah, Yahveh Yaveh 'Elohim	Seth (Suti, Sutekh).

Created the Man.

'Adam	'Enos
the Red	(the Strong, the Man)

B. Human Development.

I. Qain (the Smith), Murderer of his brother Habel (the Mortal) the Shepherd; founder of cities.	I. Qeynan.
II. 'Hanoch (the initiated, initiating. Seer of God, Solar year).	IV. 'Hanoch.
III. Hirad (the dweller in towns).	III. Yered.
IV. MeHuyael (the God-struck).	II. Mahalal'el.
V. Methusael (the man of God).	V. Methusela'h.
VI. Lamekh (the powerful, strong).	VI. Lamech.

Commentary.

Very little consideration will show that these two lists have an identical reference. God, set forth in the two under different forms of name, but meaning the same, creates man in his own image. As said before the tradition in which God is called Yahveh Elohim and man Adam is decided to be the most ancient or the original; the other in which he is called Seth and man Enos, the later. The list, considered as other than ideal, the variations in the second would arise from the migrations from their original abodes, and the dialectical differences, consequent thereon in time, of a large portion of the race under the general appellation of Shepherds. These would be the descendants of Yabal, son of Lemach, and descendant of Adam in the Jehovistic record to whom would correspond, in the Elohistic record, Noach, the son of Lemach and descendant of Enos, that is, Adam as representing the man and as being thus identical in the mind of Bunsen.

Moreover, it is noticeable that Yabal and Yubal, of the trio of sons of Lemach, the descendant of Adam (the man), through his son Cain, correspond to Shem and Cham of the trio of sons of Noah, grandsons of Lemach, the descendant of Enos (the man) through his son Cainan; that is there is about the same amount of difference in each duo. Yabal is surely as like Yubal as Shem or Sham is like Chem or Cham. Yabal would equal, for one form, Yach-baal, the first component of which is in the Gaelic equal to Seach and Each, expressed either way as a man's name. The last form, Each, meaning also a horse, is likewise expressed Neach (Noach), whence our verb "to neigh," Jubal or Jabal would thus equal EkBaal.

"And Adah bare Jabal; he was the father of such as dwell in tents and such as keep cattle." Gen. iv. 20. This, also, corresponds to "Shem the father of all the children of Eber." (Gen. x. 21) whose descendants were to be a "tent" race; I mean as contrasted with Cham. "God shall persuade Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem." Gen. ix. 27. "And his (Yabal's) brother's name was Yubal; he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ." Gen. iv. 21. I am not aware that the race called Shemites have been in history remarkably distinguished for skill in music; but in the reference to the Mystic Babylon in Rev. xviii., 22, one might think there was at least an

indirect reference to all Babylonia, which was inhabited principally by Cutheans, decendants of Cham. "And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone and cast it into the sea, saying, thus, with violence, shall that great city, Babylon, be thrown down and shall be found no more at all. And the voice of harpers and musicians and pipers and trumpeters shall be heard no more in thee." Rev. xviii., 21–22.

"And Zillah, she also bare Tubal Cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron; and the sister of Tubal-Cain was Naamah.". Gen. iv. 22.

Some interpreters separate the compound Tubal-Cain, making Cain to be son of Tubal and the latter to represent Chusor, in the Phœnician Mythology, Hephaistos in the Greek and Vulcan in the Latin; which in the way they explain it, is not unreasonable for Cain means a smith, a worker in metals, a handicraftsman, and Tubal is but another variation of Jubal and Jabal, the J or Y arising, as said before, from the aspirated T.

The Carthaginians had a God Yubal. The name given him by Polybius (vii. 9.) in the treaty between the Carthaginians and Philip of Macedon is Iolaus, who is mentioned in the Greek myth as Heros together with Hercules. Æsculapius is said to be the "fairest of the Gods" and so we read in a Phœnician inscription Ju-Baal (Heb. Yav-Baal), which is interpreted "beauty of Baal" and which Movers (p. 536) interprets Æsculapius–Æsmân–Jubal. At the festival of the resurrection of Hercules it is Iolaus (*i.e.* Julius, *i.e.*, Jav-la *i.e.*, Jav-al, the latter component for the full form Baal) who awakes him and heals his thigh. According to Iamblichus and the Hermetic books the Egyptian name of Æsculapius was Kamph, which is regarded as a correct transcript of the mysterious name of the Phallic God.

Now, with the great body of the theological critics I think it a reasonable conclusion, in regard to the prediluvian and many post-diluvian patriarchs, that if there be historic truth in those traditions it never was intended to mean that individual men lived six, seven, eight or nine centuries. Had this been the case some would think proper to declare the whole statement as intrinsically impossible. The general analysis and synthesis, however, of the subject show that the original account must have had another meaning than this: and if so it will appear from an examination of the Hebrew tra-

ditions as shown in the last table or in another or others we shall give farther on.

1. The dates we have before us, according to the Hebrew text, as given to the Hebrew patriarchs, reckoning according to the arrangement of the restoration table given above, are as follows:

1.	A. The era of Seth,			912 years.
	B.	Adam	930	1835 "
		Enosh	905	

The two columns given in the table having an identical reference it is found that the number of years given to Seth stands for El or for Javeh-El, as according to the present treatment.

Secondly, Adam and Enosh having, likewise, an identical reference, it is seen, they both must indicate an identical epoch. It is supposed there may have been originally dates attached to Seth (rule of God) and to Adam and Enos (rule of man), but that they must have been tampered with to adapt them to the combination of two paralled lists, which appear in the tradition as before us in the table.

2. The dates of the second epoch from the first man, as given to Lemach, whose epoch is supposed to have terminated in the year of the flood: —

Kenan (Cainan)	910 years.
Mahalael	895 "
Iared (Irad)	962 "
Hanoch	365 "
Methushelach (Methushael)	969 "
Lemach	777 "
	4878

3. The epoch of the flood (the life of Noah down to the flood 600 years (Gen. VII. 6).

This last date contains the great year of the Patriarchs, which is mentioned by Josephus. It is one of the astronomical cycles, at the completion of which the equation of the solar and lunar year takes place. It is based upon the simple computation, early attended to by the Asiatics, which Freret appears to have been the first to completely unravel among Europeans, according to which

sixty solar years are equivalent to 742 lunar months, that is, sixty years of twelve months and twenty-two intercallated months.

This tabulation, assuming the two former epochs, as the Babylonian foretime to have been computed by lunar years we require $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\left(\frac{600 \times 742}{60 \times 12}\right)^{*} \\ \frac{1800 \times 742}{60 \times 12}\end{array}\right.$ for a cosmic year of 600 ordinary years 618 years and 4 months, that is, and for three such cosmic years, 3×600 years, exactly 1855 years. The first six periods, then, of the prediluvial period of mankind from Kenan to Lemach, amounting to 4878 years, contains seven complete cosmic years (which reminds some investigators of the seven days of creation); $7 \times 618\frac{1}{3} = 4328$ with 550 years over or eight cycles less 50 years.

According to this reckoning, therefore, the prediluvial world lasted eight cosmic years, supposing the last to have been computed in solar years; and it is supposed that from this time forward there is a sequence of solar years, which justifies the assumption.

3. Noah to the flood (Gen. VII. 6.) Ninth cycle 600 years.
Shem (Gen. XI. 10–12). Tenth cycle 600.

There remains of course to be explained the deficit of 50 years in the eighth cycle, but it is thought that this is explained by what is said as to the length of Noah's life after the flood. He is stated (in Gen. IX. 28) to have lived 350 years after the flood, in all 950 years. These 350 years intervening between two cyclical dates, it is supposed, it may originally have been half a cycle, 300 years, and that the overplus of 50 years belongs to the eighth cycle, that immediately preceding Noah.

Two separate calculations existed here: The epochs of the prediluvian or old world and then the Noachic period as the starting point of the postdiluvian or new world. Noah being connected in the calculation with the close of the primitive age and the commencement of the new, in connecting the two together, it is thought, a slight confusion may have taken place.

If, without considering its origin, we look at the sum of 1835 years, which is apportioned, not quite equally, to Adam and Enosh, we find it corresponds, within 20 years, to three cosmic years, converted into lunar years. Three complete cycles would require it to be 1855 lunar years. If we suppose that in the early days of Mss.

*60 tropical years = 742 months 2 days and 20 hours. Consequently 600 = 7420 months — $28\frac{1}{2}$ days = 1 small lunar month of 29 days, will equal 7419 lunar months as exactly as necessary.

an error crept in, and that Enos, the primeval man, had originally 925 instead of 905 years apportioned to him, we may thus account for the 20 years that are wanting.

In the process of construction these would likely be reduced below 912 as soon as Seth was represented as a son of Adam, other than Cain, and father of Enosh. The letter denoting 20 need only have been omitted in order to convert 925 to 905.

This process would give us to the Flood, reckoning, however, only nine patriarchs, for prediluvian time twelve cosmic cycles, which, considering the nature of the number 12, some might think as reasonable and probable to have been intended as the exhibit of ten cycles to the demise of Shem. But we should remember that we reckon here only nine patriarchs, whereas in the record itself there are ten, corresponding to the ten prediluvial patriarchs of the Chaldaean system.

In reference to this last, Bunsen says: "The assumption of ten patriarchs is founded upon a misunderstanding; and the conjectures which have been thrown out about it fail in supplying any explanation of the original tradition; but if they were right they would explain something which originally did not exist, but owes its existence only to a fusion of two lists into one." Egypt. IV. 401.

THE NAMES OF THE PREDILUVIAL PATRIARCHS IN THE JEHOVISTIC AND ELOHISTIC RECORDS SHOWN TO HAVE HAD AN IDENTICAL REFERENCE AND TO HAVE BEEN, IN SUCCESSION, 7; AND THE PATRIARCHAL AGES FROM ADAM TO JOSEPH INCLUSIVE AND FROM ADAM TO CHRIST SHOWN TO HAVE BEEN CYCLICAL PERIODS, MEASURED BY THE NUMBER 7:

The foregoing demonstration originated, so far as I know, with Bunsen, and I give it in my language as illustrative of a variation of my idea. A general survey, however, of the patriarchal tradition in its progressive development in the Old Testament and in connection with the Phoenician cosmology, will show the utility of the following restoration as tending to unite simplicity with correctness: —

Javeh-Elohim.

Adam=Saeth=Saedhamh=Seir=Edom=Saeturn=Israel=Kronos.
Cain=Cainan=Chna=Chon=Schaedhghan.
Enoch=Enos=Chanoch=Chaenghaes=Chaenshach, &c.
'Hirad=Iarad=Irad=Iered.
Mehujael=Mahalaleel=Malaliel=Mahalael=Mechiyyael.
Methusael=Methuselah=Methuselach=Methushael.
Lamech=Lemach=Lemech=Lamach.

Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-Cain: Noah

Shem, Cham, Japheth.

This tabulation gives the number of patriarchs from Adam to Noah, these two included, as eight. But it is likely that if the names have reference to cyclical periods the number to be reckoned before the Flood is only seven, which number represents the days of the week: and the life of Noah extending into a new period, begins, as it were, a second week. This appears, indeed, to have been the intention; for reckoning the names in the patriarchal list, as I here restored it, from Adam to Joseph, inclusive of these two, there are found 21, or 3 times 7.

Giving, therefore, in this manner, the list, with the number of years attached to each name, from Adam to Joseph inclusive of these two we have: —

		Years.
First Patriarcha Week.	1. Seth (*i.e.*, Saedhamh, *i.e.*, Adam)	930
	2. Cainan	910
	3. Enos	905
	4. Irad	962
	5. Mahalaleel	895
	6. Methuselah	969
	7. Lemach	777
Sec'd Patriarchal Week.	8. Noah	950
	9. Shem	600
	10. Arphaxed (Mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan)	438
	11. Selah (Mission)	433
	12. 'Heber (Passage)	464
	13. Peleg (Division; Derivation)	239
	14. Reu (Rohi, near Edessa)	239
Third Patriarchal Week.	15. Serug (Colonies at Osroene)	230
	16. Nahor (Colonies in Padan-Aram)	148
	17. Terah (in Haran) Gen. X, XI	205
	18. Abram (Gen. XXV, 7)	175
	19. Isaac (Id. XXXV, 28)	180
	20. Jacob (Id. XLVII, 28)	147
	21. Joseph (Id. L, 26)	110
		10,906

It is seen that the middle points of these three weeks of patriarchal men are occupied by Irad, Selah and Abraham, and the beginnings by Adam or Seth (which is here the same), Noah and Serug (this last being a fuller form of Seth). We do not find that the sums of the numbers representing those patriarchs, when taken either by sevens or weeks or altogether, are to be measured by the lunar cycle; but if we divide the aggregate of the numbers of years given to these 21 patriarchs by 600 years, the limit of one patriarchal cycle, we shall find the small number to be contained in the large 18 times with a fraction of $\frac{5}{3}\frac{3}{0}\frac{}{0}$. This remainder, if the numbers were cyclical, might indicate either that there had been a mistake made by transcribers or copyists at some time in regard to the numbers apportioned to some of the names; or if these numbers be correct as they stand, and at the same time cyclical, that the cyclical

period goes along and does not stop at the death of Joseph, but is to have a limit at some remarkable point further down, where the aggregate number will be found to be a multiple of the cyclical period.

Now, the Alexandrian copy of the Septuagint version agrees with other versions and with Josephus that the length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, after the entrance thereto of Jacob, was 215 years; and if we add together the time from the migration of Abraham from Haran into Canaan to the birth of Isaac (Gen. XXI. 5) 25 years; and then 60 years to the birth of Jacob (Gen. XXV. 26); then 130 years more to the migration of Jacob into Egypt (Gen. XLVII. 9) we shall find it amounts to 215 years or the one-half of the 430 years spoken of in Ex. XII. 40, and in Gal. III. 17. This last passage would seem to indicate clearly enough that the 430 years spoken of were to be reckoned from the time the covenant was made with Abraham till the time of the Exodus from Egypt.

If now we reckon up the whole period from Adam to the birth of Christ, following the chronology of Usher and keeping strictly to the numbers given in the Hebrew version of the Scriptures we shall have as follows:

10,906	years, the sum of the numbers given to the 21 patriarchs from Adam (in full Schaedhamh) to Joseph inclusive.
195	years from the death of Joseph to the Exodus from Egypt.
480	years from the Exodus to the erection of Solomon's Temple. (1 Kings VI. 1).
1,019	years before the birth of Christ was the founding of the
12,600	Temple, this being close to Usher's approximate reckoning. If we divide this sum of 12,600 by 600 we shall have a quotient of 21, indicating three weeks (3x7) cycles of solar years from Adam to Christ.

An Inquiry into the Date of the Exodus, which Takes into Account the Dates of the Capture of Troy; of the Founding of New Tyre; of the Founding of the Temple by Solomon; of the Founding of New Carthage by Dido, etc.:

Before going farther it is expedient that we have some understanding in relation to the 195 years we have allowed to the Israelites in Egypt, as above. To do this we shall have first to consider what the age of Jacob probably was at the time of the birth of Joseph. It is reasonable that we allow Jacob to have been a young man of about 20 years of age, when his mother, fearing lest he should marry a daughter of Cheth, sent him away to her brother Laban at Padanaram. A consideration of Gen. xxx, 23, 25, where it appears that Jacob prepares to leave Laban, almost immediately after Joseph's birth; and of Gen. xxxi, 41, where Jacob says to Laban: "Thus have I been twenty years in thy house. I served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters and six years for thy cattle," shows it to be a reasonable supposition that Joseph was born when Jacob was not less than 38 years of age, or, more likely, 39 or 40. We learn from Gen. xlvii, 9, that Jacob was 130 years old when he first stood before Pharaoh; and from Gen. xlvii, 28, as well as from Josephus (Ant. II, ch. viii) that he died when he had lived 17 years in Egypt, consequently at the age of 147 years. In Gen. L, 26, we learn that Joseph died, when he was 110 years old. He very probably died in the second or third year after the death of his father, his death, possibly having been hastened through grief on account of that, to him, sad event: for we see in that last chapter of Genesis that Joseph and his brethern took the death of their father much to heart and made a great mourning over him when burying him in Hebron. In all probability then Joseph died in the 19th or 20th year after his father Jacob had come to make his home in Egypt. The data we have, reasonably interpreted, seems to make this conclusion a necessity; for if he were born, say, in the 38th year of Jacob's life and died at the age of 110 years, he must have died the next year after his father's death; if he were born in the 39th year of Jacob's life he died in the second year; and if in the 40th year of Jacob's life he died in the

third year after his father. Now his dying in the third year after his father's death would reasonably mean that the date of his death was $2\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $2\frac{3}{4}$ years after that of his father, that is, it would be within the third year, a date which I for many reasons have regarded as the most probable. It has appeared evident to me that God had business for him in the arrangement of the affairs of the Israelitish colony in Egypt for say $2\frac{1}{2}$ years after his father's death.

Thus in the above calculaiton I subtract from the 215 years, which belong to the Israelites in Egypt, after the entrance thereto of Jacob, the 20 years which Joseph lived after the entrance of his father into that country, and which were already included in the aggregate of the sums given to the 21 patriarchs, viz., 10,906 years from Adam to Joseph inclusive.

The year of the founding of Solomon's temple, which in the approximate chronological reckoning of the Bible we have in the Hebrew version is usually given at 1014 B. C., is discovered by Movers to be 969 B. C. We learn from 1 Kings, vi, 1, that the temple began to be built in the 4th year of the reign of Solomon; and from Josephus (Ant. viii, iii, 1) we learn not only this much, but that this was the 11th year of the reign of Hiram over Tyre, and the 240th from the time of the building of the new city of Tyre. For this last mentioned event, however, there are different dates given by different authors, Eratosthenes having it in 1183 or 1184 B. C.; the Parian register at 1209 B. C.: Herodotus, Thucidides and others at some date between 1250 and 1270 B. C. Justin Martyr (xviii, 3) remarks that Tyre was founded by the Sidonians, who had fled thither when the King of Askalon captured their city and that the date of its foundation was the year before the capture of Troy?

Now, the first Olympiad is 776 B. C. and Dicæarchus places the Trojan affairs 436 years before that Olympiad. This would bring the founding of the Temple to about 973 B. C. at the latest. This, however, may not be found to throw much light on our subject; but Josephus again gives us some data, who tells us (contra Apion, B. 1, 18) that "the whole of the time from the reign of Hiram to the building of Carthage amounts to 155 years and eight months; and since the temple began to be built at Jerusalem in the 12th year of the reign of Hiram there were from the build

ing of the temple to the foundation of Carthage 143 years and 8 months.

"Carthage," says Rollin (1. 210), "existed a little over 700 years. It was destroyed in the consulship of Cneius Lentulus and L. Mummius in the 603d year of Rome, 3857th of the world and 145 years before Christ. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed in the year of the world 3158, when Joash was King of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome and 846 before our Savior." Taking the 144 years of Josephus between the founding of Carthage and that of the Temple at Jerusalem this would leave the latter event at 990 B. C. But the building of Carthage under Dido took place somewhat earlier than the date Rollin ascribes for it.

Appollodorus places the interval between the first Olympiad and the taking of Troy at over 480 years, while, as shown above, Dicæarchus places it at 436 years. This, according to the former would place the capture of Troy at 1256 and according to the latter at 1212 B. C. These two afford us fixed points for the sufficiently extreme dates of the Greek computation; and this, taking the 240 years of Josephus between the founding of New Tyre and the founding of Solomon's temple, would leave the latter event, according to Appollodorus, in 1017 B. C., and, according to Dicæarchus, in 973 B. C.

Let us see what the Egyptian history will afford us on the subject. This, however, comes to us through the Greeks which they could have learned only through Egyptian priests: In Manetho we find two synchronistic data which have a special bearing upon this inquiry.

Opposite the name of Petubastes, the first King of the 23rd dynasty, is the following notice in Africanus:

"In his time the first Olympiad was celebrated." This reign, however, lasted 40 years.

And against the name of Thuoris, the last King of the 19th or first of the 20th, as according to some, is the following notice: "Who is called by Homer Polybus, the husband of Alkandra. In his time Troy was taken."

This, as a very indistinct landmark, may help us in fixing the date of the capture of Troy. Homer represents Menelaus and his wife Helen in their visit to Thebes after the fall of Troy as receiving

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princely gifts from King Polybus and his wife. In the 4th book of the Odyssy, verses 125–132 are as follows: —

> "And Philo brought her silver basket, gift
> Of fair Alkandra, wife of Polybus,
> Whose mansion in Egyptian Thebes is rich
> In untold treasures and who gave, himself,
> Ten golden talents and two silver baths,
> With two bright tripods, to the Spartan prince,
> Beside what Helen from his spouse received
> A golden spindle and a basket wheeled
> Itself of silver and its lip of gold."

This gives us a Greek name of the King of Egypt, who was contemporaneous with the taking of Troy; and the same is clearly given in the second clause of the above notice in all the epitomes of Manetho. Taking the largest numbers I find given in Africanus from Thuoris to Petubastes, the full reigns given to these two being included, we have the following: —

Full reign given to Thuoris . .	7	years.
" time " " the 20th dynasty	135	"
Longest " " " " 21st " .	130	"
" " " " " 22nd " .	120	"
Full reign given to Petubastes .	40	"
	432	years.
First Olympiad in	776	" B. C.
Leaving the capture of Troy to be in	1208	" B. C.

This leaves only 4 years' difference between this calculation and that of Dicaearchus for the capture of Troy, and 1 year's difference from the Parian register. It is supposed, however, that the above calculation, so far as the Grecian element in it is concerned, was borrowed by Manetho from Herodotus or rather from Dicaearchus, who had just preceded him. He was the more likely to have followed the latter as he disagreed much with Heredotus and wrote a book upon his blunders in Egpytian history; or, perhaps,

if not a separate work, yet a criticism by him of Herodotus may have been gathered from his historical works into one book.

Sesonchosis or Shishak, the first king of the 22nd Egyptian dynasty, invaded Palestine "in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam," the son and successor of Solomon. The date of this invasion is put down approximately at 970 B. C., as according to our present Biblical chronology. Saul (1st Sam. x. xxi margin); David (2 Sam. v. 4); and Solomon (2nd Chron. ix. 30, 31) are each entered for a reign of 40 years. This indicates that the Biblical chronology, for these three reigns, is merely approximate. Neither have we other than an approximative chronology before the era of Nebuchadnezzar who took Jerusalem and Tyre; the latter about 573 B. C.

But in the above synchronism of the dates of Manetho with Dicaearchus and the Parian register we had to take in the full reigns of the two extremes, first, that of Thuoris "in whose time Troy is said to have been taken" and, secondly, that of Petubastes, "in whose time the first Olympiad is said to have been celebrated." If we take from these two reigns what some might think a fair proportion, namely, to put the capture of Troy in the 5th year of Thuoris and the first Olympiad in the 21st year of Petubastes, we shall have 25 years to subtract from the above sum 1208 B. C., leaving 1183 B. C., the date given, approximately, by Eratosthenes for the foundation of New Tyre.

Now, taking the date of Dicaearchus or 1212 for the capture of Troy and adding thereto 1 year, for the date according to Justin Martyr, at which New Tyre was founded, or the year before the fall of Troy, we shall have 1212+1=1213 B. C. for the founding of Tyre. If from this we subtract, as according to Josephus, 240 years from the building of New Tyre to the foundation of the Temple we shall have (1213—240=) 973 B. C. for the founding of the Temple. This, however, would be bringing the foundation of the Temple much too near the time of the foundation of Carthage and so could not be correct, for 973—143 leaves 830 B. C. for the foundation of Carthage by Dido, which seems must be considerable too late. There is, however, something wrong in the calculation of Josephus here for I find that the absolute time he gives for the interval between the founding of the Temple and the founding of Carthage does not agree with the data he himself fur-

nishes. This data, Movers, in his "Phœnicians," submits to critical examination; but the data itself I will here subjoin:

Abibalos was succeeded by

	Reigned.	*Lived.*	*Accession.*
Hyram, his son	34	53	in 20th year.
Baleastartos, son	7	43	" 37th "
Abdastartis, son	9	29	" 21st "
Popular rising, headed by the four sons of the royal nurse: the murderers, the eldest of whom became king; Anonymous (government seized by the Slaves)	12	—	" —— "
Astartos, son of Baleastartos	12	54	" 42nd "
Astarymos, his brother; is dethroned and murdered by his brother	9	54	" 46th "
Pheles, dethroned and slain	0 8 mos	50	" 50th "
Ethobalos	32	68	" 37th "
Balezaros, son,	6	45	" 40th "
Matgenos, son,	9	32	" 24th "
Phygmalion,	47	56	" 10th "
	177 years and 8 months.		

Now, Josephus himself makes the 11th year of Hiram to be the 4th of Solomon and that in which the Temple of Jerusalem was founded, in the following words (Ant. VIII. III. 1): "Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign." "Now that year in which the temple began to be built was already the 11th year of the reign of Hiram; but from the building of Tyre to the building of the Temple there had passed two hundred and forty years." Another remark of Josephus is upon Menander and to the following effect: "In the seventh year of Pygmalion his sister fled and founded the city of Carthage in Libya."

It does not appear that the list with the dates given above needs a severe criticism. Everything appears in its natural order and nothing appears to have been omitted; if it be not that the 12 years given to the anonymous government is simply a repetition of that given to Astartos, next following, who is said to be "son of Baleastartos" next preceding. In this way there may possibly be 12 years too many expressed in the sum total of 177 years 8 months, a matter which has been noticed by Bunsen and others; and it looks as if this were really so. But I do not see how

Josephus could have made the interval between the founding of the temple and the founding of Carthage to have been 143 years and 8 months out of that data; for taking the sum total of the reigns as it stands above what we have to deduct from it, supposing it correct, is the 11 years of Hiram before the founding of the Temple at Jerusalem plus the 40 years of Pygmalion after the departure of his sister, Elisa, to found New Carthage, which makes 51 years. Or, if that sum total be 12 years too much, we subtract from the sum 51 plus 12 equals 63 years. In the first case we have 177 years and 8 months minus 51 years equals 125 years 8 months, which, subtracted from the date 973 B. C., found above upon the authority of Dicaearchus and Josephus for the founding of the temple, we shall have 973 B. C. minus 125 years 8 months equals 847 years 4 months B. C. for the date of the founding of Carthage. If, however, there be an error of 12 years too many in the above sum total, as has been thought not unlikely that would put the date of the building of Carthage at about 860 B. C. Bunsen was long wavering as to the proper dates for the foundations of Solomon's temple and of Carthage, but finally to suit his own synchronisms in Egyptian and other history he settled down on the dates 1014 and 814 B. C. for those foundations respectively. But in thus doing he appears to me to have created as many anachronisms as he has proved synchronisms; although still he seems to stand proud and erect amid his arbitrary self-support. Speaking in relation to these points he says: "The year of the building of Solomon's temple (969 in Movers) I no longer make 1003 but 1014" — "and," again, "we, therefore, assume that 814 B. C. is the year of the commencement of the Carthagian era." Egyt. III, 414, 415.

There was an era not only of modern but of Old Tyre, and there are said to have been registers in the temple of that city of the third millenium B. C., out of which Menander of Ephesus compiled a historical narrative from which Josephus made extracts (see, Contr. Apion, 1, 17, 18). It was by the Egyptians that old Tyre was destroyed. Some have this capture to have been made by my Rameses II; but my own opinion is that it was taken by my Rameses VII; in about 1262 B. C. Sesostris or Rameses the Great conquered Canaan about in 1542 B. C. Bunsen's opinion was that his Rameses III (my II) was the Proteus of Diodorus in whose time tradition said Troy was taken. Would old Tyre have been

the veritable Troy? By a transposition of some letters Tyre is Troy, *i.e.*, Traigh, the ancient a having largely the modern German (ancient Gaelic) sound of that letter. The story of Paris and Helen is connected with Egypt. Would it be only another version of the legend of Typho and his lover, Thoueris, the strong, the mighty lady. She left Typho and attached herself to Horus who received her and slew the serpent by whom she was pursued. This lover of Typho was, according to some, called Aso, the queen of Ethiopia. Helen left Menelaus and joined herself to Paris; and under the head of Thuoris, the last ruler of his 19th dynasty, Africanus says: "who is in Homer called Polybus, the husband of Alkandra, in his time Troy was taken." So Eusebius, and Syncellus in his Laterculus; the former adding that Thuoris was "a very strong and brave man." Some names among the ancients were common to males and females. If, as according to my conclusion, th Rameses VII, of my Egyptian list, was the conqueror of old Tyre, his name was not either Thuoris or Proteus, but, as No. xxxiii, of Eratosthenes' list, Stamenemes (root Seth-Amun-ma, *i.e.*, given or endowed by Amun and Thoth). He was 32nd successor of Menes and immediate predecessor of King Cheops. In a mythical legend the Greeks appropriate this whole Trojan business to themselves. Would some of the Egyptian colonists of Greece have been in the train of the capturers of Troy as allies of the Egyptians? In the name Agamemnon, we have involved the Egyptian name Amun or Amenophis, which is Amun-Phis or Amun-Seph or Seth and is, in effect, the name Stamenemes. The component parts of the name are *Αγειν*, root *Αγ*, being the root, and of the meaning of our word "act" and Amun-Chon or Seth. Agamemnon, "King of Men" (Homer), was the acting chief of the forces in the war against Troy.

Menelaus has in it the Egyptian root Men, as in Menes; and la for ra, the l and r in the Egyptian being identical; and Paris (Pa-Re, the sun or ruler) (masc.) would equal Thueris (Ta-Re, the ruler etc.) being of the same general sense, but ordinarily feminine though sometimes masculine. There can be little doubt that old Tyre and Troy mean the same and that the capture of Troy refers to that of Tyre. By Homer Troy is called Illium, and in Phœnician Mythology the names Elion and Israel are connected with Tyre. Skepticism, though sometimes unpopular, may yet be productive of excellent effects. It is said of Eratosthenes

that in the midst of gushing credulity "he ventured to doubt the historic truth of the Homeric legends." "I will believe in them," said he, "when I have been shown the currier who made the wind bags, which Ulysses, on his voyage homewards, received from Eolus."

Bunsen, also in adjusting his chronology for the time of the founding of the Temple places the founding of new Tyre in 1254 B. C.; 1254 minus 240 making 1014 B. C. This must however, be a near approximation to the real date, for it connects on both sides reasonably; making on the one side, the founding of Carthage to be in 869 B. C., and on the other side, it would make the date of the Exodus to be in 1495 B. C., Usher making it about 1491, while the result of our calculation leaves it to have taken place in 1498–1499 B. C.

Our process, as seen above, is as follows:—

Years.	
10,906	The aggregate of the numbers set against the names of the 21 patriarchs from Adam to Joseph, these two included.
195	The length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt after the death of Joseph. It represents the 215 years of the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt, as according to all the versions of the Bible properly understood, minus the twenty years of Joseph after the entrance of Jacob to Egypt there to abide, which 20 years are already contained in the aggregate number of years given to the 21 patriarchs aforesaid.
480	From the Exodus to the founding of Solomon's Temple.
*1019	From the founding of the Temple to the birth of the Christ.
Sum total, 12,600	Which divided by 600, the patriarchal cycle, gives 21 (3×7) or three weeks of cycles of solar years from the first Adam inclusive to the Second.

* This reckoning makes the Exodus to have taken place in 1499 B. C. But this refers to the movement of the Israelites from the eastward to the westward of the Jordan; for, according to my reckoning on the Great Pyramid in "Creator and Cosmos," p. 544, which is confirmed by my reckoning as to the date of the Exodus of the Shepherds, in my "Critical Review of the History of Ancient Egypt," pages 47–8 and 52, the Shepherds left Egypt in 1541–2 B. C. The two reckonings, therefore, may be found to account for the 40 years' wandering of the Israelites, an item which appears to have been sometimes left unnoticed in the reckonings.

Since the Christian era began we have passed over three cycles and now occupy the middle cyclic day of another week of cycles of years.

From the above it would appear that Herodotus and Thucidedes, and even Bunsen, may have had a more intelligent understanding of the real Troy and its capture than had Eratosthenes. In allusion to the passage in Justin Martyr, which states that "Tyre was founded by the Sidonians the year *before* the sack of Troy," Bunsen, after having said that this was not an invention of Justin, says: "The above remark of Justin may probably be of importance to us hereafter, but it can never form the starting-point of serious research, because it is altogether uusupported." (Egypt iii:423.) It appears to me, however, that the remark of Justin in relation to Tyre having been founded *in the year before the sack of Troy* was altogether gratuitous on his part, for I see no trace of it in his quotation from Pompeius Trogus. It certainly appears to be his own sapient remark! Would he have been trying to improve upon Homer? Bunsen promised to return to that remark of his again in the preface to his fifth book but he has failed therein to notice it.

Remarks Particularly on the Patriarchs from Adam to Joseph Inclusive:

Now, as to the Patriarchs from Adam to Joseph, inclusive, and the times that are set against them, it is plain from the foregoing they have, at least, a cyclical reference. There are many other ideas also implied in the names and numbers from Adam to Shem, inclusive, which for me to enter into here would take me too far from the main thread of my design and which I will leave to be treated of by specialists.

But, beginning with Arphaxed, the son of Shem, and coming downwards to Joseph one cannot fail to see in the names and their numbers in each case a reference to place and tribe. The reckoning in this section may be called loco-tribal as well as cyclical. It would appear to begin when the children of Shem had taken possession of Arpakhatis, the mountainous district between Armenia and Kurdistan. Some Biblical critics, who adopt the Septuagint's date of the creation, or who even throw it back to 6,000 years B. C. or earlier suppose this removal took place about 5,000 years B. C. Selah (Mission) indicates that the race had descended from their mountainous habitations and pushed forward its settlements. They are still to the eastward of the Tigris, but nearer to that river and to Mesopotamia. Heber, Eber (Passage) is not that of the Euphrates, which was still to be crossed by the race under the designation Abram.

It must, therefore, signify the passage from east to west of the Tigris. From this time during the continuance of six successive epochs, as given in the Table, or until Abram, the historic home of the race appears to be Mesopotamia, and in a southwestwardly direction. During these movements in this direction, the third location appears to be at Osroene near Edessa. Rehu (Reu) Rohi is the old name of Edessa and Serug or Sarug is the district somewhat to the west thereof. Peleg (Partition, derivation) would indicate the branching off from the stem, at this point, of the race of Joktan, the brother of Peleg, the father of the 13 South Arabian tribes. (Gen. X. 25–30.) The word Nachar means a river and Nachal, a brook, and the Greek form Mesopotamia is in the Egyptian records Naharaina, that is, the country between the rivers, (Tigris and Euphrates). Charan was brother of Nachar and the district of

Charan, the modern Karra, was to the northwest of Osroene or Edessa, which latter Buttman ingeniously shows to be identical with the district called Serug. A little to the southeast of the latter is the City Resen (Gen. X. 12) the Rezaina of Ptolemy, said to have been founded by Nimrod. Nearer to the Tigris, but in the same latitude is the district wherein was situated Nisibis, not far from which was Ur of the Chaldees. This latter city is between the eastern confluents of the Charboras and Tigris. This last named locality takes us in the patriarchal list, to the name Terah, a word which from the analogy of the Gaelic, we know to mean a sunny or much enlightened place, a place well exposed to the sun's rays. Ur, in the old languages, has, for one of its meanings, light (Heb. Aur.), as in Hebrew, Urim and Thumim, lights and perfections. The name of Terah (Luke III. 34 Thara) we first meet with in connection with the local name Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. XI., 24–32). This name (full Gaelic form, Teabhrach) is merely the expanded root of our word tower. It has a reference to the sun as well as to an elevated place, in a tower, on a hill or in the observatory of a palace, which was exposed to the sun's rays or used for taking astronomical observations. From this it is seen that Ur is simply a contraction of tur or tower, the full form of which is given above. The Chaldaean Shepherds were famous for their astronomical knowledge.

The name Abram, in the index of proper names appended to the Bible, is said to mean "father of Aram;" and Abraham is said to mean the "father of a multitude of a people or peoples."

Alexander Polyhistor gives the name as signifying "father's friend." In Gen. XIV., 13, he is called "Abram, the Hebrew," that is, Abram, who migrated over the Euphrates (not the Tigris).

It was after this Abram, the Heber, that the city of Hebron was named, "which before was called Kirjath-Arba," (Gen. XXIII., 2; Josh. XIV., 15). In this general progress from Chaldaea through Canaan and southwards, Abram now visited Egypt and became on terms of intimacy with the Pharaoh of that country.

This took place, as near as I can come to it from the data given, within the same year in which Abram passed over the Euphrates or 25 years before the birth of Isaac. The modest company of Abramic emigrants could, doubtless, make the tour, under passport, in as short a time as a well equipped army of Shepherds from Chaldaea, whose passports were their swords, could make it; to

which latter I would suppose about a year, in the then state of things in the countries named, would have been sufficient to have subjugated those peoples all the way through and appointed administrative governments of their own in full working order among them. In the name Abram (father of Aram or Raam) is personated the patriarchal government of this people at the time indicated; and in Gen. XIV we find him exercising in the field his patriarchal governmental prerogatives as he encounters and defeats Chederlaomer, king of Elam, a Cushite district of Southern Persia. Let it be noticed that the people of Abram in all those progresses are still distinctively of the Shepherd kind; as we see in Gen. XIII, where it is said that the land (meaning Canaan or Phœnicia) could scarcely maintain Abram and Lot, after their return from Egypt, "they were so rich in cattle and silver and gold."

In Gen. XVII. 5, God makes a covenant with Abram, after the birth of Ishmael, but nine to ten years prior to the birth of Isaac, in which he changes his name from Abram to Abraham, giving as the reason of the change that he had made him "the father of many nations." The Hebrew word for people is usually spelled am but it is more properly written Gham or 'ham: Consequently this indicates to us the proper spelling of this patriarchal name, of which one proper interpretation is "the people that passed over." Of the forms appearing in English as Heber or Eber and Abr, as in Abram, the primitive root must have been the same, *i.e.*, English Abr; but the Rabbinical writings make the initial vowel different in the Hebrew, that is, of the two Hebrew vowels which are usually translated into English a they begin the name Abraham with Aleph and Eber with Ayn. Now, Eber with initial ayn would be better translated into English Ghabar, a root, beyond doubt, primitively allied to Gbar a lord or a man; and by adding to Ghabar the word for people usually translated am, but more justly gham, and transposing its last vowel, so as to bring it after r, we have Ghabragham, meaning "the people who passed over" or "the people of passage," meaning "wanderers," as the old Scuthic shepherds were usually designated. Of this Shepherd class were also the Philistines (Palaischeth) after whom Canaan was called Palestine, and who also inhabited Chithim or Cyprus. Of Palestine they were the Chethites, Hittites.

Eber is a variation of the root Abr, passage, meaning over (eber) in the sense of beyond and over in the sense of above the head as

roof, firmament. As mentioned above thirteen South Arabian tribes descended from Yoktan, the brother of Peleg (Philistine, Pelasge) son of Heber. These were also pastoral tribes. The root Gbar, which I have above supposed primitively the same with Ghabar, if prefixed to the word for people, would give about the same form as that we have above, but with the g unaspirated, and would mean "chief of the people," "Patriarch" or "King." From this root Gbar, mighty, strong, comes the Phœnician Cabiri of whom they reckoned eight among their Gods. These eight have, first, an Arkite reference, namely, to Noah and his wife and his three sons and their three wives, and secondly, a celestial reference, the firmament, sun, moon and stars.

Gabar or guber is the root of Latin gubernator, a pilot, whence our English governor. The Phœnician and Greek Chronos, root Charan, is identical with the Latin Gubern, English, Govern, and Gaelic Cran, a tree, a ship's mast, as well as represented in Grian, the sun. These deities were supposed to exercise a particular influence over the sea and maritime affairs, and the Phœnician mariners were accustomed to have their images placed in the poop of their ships. Whether or not the visit of Abraham to Egypt may have had any peculiar significance in regard to the after affairs of that country may perhaps better be gathered from a consideration of our subject as connected with our "Critical Review of the History of ancient Egypt." The patriarch Isaac is not said to have visited Egypt during his life in obedience to the injunction he had received from the Lord (Gen. XXVI. 2); but in reading of his experience among the Philistines, a person would think they had Abraham's experience repeated in his. The name we have in English as Isaac (Heb. Ytschk, in which the root is Tschk) means either son of the strong, powerful, or son of the chief of the country. Green's Hebrew Grammar (p. 216) says: "Nouns formed by prefixing Y or Th denote persons or things to which the idea of the root is attached." Under this rule he puts the name, Ytschk as one of the examples. Now, the root Tschk is simply the Gaelic Taeseach, with k gutteral added on to the root, and this word means literally "the first man," he who begins, leads. This would be the Hebrew or Phœnician meaning of the root Tschk, and the Y prefixed would mean son of the chief, the patriarchal chief in this case, who, in his place, was both priest and chief. The account we get of this patriarch gives the impression of a quiet, meditative personage. His dynasty lasted 180 years.

Esau and Jacob, the Gemini or Twins:

Of the two sons he left after him who, by the way, were twins, the best known in sacred history, and the most expatiated upon in oratory was the one last born. In Hebrew the name Jacob means heel. Chuil pronounced Queel or heel is one of the clan names of the Gaelic clan Tuseach. It has been said the name Jacob means supplanter, because this man succeeded, by his wily intriguing in receiving from his father, whose eyesight had become dim with age, the blessing which had been designed for his elder brother; but independent of any act of his the name Jacob in the Hebrew means heel, and this means literally supplant, for, says Webster in regard to the derivation of the word supplant; "sub and planta (Latin) the bottom of the foot." The name, therefore, means supplanter, and, at the same time heel, and is the name James in English. In common with Ishmael, the son of Abram by Hagar, who had twelve sons that were ancestors of twelve Arabian tribes (Gen. XXV. 13-16) the Scriptures(Gen. XXXV. 23–27) give to Jacob also twelve sons that were ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel. The name Israel Jacob obtained from his having prevailed with God, as the theologians very reasonably understand it in the way of prayer; seeing this is the only way one can hope to prevail with God. But Israel means a leader, champion, Hercules among the Greeks, and, in the case of Jacob, illustrates the fact that a person can become a champion in achieving the conquest over his own unruly and inordinate passions, desires and will by his denying himself and living a life of righteousness and active godliness, in an infinitely better and more honorable way than by having achieved a conquest by violence over others.

As a common personal appellation, however, Israel is an equivalent for Alexander and for the Gaelic Seach, Seghan, or Seachlan; as, doubtless, it is for Jacob.

Esau, the elder of the two sons of Isaac, is said to have obtained that appellation because of his red color, or rather because of his being, at his birth, "red all over like an hairy garment." — (Gen. XXV., 25). But the form Esau being evidently a variation of Edom or Adam, which means, as to color, blackish red, it is seen that it was on account of his reddish color rather than on account of his hairiness that he was called "Esau, who is Edom;" — Gen.

XXXVI, 1). This idea is confirmed by verse 30, chapter XXV of Genesis, where it is said: "And Esau said to Jacob: 'Give me to eat I pray thee of that red (pottage); for I faint; therefor was his name Edom." Or, in regard to the derivation of the form Esau, we can understand it in as simple a way as being derived from Heb. Shav, or Shva (which has one of the meanings of the name Abel) by prefixing Y to that root: Thus Yeshav is Esau. Or, as we know the name Esau to have been the same originally with the form which has come to our knowledge as Jesus, then we have Yesha, meaning salvation, as the original. The form "Seir or Sechor as Esau is called," as Bunsen says, rather indicates roughness, a high place. It is easily seen that from the word Seir itself may come our word hair, as very frequently the letter S is represented in the Greek, English, etc., by the smooth breathing, our h. But as to how the name Edom or Adam is also Seir it is explainable as follows: The full form of the name Adam in the old language would be Saedhamh, that is, the Hindoo-Scythic or Phœnician would, as the Gaelic continues to do, aspirate the d and the m in the word; the Gaelic contracting it into Samh or Shamh, meaning the Sun, as the Phœnician, which is the Hebrew. Now, the root of Saedhamh, which is Saedh, is commonly used for the full form, as Seth, a precise equivalent for Adam: And Sether, would be simply a repetition of the meaning of the root, Seth, meaning the Sun. The addition of r to the root might, however, indicate only fulness, causation, intensiveness. The root Shichor means not only rough and hairy, but has various other meanings, such as merchant, trade, trader, reddish-black, the river Nile, a mountain, a rough and high place; the Sun, the dawn, morning, Sirius, the dog-star.

But what is expedient to notice further about this is that Esau, being called both by the names Edom and Seir, the country of his dominion was also called by those two names (the mount Hor, (not Chor,) Numb. xx, 22, etc., being only another variation of Seir); this being so it will be the more easily apprehended that he had twelve sons, inasmuch as the five ascribed to the man Esau, and the seven ascribed to the man "Seir, the Horite, who inhabited the land" (Gen. xxxvi.) are all to be reckoned as the sons of one man; so that, as regards the number of sons he was favored with, Esau is found to have been not a whit behind his uncle Ishmael or his brother Israel.

Josephus in his account of the birth of Esau and Jacob (Ant. Book 1, ch. xviii 1.) says: "Accordingly she (Rebeka) in a little time, as God had foretold, bore twins; the elder of whom from his head to his feet was very rough and hairy; but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now, the father loved the elder, who was called Esau, a name agreeable to his roughness, for the Hebrews call such an hairy roughness Seir; but Jacob, the younger, was best beloved by his mother." This makes plain that the Hebrews understood the form Seir as an equivalent for Esau, a fact which Mr. Whiston, the translator, was fully cognizant of, doubtless from his own Hebrew scholarship, independently of Josephus; for he says in a foot-note to this passage: "For Seir, in Josephus, the coherence requires that we read Esau or Seir, which signifies the same thing."

JOSEPH:

It remains for me now to say but a word in regard to the patriarch Joseph, the son of Israel, of whom in treating of Egypt I had to make frequent mention. I find his name to be spelled Joseph in all the Old Testament, wherein, there is much related concerning him, excepting in one place, Psalm lxxxi, 5, where it is spelled Jeoseph or Yhvsph. It is the same name however, relating to the same person. At him there, is evidently a turning point in the patriarchal history.

There is a matter connected with this whole subject of the Patriarchs, which could not fairly be passed over in silence and that is in relation to the limit of the duration of the sojourn of the Israelites in Ægypt; and as Josephus in his treatise against Apion assumes the identity of the Hebrews with the Shepherd races or Hyksos of Egypt I have found it necessary to discuss at length in my "Critical Review of the History of Ancient Egypt," the whole subject of the Egyptian dynasties of the empire so called of Menes, in which will be perceived what the assumed connection of that Kingdom with the Hebrews or with any other people foreign to it may amount to. To that discussion I do, at this point, think necessary to direct your attention.

CHINESE AND HINDOO ORIGINES.

As to the Origines and Primeval History of the Chinese down to the first Recognized Imperial Dynasty.

The origines and primitive history of the Chinese, have not apparently much of any connection with those of the Chaldaeans. Although some have claimed to perceive among the data in the ancient history of China an account of the Flood; yet the critics have now long been generally agreed that the Chinese, "who," as they say, "migrated before the Deluge," have in their ancient records no account of that catastrophe. In this respect, which is a negative consideration, the Chinese records of their origines agree with those of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, while presenting a remarkable contrast to the positive Diluvian view contained in the Chaldaean and Hebrew.

Origines, Cosmogony and Prediluval or Diluvial History:

The Chinese Cosmogony, as briefly set forth by Litse, one of the most distinguished writers of that nation, is as follows: —

The Universe sprang from the union of the male primeval power, Yang with the female, Yin. Æther constituted the first beginning. The organized All sprung from Chaos, the finer parts mounting up (heaven) the grosser remaining below (earth).

Out of the Cosmic Egg proceeded Pu-An-Ku the primeval man: He lived 18,000 years. Then came in order the reigns of Heaven and Earth; of men, during repeated myriads of years. One of those old rulers, Sui-Shin, investigated the five elements; discovered fire and practiced astronomical observations.

To these succeeded the Five Rulers, who represented (mythically)

historical epochs, in the primitive history anterior to Yao, as recorded in the Annals of Shen-Si, the very ancient home of the race.

In the reign of Fohi, who is called the great and brilliant, astronomy and religion as well as writing was cultivated. The duration of his reign was 110 years: To his succeed fifteen reigns which are enveloped in much obscurity.

Shin-Nong, the Divine Husbandman, cultivated agriculture and practiced a primitive homeopathy in medicine.

In the reign of Hoang-Ti (great ruler), who began a new dynasty there was an improvement made in the written character, said to have been suggested by the lines on the tortoise shell; there was also invented the smelting of copper for the manufacture of weapons, vases of remarkable contrivance and money. His invention for the improvement of writing consisted of 500 hieroglyphs of which about 200 can still be pointed out. It was in the 61st year of his reign he established the astronomical cycle of 60 years: He also caused to be erected fixed habitations throughout his dominions and invented musical instruments. In his reign appeared the fabulous bird Sin and through his means was the empire much extended towards the southwards. Under his immediate successor, Shao-Hao, who appears to have been his son, the heresy of demon-worship is said to have sprung up; which appears to have been true as far as regards a variation, which crept in, of the ancient Chinese worship of the Shin, the spirits of the departed. This worship of the spirits of their departed ancestors, the most vital element in their religion of the present day, is a primitive tenet of theirs, associated with the worship of heaven and earth.

In the reign of Tshuen-Hiü, the second successor of Hoang-Ti, a conjunction of the five planets is recorded.

Kao-Sin or the Black Ti-Ko, an elective ruler of another race, followed. He lived, on the whole, an effeminate life, displaying generally a remarkable taste for music. His mother is said in the Shi-King (IV. 3, 3) to have been the ancestress of the second imperial dynasty, Shang.

His eldest son followed and was shortly afterwards dethroned on account of his excesses; Yao was elected in his place and appointed the posthumous brother of his predecessor governor of the province of his maternal ancestors.

In the time of Yao the celestial globe was made, on which are represented the constellations: Before this, from the neglect of in-

tercallation, the computation of the years had fallen into confusion.

A man of enormous stature and a son of poor parents, named Shin, was chosen by Yao as his son-in-law and coadjutor in the government. Of him several interesting stories are told by Mr. Guzlaff in his history of the Chinese. Yao and Shin form the junction between the old history of the aboriginal country and the imperial history. Shin became the successor of Yao. There are in the Shuking some ancient maxims of both these kings which are interesting, and some which are difficult to be understood.

Yu, the son of Kuen, who had been engaged in draining the country of vast floods of water which were wont to overflow periodically certain portions of it from the rivers and streams up to the days of Yao and Shin, succeeds the latter after having reigned for a considerable time jointly with him. These inundations, in the time of Yao and Shin, from whose evil effects Yu, the son of Kuen, saved the country by erecting enormous dams and sinking ditches and canals to carry it off, suggests to Mr. Guzlaff and some others the Flood of Noah. With this idea they are more strongly impressed because that Yu is looked upon as the first of the recognized historical dynasties. The critics generally, however, see in Yu only a remarkably enterprising king, who proved himself a great benefactor to the country by his vast public works, more especially in the way of drainage of the parts ordinarily overflowed and overmoist from the periodical freshets of the streams from the mountains and rivers. He was the founder of the dominion of the kings or princes of Shen-Si, in northern China, as far as the great river, which province, he, to a large extent, rendered habitable and productive by his having diverted the course of the Yellow River and thereby rendered the naturally fertile plains between the rivers capable of cultivation. The Chinese records contain a statistical survey of the empire said to have been made in his time, with details of plans and institutions of public works. But one would suppose that Mr. Guzlaff and all others who have thought of the deluge in connection with Yu, would have plainly perceived that the time set down for him, 2000 B. C., is later than the time given for the deluge as according to the Septuagint, Samaritan or Hebraic version, this last as interpreted chronologically by Usher, that is, unless they made their date to coincide with that precarious one of Yao and Shin, his immediate predecessors. But on this sub-

ject a certain Christian author speaks as follows : "The inundation in the time of Yu had just as much to do with Noah's flood as the dams he erected and the canals he dug had to do with the ark. The learned Jesuit fathers were well aware of this; but they were prevented by orders from Rome from publishing the truth. The fact of so absurd an idea being accepted by the English and Scotch missionaries and even by Morrison himself is a very melancholy instance of the way in which the sound judgment of learned men may be warped by Rabbinical superstition and the intolerant ignorance of their churches, in the investigation of historical truth."

It is, however, generally understood that this province of Shen-si was largely habitable and inhabited before the time of Yu; for the dynasty, called the Shin-si possessed annals of an earlier date at the head of which were the renowned Fohi (whom indeed, some also, have supposed to be Noah, as if they were determined to have the deluge take place in that province) and Hoang-ti; and still earlier annals even than these. This earlier history of Shen-si is divided into two parts. First, the primeval time or the life of the ancestors of those people in their aboriginal country in northern Asia, the country of Kein-lung and the river of the north. Secondly, the history of those people within China proper, particularly the province of Shen-si.

All the ancient geograpical traditions of the Chinese, as may be seen in Ritter's Chinese History, refer to the immigration of their ancestors from the northwest.

Chinese writers have always conveyed their understanding of the works of Yu as being in the sense of a deliverance of a certain portion of the country from the evil effects of the periodical overflows from certain streams. In a brief account of it, in the Chinese translated by Julius Von Klaproth, is the following: —

"In the sixty-first year of the reign of the emperor Yao, serious mischief was caused by inundations. The emperor took counsel with the great men of the empire, who advised him to employ Kuen to drain off the water. For nine years Kuen was engaged upon it without success and was condemned to be imprisoned for life. His son Yu was to be appointed in his stead. At the end of nineteen years he succeeded in stopping the overflow and made a report upon the subject to the emperor."

The historical truth of this general fact is cosidered fully proved not only by the work itself but by an inscription supposed to have

been left by Yu on the top of the mountain Yu-lu-fun, in the district of Shen-shu-fu. The locality answers exactly to the very interesting description of the empire in the time of Yu, which we find at the opening of the second book of the Shuking. It purports to be a public document relating particularly to Yu and his works, which some suppose to have been made in his reign, or drawn up shortly after his death, in which, doubtless, they are mistaken. One critic says it will bear comparison with the monument Ancyranum of Augustus. You can judge of the epic character of the Shuking in the canon of Yu from the following in relation to the floods: —

"The emperor said: O thou governor of the four mountains of the empire!
The swelling flood is producing mischief;
It extends itself far and wide;
It surrounds the hills, it overflows the dams;
Impetuously rushing along it rises up to heaven;
The common folk complain and sigh."

The urgency of the matter necessitates the appointment of Kuen, who sets himself earnestly to work, but, at the end of nine years, has accomplished scarcely anything in restraining the floods. The emperor, now in his seventieth year, promises his throne to any one who will prevent the evil. Yu-shin, an unmarried man, is proposed; which is clearly a mythical combination of Yu and Shin, in order to connect the great deliverer with the two old emperors, Yao and Shin. Afterwards the person chosen is called simply, Yu. The punishment of Kuen is mentioned in the second chapter, "the Canon of Shin." Under the head of "the Deliberations of Yu, the Great," the emperor thanks Yu in the following terms: "In the time of the great floods thou didst perform thy promise and complete thy work;" a quite important piece of information for Yu.

The apparent character of the stories in the Shuking would lead to the conclusion that they are a compilation of historical ballads and authenic records. The historical ballad is the later form and is in several places at variance with historical facts.

The story in the Shuking might be thought a misrepresentation, in so far as regards any personal connection between Yao and Yu. The latter is made to save the country from the great inundation in the time of Yao, when he was viceroy of certain provinces, by

erecting dams and tunneling canals through rocks, etc., and then after Yao and Shin are both dead he becomes king himself and enjoys a long reign. This, after consideration and comparison of the authorities, might be thought impossible. For the difference between the commencements of the reigns, respectively, of Yao and Yu is as follows: —

According to Semakuang	2357	and	2207	= 150	years.
" " Panku	2303	"	2183	= 120	"
" " Bambus-Book	2147	"	1991	= 156	"

While this last authority is deemed the best on the subject it is seen that in it there is a greater difference than in the others.

Now, while there is no reason to doubt the historical existence of Yu the Great, any more than there is that of Cæsar or Tamerlane, still there is no confidence, historically speaking, to be placed in the inscription, spoken of above, as left by Yu upon the mountain Yu-lu-fun, which is of the same class and sprung from the same source as that of some of the so-called historical ballads in the Shuking. The inscription itself, however, which is quite ancient, evinces the great antiquity of writing in China; for the characters in which it is written are perfectly conventional and the meaning is quite clear. The French version made of it by Father Amiot is a transcript of the simple text in which considerable interpolation has been made, as an examination of the original proves. Of this original, which is pure ancient Chinese, von Klaproth's is the first which deserves to be called a translation, and some parts, even of it, might be rendered more accurately.

In it "the venerable emperor, Yao, tells his assistant and counsellor how that the lowlands and valleys are overflowed and nothing but the mountain tops, the forests, and caverns are out of the water. He enjoins upon him, as a care, to open such channels as will let off the water and to provide measures against the overflow. He complains of having been long necessitated to live apart from his house, upon the top of Yo-lu, his body being consumed with anxiety and with a restless spirit. He walked to and fro; he settled; he ordained. He declared emphatically that Shoo-a, Yo, Tai, Shen are the beginning and end of his numerous works. However, his task is now completed: he has offered his sacrifice in the second month; his trouble is at an end, the dark destiny being

changed; the streams of the south now flow down to the sea; clothing is now to be had; food is in store; the people are freed from anxiety and all enjoy themselves in mirthfulness and dancing."

All this refers to the wonted rising and outbreak of several streams in the northern part of the now empire of China, not to any general overflow of water throughout the whole of the country; and the confusion of the missionaries arises from their understanding this event as referring to the Flood of Noah, to which at least similarly to either the Hebrew, Chaldaean or even Hindu records the Chinese annals do not refer.

This Yu, whose name is spelled in Chinese with the same signs as that which they have translated Yao, and whose date is given above, was, as said before, the founder of the first dynasty of the Chinese, which is reckoned by the moderns as strictly historic. With him they begin the history proper. His dynasty is called that of Hia. There is, however, no good reason to doubt the historical character of Yao, which is understood to be proved by an astronomical passage in the Shuking, translated by Ideler.

In the first chapter of Yao the four Zoadical signs are recorded, namely, the equinoxes and the solstices, with which, in his time the four cardinal points of the year coincided. Of these, two still bear the same name; and an explanation of the other two is found in a tradition emanating from learned men in the time of the Han. Ideler having computed the constellations backward for 4000 years, from 1837 A. D. to 2163 B. C., found the latter date to differ by only sixteen years (2163 instead of 2147) from the date given in the Bambus Book for the commencement of Yao's reign. That is, the year 2163 would be 16 years prior to his accession. If he bebegan his reign in 2147 and reigned, as given in the tradition, 101 years he ended his reign in 2046 B. C., at which time his son-in-law, Shin, would have come to the throne, intermediately between him and Yu, our first so-called historic dynast. As seen above, according to Panku, Yao, began his reign in 2303 and so ended in 2202 B. C.; and, according to the Semakuang, he reigned from 2357 to 2256 B. C. About the year 2000 B. C., therefore, did (with the grace of our modern permission) the historic dynasties begin to exist in China; all preceding which we, of course, decide to have been mythical; our Yu being a trifle later than Menes.

But, in regard to Ideler's calculation, the Jesuit Gaubil says that very little reliance can be placed on that astronomical entry

in the Shuking in connection with the reign of Yao, because we cannot be sure that the place of the stars was at that time accurately calculated. Freret, also, thinks there is an uncertainty to the extent of three degrees, which would leave a margin of 210 years. It is understood, however, that Gaubil was obliged to be circumspect, for it is stated on good authority, that in compliance with orders from Rome, the Jesuits did not venture to dwell too much upon the antiquity of observations or other data which antedated the Flood. Ideler's computation appears, on the whole, effectual and trustworthy and to furnish the data here sought for in connection with the entries in the Chinese history.

Freret says that, according to the most ancient account in the Shuking, Chap. Y. hiun, of the 12th month of the first year of Taikin, the second ruler of the Shang (second dynasty) the only chronological systems respecting the commencement of Yao's reign, on which reliance can be placed, are those of the Bambus-Book and the Semakuang. But even thus there is still the discrepancy between 2147 and 2357. In order, therefore, to the more definite determination of the date it is felt that recourse must be had to the oldest astronomical data possibly attainable.

From the entry in the 12th moon of the first year of Taikin, the second king of the Shang, who according to the Annals reigned from 1753 to 1721, the date of Yao's accession must have been either 2357, as according to the Semakuang and the Annals, or 2147, as according to the Bambus Book, for which last date Freret has 2145.

Some might suppose the chronological date, 2348 B. C., given at the head of the middle column of Genesis VIII–X., as for the approximate time of the occurrence of the Deluge, had been made out to suit the date of 2357 of the Semakuang for the accession of Yao, who thus, instead of Yu, would stand for Noah.* But it is by

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* The following article, which I find in a daily paper, the *St. Louis Republican*, of March 16th, 1888, as it has been copied into the newspapers generally from the *North China Daily News*, shows that the valley of the Yellow River is as yet subject to some such freshets as it has been of old, and that there is yet need occasionally of such engineers as we may suppose Yu the son of Kuen to have been to restrain the floods, without our necessarily

no means certain, nor have I ever seen it mooted, that our chronologist, Usher, had in his mind either Yao or Yu, as being the patriarch Noah. Nothing, probably, can be made out of the sur-

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thinking him to have been equal in engineering skill to the patriarch Noah: —

YELLOW RIVER OVERFLOW.

OVER SIXTY THOUSAND MEN EMPLOYED IN REPAIRING THE BREAKS — TWENTY MILLION TAELS TO BE SPENT IN RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

The *North China Daily News* has made an interesting discovery. Those who are familiar with the map of China know that the Yellow River, as it existed a few months ago, after running from north to south, suddenly turned nearly due east, and held this course along the northern part of the province of Honan, emerging from which and entering Shantung, it took a northeasterly direction, ultimately emptying into the Gulf of Petchili. What happened on the occasion of the recent catastrophe was that the river burst its banks about the middle point of its journey through Honan, and turning southward spread itself over that province, or made its way to the Yangtse via the Grand Canal and other minor routes. Shantung, therefore, ceased to receive its waters, and large tracts of land in the latter province consequently became arable. It was generally supposed by foreigners that in none of its previous escapades had the river taken this route through Honan, and that as the natural configuration of the country seemed to lend itself to the river's new course, any attempt to restore it to its old channel must prove a failure. But it has now been discovered, by reference to Baron Richthofen's letters, published in 1870, that two years previously (1868) the Yellow River burst its banks at a point only ten miles higher up stream than the present breach, and poured out its waters over practically the very region now immersed. The only difference was one of degree. In 1868 the breach was comparatively small, the depth of the inundation was much less and the loss of life was insignificant. The government succeeded in repairing the bank and restraining the river in its former channel at a cost of 2,000,000 taels. On the present occasion it is proposed to spend 20,000,000, and there seems to be no valid reason why the restoration of the river to its old course should not be effected.

No one seems able to determine what shall be done with the Yellow River. The question remains in statu quo, and the river too. The mischievous stream made its way, as our readers will remember, into the low-lying lands of Honan and Anhui, which it converted into a lake, while at the same time large tracts of land in Shantung, formerly covered by its waters, have now become cultivable. Whether the balance is one of loss or of gain to the Chinese Empire has not yet been determined. But how is the river to be dealt with? Some hold that the course now taken by the stream is that indicated by nature. Dr. Williamson, who ought to be competent to speak, maintains this view. The river now, he says, runs through "lakes which can in a measure receive its overflow, through a vast area which it can irrigate, and through a natural channel throughout its whole length to the sea." He therefore advocates encouraging the river to remain in the course which it has taken. But this theory, sensible as it sounds, has one drawback; no one is in a position to say where a natural channel to the sea does exist from the lakes into which the river has poured itself, and from the areas it has inundated.

face similarity of the forms, Yao and Noah, or of the connected forms Yao and Shin with Noah and Shem; for, although the N and the Y both in the Indo-European and Semitic languages may be understood as having arisen from the G, yet the subject is of such antiquity, the Chinese being justly regarded as the base of them both, we can only say here the words may have had a distinct origin,

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On the contrary, the evidence goes to show that as yet no considerable volume of the errant waters has found an outlet seawards.

An engineer, J. C. Fergusson, who lately paid a visit to the river, recommends the formation, along its upper course, of huge reservoirs. Into these the overflow could be turned in flood seasons, and when the river fell again the water in the reservoirs would flow back, free of silt, materially helping to scour and cut out the channel. Nature herself employs this system of reservoirs. Examples of them are furnished in China by the Tung-ting and Poyang lakes, which in summer are actual inland lakes, but in winter become vast expanses of sand with little streams creeping through them. It is, however, objected to this scheme that the reservoirs would occupy as much land as the river bed has now flooded, some 5,000,000 acres, and that the remedy would not be permanent, since new reservoirs would be required so soon as the old tilted up. It is evident that the essential preliminary to any sound plan is a survey by competent engineers, and this the Chinese authorities have not yet ordered, though they seem to be growing sensible of the necessity.

The Tsing Kian Pu correspondent of the *Temperance Union* writes, under date of January 23, as follows: There are now 60,000 or upwards of men at work on the old bed of the Yellow River. Of these about 10,000 are in the vicinity of this city. The channel opened seems to a casual observer very narrow, but according to statements given by those engaged in the work it will be of considerable depth. The aim is to get the whole channel ready before the freshets next summer. From what I am able to learn the breaches in Honan are being closed, and the bank will be opened at the proper place to let the water into the old channel when ready for it. A few days ago I saw more than 30,000 taels of silver wheeled out to pay the workmen. They are paid 164 cash per day and find their own food.

A Tientsin journal states that the number of Yellow River flood refugees, most of whom are in a most pitiable condition, tormented both by hunger and cold, is about 110,000, and until the spring sets in no diminution can take place. A meeting was held on January 16 at Tientsin, attended by a good number of prominent foreign residents, when it was resolved that subscription lists shall be sent to the foreign community, appealing for their charitable contributions. We find it also stated that the native officials, gentry and traders have given large benefactions this year in particular to the poor. Various soup-kitchens have been opened, at one of which 6,000 people daily receive two substantial meals.

The *Chincse Times* says: All inquiries tend to show that about a third of China north of the Yellow River is suffering more or less acute distress, and in Honan and Anhwe large parts of these governments are under water and are likely to remain so for some years. The only remedy possible is to take the people away and put them into new countries, such as Manchuria, which can readily receive a few million people, who might in a few months support themselves and in a few years become prosperous citizens.

and from different circumstances. The Chinese language is far removed from the Egyptian formation, which a comparison of the original languages and a study of their progressive development shows as compared with it to represent the middle ages of mankind, the Turanian and Chamitic stages of development. For proofs of the vast antiquity which even the numerous records of language compel us to assign to the origines of the Chinese, search may be still made in other quarters than in the extant chronology recognized as standard. Owing, indeed, to the great antiquity of the historical records of the Old Testament, especially the patriarchal, it was found at an early period in the progress of the inquiry that China was remarkably deficient in authentic, contemporaneous monuments of any period prior to the historical commencement of connected Hebrew chronology. It may have been from the unchronological character of the period prior to Yao, that Confucius does not, in his commentary, dwell upon this period. The reigns which have been ascribed to it, to a greater or less number, appear from an analysis of the fragments to be rather of a traditionary character.

The reigns of Yao and Shin constitute, in the modern chronological sense, the Second Period, being the transition from what they call the mythic to the historical. It is usually computed at 150 years; but the Bambus-Book allows them 156 years of reign. As seen above, according to the Balladic version of the Shuking, these two rulers are not only placed in historical connection with each other but with the founder of the first historic dynasty, whom they call Yu or Ta-Yu; the great and good Yu; others, Pankee, for instance, (as is supposed in order to render this somewhat the less apparently improbable) have reduced this period, the latter, at least, to 120 years. There is here apparently a gap which they have been trying to patch up: and the historical and imperial chronology commences with Yu. To the original seat of the race, the northern district of Shen-si, pertains the particular history of Yao and Shin, and it is not certain that they were personally connected.

THE IMPERIAL DYNASTIES OF THE CHINESE FROM 2000 B. C. TO 264 A. D.:

The following are the dates of the canon in the Bambus-Book of the third Epoch; the Imperial Dynasties.

	Years.	*Beginning. B. C.*
I. Dynasty Hia, First Emperor Yu; Duration.....	432	1991
II. Dynasty Shang, First Emperor, twenty-eight reigns in fifteen generations. Duration.....	509	1559
III. Dynasty Tsheu, length of the first eleven reigns.....	269	1050
Twelfth King, Yeu Yang: his year is the identical day and year of the eclipse of the sun of 776 B. C., as recorded in the Shu-King, consequently his first year is 781. Under this dynasty lived Confucius, who calculated the solar eclipses between 720 and 481 B. C. (551–479).		

	Years.	*Beginning. B. C.*
IV. Dynasty Tsin. Duration 255–207	=49	255
V. Dynasty Han. Duration from 206 B. C. to 264 A. D.....	470	206 to A. D. 264

AS TO THE CHINESE CYCLES OF 60 YEARS; OF 19 YEARS; OF 129,600 YEARS; AND AS TO THEIR CYCLES GENERALLY AS WELL AS THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS IN ASTRONOMY IN VERY EARLY TIMES:

The astronomical cycle of 60 years which we have seen first mentioned in the 61st year of Hoang-Ti and the 77th recurrence of which, it is said, will happen in 1924 A. D., appears to have been a primitive institution of the Chinese and a key to their astron-

omical calculations. A consideration of the Chaldaean and Egyptian systems, in connection with that of the Chinese, leads to the conclusion of the greater antiquity of the latter as a primitive and very simple equation of lunar and solar years.

The Egyptian periods, called Trikontæteridæ, or festivals held every thirty years, are thought to be explainable by the cycle of 60 years, which is supposed to have been divided into two parts in order to give each king the opportunity of having them celebrated in his reign. In his work on Isis and Osiris (c. 75), Plutarch unquestionably alludes to this cycle, when he says that the sixty eggs of the crocodile and the sixty years that it lived were admitted by persons skilled in astronomy to be symbolical, to be the first measure or lowest unit of the equation of time. At the end of every 60 years there was a difference of half a month between the fixed tropical and the vague civil year. When Martini asserts that the Egyptians computed by the Era of 60 years of Hoangho? he doubtless ment Hoang-Ti.

We find the Indians to have commenced their cycles with the rude equation of five years; but it is supposed they made use of one of 12×5 or 60 years as a corrective formula. But there is no proof of their being acquainted with the Chaldee cycle of 600 years, which evidently belongs to a date posterior to that people's having made a remarkable advancement in science.

But, in regard to the Chinese, Ideler (p. 214) has fully established that they used a lunar year, which they regulated by the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. It is, also, satisfactorily proven that they used a sexagesinal cycle for days, months (of 5 years, $5\times12=60$) and years. The cycle for days implies a year of $6\times60=360$ days, as well as a fixed lunar year. Their Metonic cycle of 19 years, equaling 235 synodic months (that is, $19\times12=228+7$ intercallary months), only occurs after the time of Han, whose dynasty embraced the beginning of the Christian era. Still they must have used, prior to that time, a cycle for the same purpose of equation, and everything tends to the conclusion that it was one of 60 years; * for the cycle of 60 days can be explained by it; and the cycle of 60 years must have been so arranged that after a certain period the annual cycle was again coincident with the first daily cycle. There appears, it is true, no direct mention of it in the Shuking; and the

* That is, 60 years$=60\times12=720+22$ [intercallary months]$=742$ months.

notation of the Annals by means of it after the time of Yao, as appears in their present arrangement, may have been afterwards introduced by calculation. Yet, even if not in use therein, it is universally admitted that this system is well adapted to the old chronology.

One circumstance is seen by Ideler to be explained by it, which he fails to perceive is explainable in any other way; this is, that the year so arranged by Yu gradually got into such disorder, that, instead of beginning at the sign of Aquarius, it receded into the sign of Sagittarius.

In the idea of Freret it must have been computed as follows: 60 solar years=742 months — 2 days and 20 hours. Therefore, in 600 years=7420 months — $28\frac{1}{3}$ days=1 small lunar month of 29 days with far less error than the Julian intercallary period, which is 1 day in excess every 125 years.

Now, as made out from Ideler (78 *seq.*) the following divisions of time were in use among the Chaldaeans: —

1. The year of 12 years, the Annus Chaldaeaus of Censorinus, for the fertility of the years. Scaliger found that the 12 yearly zodiacal cycle, which is in use among the Tartars, Mongols, Mandschus, Igurians, the Thibetans, Japanese and Siamese, dated from the earliest times. Among some of the Tartaric peoples, however, this is a cycle of 60 years (12×5).

2. The cycles of 60 years — 600 years — 3600 years.
Sossos Neros Saros

When we find, in connection with this system, that 600 years give an excess of one lunar month with much greater accuracy than the Julian year, we conclude it probable that this cycle must have been in use among the Chinese, it being indispensable where that of 60 years was in use; or it must have been in use with those from whom they borrowed the latter.

The Saros cycle of 6×600=3600 years does not pertain to the equation of the year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days with the lunations. Wherever the lunar year was the one in general use it was only necessary to intercallate months not years as was the case with the Egyptians.

The Chinese Cosmic year of 129,600 years mentioned by Shao-

Kang-tsi and Tshu-hi (Neuman, p. 59), also implies the periods of 60 and 600 years: —

For $129{,}600 = 6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216 \times 600$
$= 2160 \times 60$: Then $2160 = 6 \times 360$,

a multiple which hardly can be accidental.

It is generally admitted that the year of 360 days has in it so much astronomical significance that it must have been a good deal recognized in the ancient calculations. For, first, $360 = 12 \times 30$; and, secondly, the three decades into which the month is divided imply a reference to 30, the number of days in a month as being the standard for the year. In the "little" month the decade consists of only nine days.

Now, it being admitted that the Chinese, from the earliest times, made use of a sexagesimal cycle for the division of the year $= 6 \times 60$ days, and that they marked the years by a cycle of 60 years, running concurrently with the cycle of days, what, it may be asked, have we to learn from this?

1st. We conclude that this cycle must have been instituted originally at a time when the first day of the daily cycle coincided with the first year of the annual cycle, that is, when they commenced on the same day.

To find out when this was some think impossible, owing to the irregularity of the old calendar; but it might, possibly, by the patient collection and collation of the ancient data be ultimately ascertained.

In regard to astronomical observations, for example, Laplace found that the notice about the size of the sun's shadow, as observed by the viceroy Tsheu-Kung, about 1100 B. C., was singularly correct. By this prince, the brother of Wuwang, the founder of the Tsheu dynasty, was the shadow measured at the solstice.

Of the most ancient astronomical entry in the Shuking (chap. Y hiün) the date, according to Gaubil (in his Lettres Edifiantes, pp. 322; comp. 272) is the first year of Tai-Kia, the second ruler of the Shang. But the most important entry is in the first chapter of that record. The signs of the four cardinal points of the year are there noted in the reign of Yao. By inspection and calculation Ideler found that they were exactly correct for a period of about 4000 years before 1837 A. D., that is, to about 2163 B.

C.; and this, according to the most trusted authorities, as seen above, is near the time set down for Yao's reign. But, according to the chronology of the celestial empire now in use, which has been framed on no sufficiently limited basis, it is placed in the year 2300 B. C.

If after sufficient research and accumulation an attempt should be made to fix the ancient chronology care should be taken that the data be properly understood. It is easy, for instance, to calculate backwards eclipses of the sun as the Romans, Greeks and Egyptians have done. But phenomena of rare occurrences, which are difficult to calculate, such as the conjunctions of the planets, must be either contemporary notices of some extraordinary phenomena or sheer inventions.

One instance that may be mentioned is the observation of a conjunction of five planets (among which the sun and moon are spoken of) on the first day of Leitshin in the reign of Tsheuen-hiu, the second successor of Hoang-Ti.

Suppose this were the conjunction of the three upper planets, to which Kepler first directed his attention in reference to the date of Christ's birth, and which occurs every 794 years and four months; then it occurred in the following years: —

7	years,	4	mos.	12 da.	A. D.
786	"	6	"	00 "	B. C.
1580	"	10	"	12 "	B. C.
2375	"	2	"	24 "	B. C.

This last date might answer to the conjunction in the time of Tscheuen-hiu; for, according to the official Chinese Tables, as given in Ideler's work, he reigned from 2513 to 2436; but the dates vary to the extent of more than 200 years and the year 2375 comes within the limits of these fluctuations.

As to the Primitive Divisions of the Year Among the Chinese:

On this most of our information is derived from Gaubil and is as follows: —

1. In the s nd dynasty the day commenced at mid-day. The founder of the third dynasty, Wee-wang, fixed it at midnight.

2. The week of seven days (Zi = 7) is proved by the 28 lunar stations to be of great antiquity among the Chinese, but it was by them only for astrological purposes. It plainly depended, originally upon the four lunar phases, but in China, as elsewhere, it was connected with a certain succession of the planets. Gaubil says Confucius mentions the Zi-week as being in use in the time of Tsheu, the third dynasty:

3. Their solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days the Chinese began to reckon from the day of the winter solstice, which they fixed by observation of the longest shadow on the ground at midday.

4. Their civil year commenced at the lunar month in which the sun entered Pisces. This is determined by the conjunction in Aquarius. The beginning of the first moon is the new moon in Aquarius, consequently the vernal equinox is the full moon of the second moon, the Autumnal equinox the full moon of the eighth. With the full moon of the fifth and tenth months the solstice coincides.

The Chinese have four seasons of three months each, being the first, second and third moons of each season. They are divided into six sections (zi tshi) of 15 to 16 days. Hence they divide the ecliptic into 24 equal parts, each containing half a sign.

1. Zi tshi. Winter Solstice, Dec. 21 = beginning of Capricorn.
4. " Beginning of Spring, Feb. 5 = middle of Capricorn = 45 days before the vernal equinox. Sid-suen = the first new moon of the year.
7. " Vernal equinox = March 22 = beginning of Aries.
10. " Beginning of Summer, May 5 = middle of Tauros.
13. " Summer Solstice, June 22 = beginning of Cancer.
16. " Beginning of Autumn, Aug. 5 = middle of Leo.
19. " Autumnal equinox, Sept. 22 = beginning of Libra.
22. " Beginning of Winter, Nov. 5 = middle of Sagitharius.

The beginning of their civil year, as above is seen in the month nearest to the middle of Aquarius, is said to have been instituted by Tshuen-hiü (2513-2436 B. C.), that is, one of the kings prior to Yu, the first historical dynast, so called.

The great Yu farther ordained that the first month of Spring, that is, the month in which the sun entered into Pisces (Gaubil,

Traité, 21), should be the first of the year, consequently 45 days before the equinox, equal to Feb. 5th. In the Annals it is stated that during the second dynasty, Shang (1766–1154 B. C.) the beginning of the civil year was moved forward *one month*, that is to about Jan. 7th, consequently the year began when the sun entered the sign of Aquarius.

In the third dynasty, Tsheu (1122–314 B. C.) it was again brought forward *a month*, and, therefore, it began in the month in which the sun entered capricorn or about Dec. 7th. This is based upon old traditions and notices of solar eclipses, which have been preserved in the commentary of Zo-Tshuen upon Confucius' Annals of the collateral dynasty, which commentary was written about the year 500 B. C.

In the time of the Tsin (255–207 B. C.) the beginning of the year was pushed back one sign (Ideler, N.): but it would seem, not withstanding, that the system of Yu was always adhered to, namely, that the month with which the year commenced should be called the *vernal month*. In the time of the Tsheu, therefore, the beginning of Spring in the civil calendar fell in the middle of Saggittarius or about Nov. 7th.

All these changes are explainable by the cycle of 60 years, in which every 600 years had an error of one month.

Taking the year 2200 as the beginning of the first dynasty Hia, then:—

month was lost at the year 1600:
2 months were " " " " 1000:
3 " " " " " " 400:

This took place under the Tshin (255–207) and must have occurred after 256 and before 206 (the year in which the Han succeeded).

From a variety of considerations it appears that the supposed beginning of the reign of Yu cannot be sustained. It is, however, worthy of remark that the great solar eclipse mentioned in the Annals as occurring during the reign of Shin (the immediate predecessor of Yu) took place on the 25th of October, 2007, which, according to the most trusted authority, was the 16th year before the accession of Yu. Granting this assumption to be correct (*i.e*, that 1991 B. C.=the first year of the first recognized historic dy-

nasty) and calling this beginning in round numbers 2000 B. C., we shall have those periods to have commenced in the years: —

2000 — 1400 — 800 — 200:

which last is nearly the first year of the Tsin. During the reign of this dynasty (48 years) a permanent improvement was made in the calendar.

Concerning the Origines, the Primitive History and Chronology of the Hindoos.

Of these peoples the origines and early history are found to be somewhat obscure. They are of the Arian stock and came into the country in the very early ages from those northern districts, which in those times or in the later times in books were called Iran (*i.e.*, Airya).

The Four Cosmic Ages of the Hindoos and Their Rational Analysis in the Light of the Historic Records of the Hindoos Left Us by Megasthenes, Arrian and Others:

I will begin with their exhibit of the four Cosmic ages, so-called.

According to Manu, the patriarch of the human race, the world had passed through three ages, and this being so, as a natural consequence, we have been living in the fourth age from or from before the time of Manu. The synopsis is as follows: —

	Years.
Satya (Krita), 4,800 years of Gods, reckoned each at 360 human years	= 1,728,000
Trêta, 3,600 years of Gods, each 360 human years..	= 1,296,000
Dvapara, 2,400 years of Gods.....	= 864,000
Kali, 1,200 " " "	= 432,000
	Total, 4,320,000

In the first book of Manu these names are explained as follows: —

I. Truth ..... Prevailing Piety.
II. The three Sacrificial Flames ..... Knowledge.
III. Doubt ..... Sacrificial Worship.
IV. Sins ..... Liberality.

Max Mueller and Lassen thought the original reference in this system of Cosmic Ages was to the changes of the moon; but if there were any such reference it must have been an indirect one, for the arbitrary make up simply indicates ages in some sort, mythical, of course, but made out in an astronomical way. It is allowed that myth implies history as a counterfeit implies an original, or a false God a true one; but the question which concerns us here is how far back into the antiquity does the history of India, which we have, give us a connected thread? Even the old hymns of that country imply a great antiquity for its history, as well as the hundreds of years of cataclysms, which separate the so-called historic ages from each other, imply history in some sort before and after those gaps.

Proceeding to an analysis of the numbers, which make up those Cosmic Ages, we find the number constituting the fourth, namely, 432,000, to be made up of $6\times6\times6=216\times2\times1{,}000=432{,}000$; the third age to be the double of this fourth; the second to be its treble and the first its quadruple, in duration; *i.e.*, $432{,}000\times4=1{,}728{,}000$ years, which is the number of years given for the first age.

The best source of information concerning a connected ancient history of India is the information of that sort left by Megasthenes, a Greek writer. He has the reputation of having been well learned and generally well accomplished for his age. After the short war which had place between Seleucus Nicanor and Sandrokottus (Kandragupta) a King of India, he went as envoy for Nicanor to the court of the latter at Palibothra, where he accomplished his mission cleverly and effected besides a matrimonial alliance. The information he sets out to convey, then, concerning ancient India is supposed to be derived from headquarters and his statements on that ancient subject, especially as contained in Arrian, are the main source from which the Greeks and Romans since the time of the latter have derived their information on that subject.

Megasthenes begins his account by stating that between the reign of Dionysos (whom he makes his first historic King of India, and who was succeeded by Spatembas) and that of Sandrakottus there were 153 Kings. The best Mss. of Pliny gave the same number as does Arrian. These are said to have reigned 6042 years; but, according to Pliny's copy, 6452. The critics consider they have some reason to think Pliny's statement the more correct one.

In the sentence whereof these statements now given form a part there are a few words wanting; but Duncker and other eminent critics conclude the sense to be that the succession of kings in that long period was thrice broken by the introduction of a government of the people, which Diodorus in two parallel passages calls a democracy in the separate cities or states. We also learn that the durations of these interruptions were, respectively, the first for 200, the second for 300 and the last for 120 years. Deducting the sum of these, that is, 620 from 6452 years we have left 5832 years, which being divided by 153, the number of kings, gives 38 years of average reign, which, being somewhat too large an average for experience, plainly indicates there is something wrong at the bottom of the calculation. For such a long period experience shows the average reign would not probably be over 26 to 28 years at the most, which last average would allow to the 153 kings an aggregate of 4284 years; while an average of 20 years, which might appear to experience just as reasonable, and which is two years more than Sir Isaac Newton found to be the average length of reign of monarchs, would give to the 153 kings an aggregate of 3060 years. We have no need here, therefore, of supposing contemporary, parallel lines of kings, inasmuch as the time given for the 153 kings would require, at our calculation, double that number of kings in succession to occupy it.

Lassen supposed this list of Megasthenes to represent the three last Cosmic ages, beginning with Treta, but others, with perhaps more reason, applied it to the whole four, their argument being that the three breaks were caused by falls or displacements of dynasties in each case, and that the three breaks imply the four periods, one respectively for the end of the first of the second and of the third.

The length of the reign of his first king, Dionysus, Megasthenes does not seem to have given. He represents him as having found a rude population, clothed in skins, unacquainted with agriculture and without fixed habitations. To him is ascribed the introduction

of agriculture and a degree of civilization. By a close consideration of the data given we might succeed in approximately determining the time of the Arian immigration to India, for Dionysus is represented as the leader of that immigration into India, of people of the same identical Turanic stock as in the main were already in occupation of the country. Dionysus, according to Diodorus, died in India after he had reigned 52 years; which term is allowed by the same author to his colleague and successor Spatembas. Dionysus is the celebrated God Bacchus; whether Spatembas was afterwards understood as a God does not appear; but if their term of reign was meant to symbolize the Zodiac or course of the sun, then we may suppose the number of weeks in the year was signified by fifty-two.

Spatembas was succeeded by his son, Budyas, who reigned twenty-two years; and he by Kradeuas.

Fifteen generations after Dionysus reigned Hercules (Krishna): Diodorus represents him as having built several cities, one of which was Palibothra. He had many sons, to each of whom he left a kingdom, as well as one to his daughter, Pandara.

Some modern interpreters understand Dionysos as the elder Manu, the Primeval Man, son of the Sun (Vivasvat). He appears to hold a somewhat similar position in the primeval history of India as does Gemshid (Jima) among the Iranians. According to Arrian no date of reign is given to him in Megasthenes. Doubtless the latter understood him as a God, to a ruler of which character the Indians allowed 1000 years of reign.

If Dionysus is the elder Manu, Spatembas would reasonably be understood as the Younger Manu (Svayambhuva, the self-existent) who is regarded by the Indians as the progenitor of all their kings.

In Budyas, *i.e.*, Buddha (Mercury, son of the moon) husband of Ilâ (Earth) who was daughter of Spatembas, we possibly have another reign of a God represented. His name signifies the "awakened." It has been suggested that the 22 years of reign ascribed to him may be through mistake for 28, the four weeks of the phases of the moon.

The races of the Moon are supposed by the Sanskrit lists to be derived from him (Kandravansa); and from this race are descended the kings of Magadha (Palibothra, Pataliputra, above Patna on the Ganges). According to the Book of Manu, on the other hand, the race of the Sun is descended from Manu. In Megasthenes' epito-

mists the two races appear somewhat mixed up. It appears that the race of the Moon were not content to give precedence to that of the Sun, the Kings of Oude (Ayodhya).

The name of the successor of Budyas is more properly read Purûrava than as the Greeks have it Kradeuas. It is likely Megasthenes read it Prareuas, which would have given rise to the latter form. Pururava means "the glorious:" He appears in the Veda as a mythical personage, the husband of Urvasi, a celestial water mymph (Apsaras or Apsara, *i.e.*, Undine). He is represented in the epics as a great conqueror and powerful ruler, who, however, perished, as a result of his own presumption. The system of castes (from Varna, color, perhaps from the castes being distinguished by differently colored garments) originated with him. Before his time the Arian people were undivided and only one God, Narâyana, (Egyptian Naharaina, Rivers?) was worshiped. At the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, namely, Allahabad, was his royal residence.

All this is supposed to be the tradition of the learned men at the court of Sandrokottus.

The ruler in the fifteenth succession was Krishna, whom the Greeks call the Indian Hercules, and who was especially worshiped in the country of the Surasêns. He is the king in the land of the Prasians (the Easterns) having his royal residence at Mathura, Weber thinks that the notion of his posterity being descended from him and his own late-born daughter Pandaea is but a misunderstanding of the old myth of the creation of the world in connection with a female. The probable historical sense of it, as it appears also in the Pragâpati, is that the renowned race of Pandava, with whose downfall the third era concluded, or perhaps the princely house of Pandiva (Pandya) whose residence was Madura (later Mathura), in the Southern country of the Ganges, were descended from Krishna's daughter. Sir Wm. Jones (Works, vol. IV. 209) says the Sacred books expressly place an Avatâra between the first and second eras. This impersonation, which does not exist in the Vedas is Krishna. It is probable, also, that Rama, the third divine hero, the extirpator of the royal races, is introduced between the second and third eras. This position of Rama is discovered by Lassen from the tradition to have been quite ancient.

Megasthenes, then, represents his first era as of fifteen or sixteen generations, having a God as the founder and a God as the destroyer of the dynasty.

Now, the Arian tradition represents not Krishna as succeeding to Purûrava, of the race of the moon, but Ayus, whose son, Nahusha (the man, human?), is represented as being under the ban on account of his overbearing character. Upon the death of his grandson, the much esteemed Yayâti, the partition of the world takes place. To his youngest son, Puru, he left his kingdom and to his other four sons he distributed the rest of the earth. In this matter his sons were treated like the three sons of Ferêdun, who, when the partition of the earth took place among them, as according to Firdusi, the youngest, Iredsh, obtains Iran, the home country; and the other two, Selm and Tur, obtain the western and eastern countries respectively, the latter having for his share Turkestan and Tshin (China). This, in the mind of some, would indicate not only the settlement of China and Mandchuria, but the western countries of Europe also by the Iranians. The four other sons of Yayâti are named in order: Yadu, the father of Yadava, people of the south; Turvasu, the father of lawless races, with whom some of the books connect the Yâvana; Druhyn, the ancestor of the inhabitants of the deserts by the sea, who had no kings; Anu, the patriarch of the northern people.

These four primeval names occur in the hymns of the Rigveda in the same order. Max Muller suggested that Turvasu might contain the tribal name of Turan and Turk. In the battle song of the Rigveda, Turvasa is the leader of the races who are the enemies of Indra; and in the Zend books the Turanians are styled Firdusi's Tûirya, *i.e.*, the foes of Firdusi, king of the Iranians. The south-east of India doubtless pertained to this race, being inhabited from the Vindya mountains by Turanian races.

But to Anu the dominion of the north is given. It is thought the Bactrians are meant or the Assyrians, and it is a remarkable coincidence that the name of the ancestor of the Assyrian kings was Anu, which was also the name of a god of the Assyrians.

But, according to the Indian tradition, the patriarch, Yayati, reigned a thousand years. He is supposed to represent the interval between the era of the primeval or mythical world and the beginnings of history proper, or it might mean a transition from one mythic period to another, the name meaning "advancement," "progress." If the period of fourteen or sixteen rulers, over which we have passed, represent the first period, then it ended with

a kingdom in the Punjab, of which only very vague reminiscences have been preserved, and then ensues a democracy after it for 200 years, as according to Megasthenes.

The Sarasvati Kingdoms begin our second era, whose great heroes are the Bharata; and the Ramâyana is the epic representation of it and its violent end. To this era ensues a democracy of 300 years.

In the third era, the Pankâla (the five races), the conquerors of the Bharatidae struggle with the Kuru and the latter again with the Pandava, after whose war of extermination the last era ensues.

As, according to Megasthenes, the first era closes with Krishna-Hercules, so apparently does the second with Rama; and as the Râmâyana is the epode of this second period, so is the Mahabharata of the third. The mutual contentions of the princes themselves here bring about their own downfall.

According to our application there should 120 years intervene between the third and fourth eras; but in some of the Parsee books there appears here again the mythical period of 1000 years, which simply means that the duration of the interval could not, at the time of the making of the list, be exactly determined.

Our assumption, then, of the Cosmic eras being representations, in some sort, of dynastic periods, and the intervening periods representing governments of the people, it is plain that down to the end of the third era, what information we have concerning those dynasties is rather of a shadowy character and without a chronology.

In regard to the chronological starting point of the Fourth Period it was found the Brahmimical starting point of 3102 B. C. was in error more than 1000 years in the time of Alexander. The only certain point in regard to it is that Kandragupta (the Sandrakottus of Megasthenes) ascended the throne of Palibothra, in the kingdom of Magadha, between 320 and 312, probably 315 B. C.

Kandragupta overthrew the house of the Nanda, a royal house, indeed, respecting which the Brahminical traditions are very confused and contradictory. In a chronological point of view the notices of the earlier dynasties of the kingdom of Magadha are unchronological. The following is a shadowing forth of this

Fourth Period, in regard to the supposed dynasties and their periods, as according to Lassen (i. 501, Purana list):—

I.	Barhadratha.....	20 or 21 kings	.....	1000 years.
II.	Pradyota.....	5 "	.....	138 "
III.	Saisunâga	10 "	.....	360 "
IV.	Nanda	9 "	.....	100 "
				1598 "
Supposing the accession of Kandragupta to be...				315 " B. C.
Then the beginning of the Kali or Fourth Period is.....				1913 years B. C.

Concerning the Age of Buddha.

The chronology of Buddha is recognized as the first resting place in the Indian history after we go back of Alexander. Lassen has proved that the only tradition worthy of notice in the chronology of Buddha is that of the Cingalese. (Lassen ii, 51–61). According to it in the year 543 B. C. Buddha escaped from the limitations of earthly existence, having then arrived at self-annihilation (Nirvâna).

The Buddhistic list of kings is that of the house of Magadha, which was then seated to the south of Pataliputra, in Ragagriha, so called after an ancient city of that name in the Upper Punjanb. The house of Samudradatta from Mithila (Vidêha) consisting of 25 kings, of whom the last was called Dipankara, reigned there in the first instance. To this succeeded the house of Bhattiya, called also Mahapadma, "abounding in stones," which was the Brahminical epithet of the house of the Nanda kings, the sons of Mahanandi and a Sudra. But as Bhattiya lost his independence the dynasty commences with his son Bimbasira, who reigned 52 years and was succeeded by his son Agatasatru, who reigned 32 years. The seventh king after Bimbasira was Sisunaga, who reigned 18 and was succeeded by Kalasoka, for 28 years, whose son Bhadrasêna, with 22 years for himself and his nine brothers, was the immediate predecessor of Nanda.

According to the Buddhist tradition, as intimated, Bhattiya became tributary to the king of Anga, but his enterprising son, afterwards King Bimbasira, expelled the tax collectors of the king of Anga, by whom the country was oppressed, defeated the king himself in battle, and made Kampa, the capital of Anga, his royal residence till his father's death. The latter had appointed him king in his fifteenth year, which is an explanation of the long reign of 52 years.

Now, Bimbasira was only five years younger than Buddha and in childhood a friend of his. When he was invested with the sovereignty by his father Buddha, was 20 years old. The latter was the son of Suddhodana of the race of the Sakhja, kings of Devadaha, and styles himself the Sramana Gautama, the colonist of the race of the holy patriarchs of the kings of the eastern country, Gotama, a name which occurs in the Veda as belonging to a celebrated family of minstrels.

Now, supposing Buddha to have died in 543 B. C., the traditions afford the following data for fixing the chronology: —

	B. C.
Buddha born 5 years before the birth of Bimbisara	598
Dedicates himself to reflection in his 29th year; Bimbisara's 24th year and the 10th year of his reign	569
Appears as teacher at 35, being the 16th year of Bimbisara's reign	563
Dies in the 21st year of his teachership, aged 56	543

If, therefore, Buddha died in 543 B. C., the first year of Bimbisara's reign was 578 B. C. and the list is as follows: —

I. The House of Bhattiya:

	B. C.
1. Bimbisara reigns 52 years	578—527
2. Agatasatru " 32 "	527—495
3. Udayabhadra (Udaya) reigns 16 years	495—479
4. Anurudhaka (Munda) reigns 8 years	479—471
5. Nagadasaka reigns 24 years	471—447

End of this dynasty.

II. The House of Sisunâga: —

1. Sisunaga reigned 18 years.....447—429
2. Kalasoka reigned 28 years.....429—401
3. Bhadrasêna and 9 brothers, 22 years.....401—379
   The last of the brothers, Pingamakha, was dethroned by Nanda.

III. The House of Nanda and his sons: —

1. Nanda becomes king and reigns 66 years.....379—313
2. Nanda's younger brother dethroned by Kandragupta.....313—312

The dates and figures may not be all correct here, but they are approximate; and the matter hath on the whole as clear a face, as with the data we possess we can undertake to give it. Mahananda, (the Great Nanda) ruled over "the whole earth." The Brahminical lists, which are often found untrustworthy, give him a reign of 43 years and the balance of twelve years of that dynasty to his son Sumâlya. Lassen makes the period of the dynasty 88 years; but I conclude there is reasonable ground for the number I have given, 66, as being nearly correct.

To the kingdom of Kandragupta (the kingdom of the Prasians, that is, the Easterns), also belonged the peninsula of Gugerat, which extended on the north as far as the Indus and to the south as far as the mouths of the Ganges and the limits of Kalinga. His grandson and second successor may be said to have conquered the whole of Aryavâra. His forces are said to have consisted of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry and 900 elephants. He died in the 24th year of his reign, supposed 289 B. C. To him succeeded Vindusara, who reigned 28 years, consequently to B. C. 261. His successor, Asoka, is that king who adopted the doctrines of Buddhism. His inscriptions, in which the Buddhist doctrines are inculcated, and the 84,000 Buddhist sanctuaries (Kaitya), that is, partly temples and partly tumüli (Stupa, Topes), which he is reputed to have erected are, in the present day, admired among the monuments of Buddhism. His reign of 37 years was the meridian of the empire of the Maurya; immediately after which its downfall took place, 225 B. C.

From what we have already had, the conclusion of historical criti-

cism will not be a matter of wonder, namely, that the four cosmic eras of Manu are but the mythical sacerdotal offsets to the obscurity of the history or the traditions of the four historical ages, or states, with their respective democracies or interregna at the end of the first three. If the first age contains only general mythical representations of the divine progenitors, with some minute details towards the close, this does not justly detract from the reality of the period itself. The indications enable us to conclude that the second period commenced previously to the old settlement in the country of the Five Rivers, on the Sarasvati, the holy land of the Brahmins. There must, therefore, have been a long antecedent period, commencing with the incoming of the Arians, and which implies there then residence within the country. The end of that first period cannot, I think, be reasonably put at a later date than 3000 B. C. We have then, according to Megasthenes, an interval of 200 years of democracy; then a second dynastic period connected at its end with a democracy of 300 years; then a third dynastic period, connected with a democracy of 120 years; after which commences the fourth period or Kaliyuga.

As the statement of the lengths of the monarchial periods can, in the circumstances, be only approximative, it may not be necessary to remark that to limit the time of the monarchies to about the double of the intervening times of democracy is not necessarily the most probable computation; for it is implied in the exceptions that the periods of monarchy were much longer than they.

Taking into consideration the 200 years of democracy after the end of the first period, it is reasonable to suppose that the second monarchical period commenced about the year 3000 B. C., and the calculations of the time of the beginning of the fourth period by Lassen justifies us in ascribing to the two middle periods an average of 800 years duration.

In these conditions the approximate determination of the epochs will be about as follows:—

	B. C.—Years
Beginning of Fourth Era, about.....	980 — 880
Duration of Third Democracy.....	120 — 120
End of the Third Era, about.....	1100 — 1000
Duration of Third Era, about.....	800 — 800
Beginning, therefore, of Third Era.....	1900 — 1800

Duration of Second Democracy.....	300 — 300
End, therefore, of Second Era.....	2200 — 2100
Duration of Second Period.....	800 — 800
Beginning, therefore, of Second Era.....	3000 — 2900
Duration of First Democracy.....	200 — 200
End, therefore, of First Period.....	3200 — 3100
	or
	3100 — 3000

As regards the duration of the First period from the immigration of the Arians into the Indus country to their becoming possessed of the land of the Sarasvati we have no standard to judge by, if it arise not to us from a consideration and comparison of language. All that it is expedient to say is that peculiar habits of life were contracted in the land of the Five Rivers (Punjab), and that out of the religion there instituted, allusions to which are found in the oldest Vedic hymns, the Brahminical system, with a new mythology, and the introduction of castes gradually grew up on the other side of the Sutledj. The first epoch of the Arian kingdom in India only comprised the country of the seven rivers (the country of the five rivers or Punjab); and to that locality all the narratives of the first period refer.

When we speak of the Sanskrit Indians and of the Vedic Indians we mean Arian people all the same; but the former are distinguished by their peculiar religion, their manner of life, and the peculiar turn of genius. The Sanskrit Indians have, of all the Arian races, the least inclination for historical pursuits. With them everything cosmical resolves itself into the ideal and symbolical and then assumes a fantastic shape. Between these and the Vedic Indians there is a marked contrast, which shows itself plainly in their ancient poems. Indeed, it is said the Vedic Indians are merely Iranian Arians, who crossed the Indus, as regards their language, their customs and their religious observances. The chasm which divides the Vedic literature from the Sanskrit is a wide one. The former, at least in the shape in which it has reached us, belongs as far back as the second era, doubtless to the first and preceding. Even in the time of Buddha, in the fourth era, Sanskrit was a dead language, in the sense of being a learned one, as we say in reference to Latin. He

lived in the country of the Brahmins, yet he did not teach in their language, but in Pali. Internal convulsions in the way of dynastic and political changes in a country produce remarkable effects in regard to language. A change of dynasty may have the effect of giving a new language to a country, or at least such a variation of the old as is almost equivalent to a new. The Anglo Saxon is a different language from that of the ancient Britons, the French from the old Gallic, and the Italian, a Gothic language, from the Latin, all of which were induced by dynastic changes. A language does not die out except in consequence of such remarkable events. It is said the Hebrew became a sacred language only after the Babylonian captivity; this was after the old thought of Phœnicia had returned from Babylon clothed with a new dress. The word Sanskrit signifies the complete, *i.e.*, learned language in contradistinction to the popular idiom. Between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and the time of Buddha no event that we can discover of such a nature as to change the language took place. But between the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth era there was an interval of democracy, so called, of 120 years, preceded, and, doubtless, followed by protracted and destructive wars. Whenever it was the Sanskrit reached its zenith, then the Vedic, the language of the Seers, was neglected. This was the demotic or popular language as compared with the Sanskrit, now become the language of the learned.

The Zendic language is that of the old Bactrians of the home country, that is, East-Iranian. To the Vedic as well as the Sanskrit languages it presents a contrast. On the other hand, we find that of the first cuneiform character to be Median or West Iranian of a later epoch.

The organic law which is developed in those changes of language here spoken of may be called the limitedness of a language in a conquered nation as compared with its natural flow in the home country. As the Indian literature of the Vedic language (the popular language of the first era) appears about the end of the second period, so the literature of the Sanskrit language, the popular idiom of the third period begins to appear in the fourth.

Concerning the Location of Ancient Iran Whence the Arians Emigrated to India.

The text of the opening Fargard or section of that ancient Arian record, the Vendidad, may give some idea as to the geographical position of that country vaguely called Iran, from its giving a description of the climate.

"There Angro Manyus (Ahriman), the deadly, created a mighty serpent and snow; the work of Deva; ten months of winter are there; two months of summer."

The ancestors of the Arians, according to this, inhabited what may be called a very cold country. The truth appears, on the whole, to be that parts of the country which the race inhabited were of a cold and other parts of a temperate climate. The following passage found in the same record, which appears inconsistent with the above, may refer to that part of ancient Iran which has been called "the land of pleasantness." It is as follows: —

"The warm weather lasts seven months and winter five," etc.

It is said this last passage was added by a later editor, "traces of whose interpolation and tampering are discernible throughout." What is regarded as a proof of this position is that the passage is omitted in the Huzuresh or Pehlevi translation; and Lassen, in his Indian Archaeology, gives as his opinion that it is an interpolation. If it be properly regarded as an interpolation, it may, as I have intimated above, be said that the interpolator was quite intelligent in his insertion.

It is understood that the Arians left their primitive abodes in consequence of a convulsion of nature by which a remarkable change of the climate was produced. Some have thought it referred to disruptions of the earth by internal and perhaps external forces through which the Caspian and Aral and other inland seas may have been produced or enlarged, and by the existence of which eventually the climate became sensibly colder. The Caspian Sea borders upon old Iran, and the Aral is in the trans-Caspian district, in the same latitude however, though distant.

In the mention of Ahriman having created "a mighty serpent and snow," the latter would pertain to the idea we have just now been considering. Namely, the change from a temperate to a cold climate

the former, "a mighty serpent," would, doubtless, refer to human enemies, some nomadic nations, perhaps, of those northern regions, who by their cavalry incursions may have rendered the Arian positions even more uncomfortable than the snow had done. But some suppose the great serpent may refer to volcanic eruptions, which they think "could play only a subordinate part" in the great convulsion.

The primeval home of the Arians, whence they migrated on their way towards India is placed by some of the best investigators upon the slopes of the Belur Tagh, in the Highland of Pamir between the 37th and 40th degree of north latitude and the 86th and the 90th degree of longitude. On this western slope of the Belur-Tagh and the Mustagh, the Tian-Shang, or Celestial Mountain of the Chinese the Harô-Berezaiti (Albordsh) is also found, which is invoked in the Zenda-Vesta as the principal mountain and the primeval source of the waters. Lassen has remarked that at the present day the old inhabitants of that district and generally those of Khasgar, Yarkand, Khoten, Turfan and the adjacent highlands are Tadshiks, who speak Persian and who are all agriculturists. The Arians either found the Turcomans already there or the latter came later.

After our Arians had started on their migrations the first settlement they made was at Sogd, and the third at Bakhdi (Bactria). They did not follow the course of the Oxus, for if so they would have come in the first instance to Bactria and not to Sogd. Their course, therefore, was more northerly. The climate of Sogdiana is said to be exactly what the record describes the home of the Arians to have been after the change produced by the above convulsion took place; it has only two months of warm weather.

Between their primitive abode and their settlement in India the Arians made fourteen settlements of which, as said, Sogdiana was the first, and Punjab the 14th.

Their second settlement was Mouru, *i.e.*, Margiana; the third Bakhdi, *i.e.*, Bactria. The fourth was Nisaya, *i.e.*, Northern Parthia. The fifth is Haroya, *i.e.*, Aria. The sixth Vekereta, *i.e.*, Segestan. The seventh is Urva, *i.e.*, Cabul. The eighth is Khneuta, *i.e.*, Candahar. The ninth Haraqaiti, *i.e*, Arachosia. The tenth Hêlmat, *i.e.*, the district of Hilmend. The eleventh Ragha, *i.e.*, Northern Media. The twelfth Kakhra, *i.e.*, Khorassan. The thirteenth Varena, *i.e.*, Ghilan. The fourteenth Haptu-Hindu, *i.e.*, Punjab. The land of the seven Hindus is the country

between the Indus and the Sutledj. In the Vedas the country of the Five Rivers is also called the land of the Seven Sindhus, *i.e.*, the seven rivers.* The Indus and the Sutledj are each formed by the junction of two arms, which in their earlier course were independent rivers.

It was not, therefore, till the fourteenth settlement after the emigration from the primitive country that the Arians (Agriculturists or Nobles) passed the Hindu-Kush and the Indus. Who can estimate the duration of the abode of the ancestors in each of the countries mentioned, or, in other words, the number of generations for each of the localities respectively, reckoning in a direct line from the time they left the primitive country till they passed the Sutledj? The previous resting places form an unbroken chain of the primitive abodes of the Arians. The last link in those earlier settlements is in Afghanistan on the western slope of the Hindu-Kush. An observation of the countries possessed in the progress shows that the Arian ancestors occupied in succession almost all the fertile spots in East Central Asia, excepting southern Media and Farsistan or ancient Persia. But, as history shows the Arian race spread through the whole of Media, although dominant only in Persia, it is a reasonable conclusion that Ghilan and Masandaran, to the southwestward of the Afghan country (which indeed secured their previous possessions with the passes of the Caspian) may have formed the nucleus of those ancient possessions which afterwards became, in many ways, so celebrated.

As already intimated, history, as well as personal observation in the present age, gives unequivocal proof of the Iranian having been the popular language in all those districts so that each country of the Arians was an Iran (Airya). The names in the ancient record before us, when compared with the Sanskrit, are found to be all variations of the very ancient Iranian formations. Moreover, in the inscriptions of the Achemidae, pertaining to Persia, we recognize several of these names, which have become historical in recent times.

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* There are seven rivers pertaining to this part of the country of which the Greeks had the names. They are as follows: —

1. Kaphen (Kubhâ)	
2. Indus Upper,	I. Indus.
3. Hydaspes (Bidaspes)	II. Hydaspes.
4. Akesines (Asikni)	III. Akesines.
5. Hyarotis (Hydraotis, Iravati, Parusni),	IV. Hydraotes.
6. Hyphasis (Vipasa).	
7. Saranges (Upper Satadru = Sutledj)	V. Hyphasis

By our critics great confidence is placed in the historical character of the Vendidad, which they claim to be what it purports to be, at least in part, a history of the early immigrations of the Arians. Its first Fargard or section is divided into two parts; the one comprising the immigration from the Eastern and North-eastern primeval country to Bactria in consequence of some natural catastrophe and climatic change; the other the subsequent extension of the Arian dominion throughout central Asia which terminated in the occupation of the Punjab. The document has, of course, suffered more or less by the interpolation of geographical remarks, the absurdity of some of which shows them not to belong to the text.

The description as to climate of the primeval land would indicate the high lands of central Asia, that of the Altai and of the Chinese Himalaya. This ancient record is corroborated by the most ancient traditions of India; and it is thought the Biblical traditions may represent the Western Aborigines, the Hamites and Shemites, whose primeval abodes are located at the sources of the Euphrates and northwards about those of the Oxus and Jaxartes; while the Turanian or so-called Aryan tradition may represent the Eastern tribes in the primeval land. Some have thought the cause of the climatic change to cold in the northern latitudes might be attributable in the Bible account to the action of water, especially in such peculiar operations of its forces as disrupted the earth's surface and formed inland seas, such as the Caspian, Aral, etc., which so would effect the temperature of the climate. In the Turanian or Arian tradition the cause assigned for the climate's change to cold is assigned to the sudden freezing up of the rivers, which, considering the picture presented by heaps of ice piled up or floating in the waters, suggests to some good investigators the upheavals and dislocations of the superficial strata from the operation of internal forces, principally water in connection with fire. Ten months of winter is the climate of Western Thibet, Pamer and Belur, at the present day, which corresponds with that of the Altai country and the district east of the Kuenlung, the Paradise of the Chinese. In both the general traditions, however, effects are described rather than causes; except we consider that in the Bible the cause given for the occurrence of the Flood is the will of God that it should be so in consequence of the sins of mankind; while in the Vendidad Ormuzd or Ahriman is the cause (creator) of the conditions good or bad, just as they happen to be or to become.

As to the Age and Doctrine of Zoroaster.

In the Armenian Edition of Eusebius we find the name o Zoroaster in his Chaldaen list of kings of Berosus. It is the name of the Median king who conquered Babylon in the year 2234 B. C. It is supposed this king obtained this title from his being a follower of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) the celebrated prophet, that is, that he was a professor of his doctrines. This king founded in Babylon a new dynasty, called Median; but he was preceded in Media by 84 other kings. It is clear, however, from his date that he was not the prophet Zoroaster, and besides, Media, the country from which he came, was not the historical birthplace of the language (Zend) or the religion of the prophet Zoroaster.

Both Aristotle and Eudoxus, according to Pliny (N. H. xxx, 2), place Zarathustra 6000 years before the death of Plato; Hermippus, the Alexandrian, who himself translated the works of Zoroaster and wrote upon astrological topics, put him 5000 years before the Trojan war, which would make it about the same as the date given by the others. The two dates above given being found to agree and the death of Plato being put at 348 B. C., we find the date of Zoroaster and of the introduction of his religion at 6350 B. C. This date, considering the authority on which we have it, is thought to be correct.

The names of the 84 kings who ruled Media before Zoroaster, the conqueror of Babylon, are given by Polyhistor; but some have doubted, as to whether this Zoroaster was himself a Median, supposing he may have conquered Media from Bactria as he afterwards did Babylon from Media. The man himself, however, doubtless understood himself as the hereditary king of the Medes; and allowing for the average reign of his 84 predecessors 20 years, which is the highest average I am disposed to allow for so many in succession, we have the approximate date for the first of that series at 3914 B. C.

According to Haug* the old songs of the Zendavesta describes the prophet as follows: "He it is who offers words in songs, who

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* Deutsch-Morgenland. Zeit. ix, p. 685.

promotes purity by his praise: he upon whom Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd) conferred the good gift of eloquence; he was the first in the world who made the tongue subservient to the understanding; he is the only one who understood the doctrines of the Supreme God and was in a condition to transmit them." He was a priest of the Fire Worshipers, who found the doctrine of the good and evil principle already in vogue, although it is found that the name Ahriman does not yet occur in the oldest records. In his doctrine what is understood principally by evil is evil thought (akô manô) and this is, contrasted with good thought, which is identical with the good principle. It can hardly be said that a personification of the good principle is to be found in his writings. He rather favored the faith in good spirits, Ahuras, the Living, which are called the "Dispensers of Wisdom," (Mazdas); this he found already in existence; but he opposssd the faith in the gods or powers of nature as being the highest beings. At the head of all he placed the One Holy God, Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), "the highest Spirit." He is the creator and sustainer of all existence, the Lord of all the powers of nature. By spiritual life Zoroaster understands a better state on this earth; over all earthly and spiritual life the Lord rules The great axiom of Zoroaster was that "the highest Trinity (drigu) is Thought, Word, Deed." These three in his view are pure in the pure, evil in the evil; from the thought proceeds the word, from the word the deed. His followers have been distinguished as worshipers of Agni or fire.

Concerning the Hindu Reminiscences About the Primeval Country and the Flood.

Neither among the Bactrians nor the Hindus have the reminiscences of the catastrophe in the primeval country nor the account of the flood, in some sort, been altogether lost.

Of the Hindus the North with the sacred mountain of Meru is the primeval land.

Upameru, that is Pamer, that is Meru is the primeval country itself. You can see the Pamer High Land marked on your map on the western slope of the mountain chain, running north from India and bounding China on the west. There is no doubt but that the primeval land, so-called, was understood as extending to the east of that mountain chain, both into Thibet and China, as well as towards the west and north. All allow that the Ottorokorrha of Ptolemy are the Uttara-Kuru or Northern Kuru of the Hindu traditions. In his geography the latter described them as inhabiting a district in the extreme north of central Asia of which he gives the latitude and longitude. This information he must have derived from the Hindus while Hecateus must have derived the information he gives concerning them from the Persians. The two, however, are found to agree in their account. The agreement, therefore, of the Indian and Iranian accounts concerning the location of the primeval land shows that the Indians did not get all the knowledge they possess concerning those northern countries after the time of Alexander the Great.

The Vendidad, the code of the present Parsees, has undergone various processes of composition, of which three main steps are distinguishable: Avesta, Zend and Pâzend. The Avesta is to be considered the original ground work of the code. It means direct higher knowledge, divine Revelation. Its origin is ascribed to the post-Zoroastrian age. Of the laws which it embodies there sprung up in the course of time several interpretations and comments, which as they emanated from recognized competent authority gradually acquired as much weight as the original and came to be incorporated with it. This is the Zend, which means the explanation, commentary of the Avesta. In these comments, however, there were found many things unintelligible to the after genera-

tions, which gave rise to other further comments on these known as Pâzend. All three of these steps exist and are recognizable in the present Zend-Avesta or more properly Avesta-Zend.

As said above the original of the Vendidad, after having stated by way of preliminary that Ahura Mazda had changed the world from its former desert condition into a place fit for civilized habitation, goes on and briefly enumerates sixteen best countries or paradises created by Ahura Mazda, each of which was distinguished from the others by some noteworthy property. In contrast to these certain counter creations of Angrâ Mainyus (the black spirit), are then recorded; but without any further description of them.

But, if now we look more closely into these scanty preliminary notices as to locality we shall find that the geography of the Zend-Avesta was by no means limited to the countries mentioned in this chapter. The whole globe was on several occasions divided by those Airyans into seven Karshvares, or cultivable districts, the names of which frequently recur in the Jeshts, where they are called Areza, Sava, Fradadhafshu, Vidadhafshu, Vouru-baresti, Vouru-garesti and Qaniaratha. This account is deemed very ancient, inasmuch as the seven-portioned earth is mentioned in the Gathas, a collection of songs ascribed to Zarathustra.

The passages which contain the direct evidence of the geographical knowledge of the compilers of the Zend-Avesta are where mention is made of the countries of the Airya (Iranians), the Tûirya (Turanians), the Sairima (Sarmatians), the Saini (the Sanni of the classics, to the west of the Caspian, or, as some think, the Sakini), the Dâhi (the Daher or Daer of the classics, in Hyrcania). In the legend of Shahnameh we find the three sons of Feredun, Selm, Tûr and Ireg, mentioned as the three patriarchs, among whom the whole earth is divided. Most of the particular nations mentioned in the Zend-Avesta belonged to Iran, or Airyâ in its widest acceptation.

In regard to the Hindu tradition about the flood, Weber, in his "Indian Studies," has argued that the variations in the account of it in the Brahmanas of the Yagur-Veda are very ancient in opposition to Burnouf and Lassen, who supposed it to have come into the Indian literature through the Semitic.

As this account appears in the Vedic contemplations (Brahmanas) which form the second part of the White Yagur-Veda, edited by Burnouf, it seems rather in a fabulous garb; but it nevertheless

may have a meaning to convey. Its general picture is about as follows: —

Manu, the patriarch of the human race, found, one morning, a little fish in some water in which he was going to wash. He took it up in his hand and the fish said to him: "Take care of me and I will save you." "Save me from what?" said Manu. "A flood," replied the fish, "will sweep away every living thing; I will save you from it." "How shall I take care of you?" said Manu. "Keep me carefully in a jar till I grow big, then put me into a tank, which you will make for the purpose; and at length throw me into the sea." The fish having grown to a good size said one day to Manu: "In such a year (naming it) the Flood will come; build a ship and turn to me in spirit; when the waters rise get into the ship and I will save you." Exactly as he was bidden Manu did; and when he was in the ship the fish came swimming towards him, whereupon he fastened a rope to it and the fish set off across the northern mountain. "You had better lash your ship to a tree," said the fish, in order that you may not be carried away, although you are on the mountain and when the water subsides you can let yourself down gradually." This is the reason why the northern mountain is called "the slope of Manu." The Flood destroyed all flesh. Manu alone survived. He offered up sacrifice for an invocation of the All (Good) and a prayer for his blessing, whereupon a woman, bringing him the blessing out of the Sacrificial Oil, rose up and addressed him thus: "He who begat me, his am I; I am the blessing thou hast desired." She became by Manu the mother of his race, who still survive; and whatever blessing he desired with her that he obtained. Idâ or Ilâ is the name of woman, the original meaning of which is "thanksgiving," thoug afterwards signified "earth" and is the ordinary name for Manu's daughter.

The Purâna tells this same story with some variations, and expressly mentions the fish who saved Manu, in the Brahminic tradition as Vishnu. In one of the Epodes Manu escapes from the Flood on to the Himavat (Imaus, Himalaya) on the top of which he is saved, and where the family of human beings he had brought with him in the ship took root. The tradition is not mentioned in the Vedas, in which, however, Vishnu is used for the name of the Sun. It is not, therefore, wonderful to find that the first migrating movement of mankind came from the mountains of the north

In the Hindu version of Cosmogony is found much that is common Arian property. Here we find the Cosmic egg. According to Manu Brahma created out of himself the waters which contained a germ or seed. From this came an egg, from which he, "as the first ancestor of all the worlds," was himself born. There are perceived in the Vedas also allusions to this, but the doctrine of the Cosmic egg is more ancient than the Brahmins and the minstrels of the Indus country.

ASSYRIAN, MEDO-PERSIAN AND LYDIAN, AND GREEK AND ROMAN ORIGINES.

Assyrian Origins.

But in addition to what we have found in Polyhistor or from any other source hitherto concerning Babylon we shall have to give a closer look at Assyria, which situated properly between Mesopotamia and Media is the earliest recorded monarchy. Its history is mainly derived from Ctesias, Herodotus and the Old Testament Scriptures. The discoveries by Layard, Rawlinson and others in the cuneiform inscriptions have drawn much attention to ancient Assyria; but the chronologers differ much in the dates they give to the events of its history.

It has been noticed on page 27 of this treatise that the dynasty of 9 Arabian kings over Babylon gave place to the Assyrians, which means that the government, whose capital was Babylon, at this time passed under the government whose capital was Nineveh, and which was called the Assyrian empire.

This Assyrian dynasty over Babylonia continued 551 years, under kings whose number in succession is given variously at from 41 to 45. Its beginning is put in 1298 and its end in 747 B. C., at which last date the Babylonians in conjunction with the Medes achieved a temporary independence of Assyria; and in 122 years later, on the destruction of Nineveh by the same two nations (625 B. C.), attained to complete independence.

For over six centuries, therefore, from its conquest of Babylon to the destruction of its own capital, Assyria was the dominating power of Southwestern Asia. Even in the time of its greatest power it allowed the conquered nations to retain their laws, religion and even kings, but being required to pay tribute and furnish a military

contingent to the imperial army they were generally ripe for revolt, whenever they thought opportunity offered. Its history, therefore, is the record of an empire often badly broken up and as often restored by some heroic king. Even Sardacus (Sardanapalus, III.), who had the misfortune to be king when the city of Nineveh was utterly destroyed, although having the reputation of being an effeminate prince, still had the courage or temerity of destroying his life rather than allow himself to fall into the hands of the enemy. It is only a comparatively few of those 45 kings that we know anything about and of those we do know about it is mostly in their connection with Jewish and Grecian history we have knowledge of them.

Tiglathi–Nin has on his signet ring the inscription: "The Conqueror of Babylon," which reasonably connects him with the conquest of Chhaldea in the beginning of this dynasty (1298 B. C).

Tiglath-pileser 1 (1130 B. C.) may be called the religious conqueror or the Assyrian Otho. He built temples, palaces and castles; introduced the cultivation of foreign animals and vegetables, and constructed canals. He multiplied war chariots and extended the Assyrian empire on the east to the mountains of Persia and on the west to Northern Syria. But even he suffered a defeat from the rebellious Babylonians, who carried his idols to their capital, where they were kept for four centuries. A document of some length in which he himself relates some events of his reign has been discovered; but I consider it not of sufficient importance to embody it here.

Asshur-izir-pal (Sardanapulus I.) (886–858 B. C.) advanced the empire in some degree by conquest, but is chiefly to be remembered for the arts which he caused to be cultivated to such a degree as was never before known in Assyria. He caused great improvement in the way of sculpture in his own palace. Being a hunter as well as a warrior and lover of art he kept a zoological garden wherein he had collected from his own and foreign lands all the wild animals he could procure.

For mention of Pul, king of Assyria, who began to reign, according to Blair, in 777 B. C., see 2 Kings, XV.

Vul-lush III. (810–78½) married Sammuramit, heiress of Babylon, who is considered by good critics to be the original of the mythical Semiramis.

Tiglath-pileser (745–727), captured Damascus and brought into his subjection Ahaz, King of Judah (2 Kings, XVI.).

Shalmaneser III. (727–721) laid siege to Samaria which was taken by his successor Sargon (721–705), who carried off the inhabitants and supplied their place with people from Cutha, Ava, Hamath and Sepharvaim. One of these kings having besieged Tyre five years did not succeed in taking it; but the house of the Sargonidae, which was founded by Sargon, is called the most brilliant of the Assyrian dynasties. These made the neighboring nations to feel the weight of their power. Sargon himself brought Egypt to such a state of subjection that it never after completely recovered its national strength. He also reduced or pacificated Syria, Babylonia, Susiana and a good part of Media.

His son Sennacherib captured the fenced cities of Judah and besieged Jerusalem (710 B. C.); but he afterwards lost 185,000 men, smitten by the angel of the Lord in one night (2 Kings, XIX., Isai. XXXVII.). This was a haughty, overbearing tyrant. On the sculptures we see him standing on his chariot, personally directing the forced labor of his men, who, for this purpose, were mostly captives, bearing their chains and fetters.

Esarhaddon, Sargon's grandson, divided Egypt into small states; he is said also to have planted more colonies in Samaria, drawn from the Assyrian countries. It was either he or his father (Sennacherib) who took Manasseh, king of Judah, captive to Babylon.

Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus II., 667-647), Sargon's great grandson, was a famous warrior and builder as well as patron of art. At Nineveh he erected a magnificent palace in which he established an extensive library.

His son, Asshur-emed-ilin (Sardanapalus III., or Sardacus as he was called by the Greek writers) was the last of the Assyrian kings, he having destroyed himself on the capture of Nineveh in 625 B. C.

It is seen, therefore, from the foregoing that on the partial independence of Babylon and Media from Assyria in 747 B. C., which is called the era of Nabonassar, there arose three governments instead of one, that of the Assyrians of Babylon, that of the Assyrians of Nineveh, and that of the Medes. This was the general condition for 122 years, when there came to be two governments, that of Media and Babylon. For 88 years this state of two governments continued, until in 538 B. C. all became merged in the one Medo-Persian empire.

Medo-Persian Origins.

The kingdom of the Medes I am to speak of here is of later existence than that spoken of on page 102 of this treatise, and is only mentioned separately as preliminary to its connection with Persia. In what I say about these two nations separately before their union under Cyrus or about the Medo-Persian empire after Cyrus I will have in general to follow Xenophon and Herodotus as did Rollin.

The kingdom of the Medes I am now to speak of arose on the ruins of the Assyrian empire. Of the conspiracy against Sardan which resulted in the dismemberment of that empire, Arbaces, the general of the Median army, was one of the chief authors. This was in the year 747 B. C., and some writers say that he then assumed the title of king of Media, as he became master of that as well as of other provinces. With this opinion, however, Herodotus does not agree. The following is a concensus of his thought expressed on this subject: —

The Assyrians, who had for many ages held the government of Asia, began to decline in their power by the revolt of several nations. The Medes first threw off their yoke and maintained for some time the liberty they had acquired by their valor; but this liberty degenerated into licentiousness, and their government, not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy worse than their former subjection. Injustice, violence and rapine prevailed everywhere, because there was nobody that had either power enough to restrain or authority enough to punish the offenders. But all these disorders at length induced the people to settle a form of government which rendered the State more flourishing than it ever was before.

The nation of the Medes was then divided into six tribes, and almost all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the son of Phraartes, a Mede by birth, erected the state into a monarchy. This man, observing the great disorders that prevailed throughout Media, resolved to take advantage of those troubles and make them serve to exalt him to the royal dignity. In his own country he had a good reputation and passed for a man who was not only regular in his own conduct but possessed of all the prudence and equity necessary to govern others.

As soon as he had formed the design of obtaining the throne he labored to make the good qualities which had been observed in him more conspicuous than ever; and in this he succeeded so well that the inhabitants of the village in which he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himself with great prudence, and his cares had all the success that had been expected from them, for he brought the people of that village to a sober and regular manner of life. The inhabitants of other villages, whom perpetual discord suffered not to live in quiet, observing the good order Dejoces had introduced in the place, began to apply to him and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity increased daily; all such as had any affair of consequence brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces which they could not meet with anywhere else.

Finding himself thus far advanced in his design he judged it a proper time to set his last engine to work in order to compass his object. He therefore retired from business, pretending to be overfatigued with the multitude of people that resorted to him from all quarters; and would not exercise the office of judging any longer notwithstanding the persistent importunity of such as wished well to the public tranquillity. Whenever any person addressed themselves to him he told them his own domestic affairs did not give him leisure to attend to those of other people.

The licentiousness which had been for some time restrained by the judicious management of Dejoces began now to prevail more than ever on his withdrawal from public life; and the evil increased to such a degree that the Medes were obliged to assemble and deliberate upon the means of putting a stop to the public disorder.

Dejoces observing all this and that things were succeeding to his wishes sent his emissaries to their assembly, first having instructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for repressive and substitutionary measures in regard to the public disorder came to be proposed, these emissaries, speaking in their turn, represented that unless the republic were entirely changed their country would become uninhabitable; that the only way to remedy the present discord was to elect a king, who should have authority to restrain violence and make laws for the government of the nation: That then every man could prosecute his own affairs in peace and safety; whereas the injustice which now reigned in those parts would have the effect sooner or later, of desolating the country.

This opinion was generally adopted, the assembly being convinced

that no expedient could be devised more effectual for curing the present evil than that of turning the state into a monarchy. They thereupon proceeded to choose a king and their choice unanimously fell upon Dejoces, who was immediately constituted king of Media.

Dejoces began his reign in about 710 B. C., and he reigned thence fifty-three years. At first he endeavored to convince the people that they were not mistaken in their choice of him; but shortly after he began to be very punctilious to have his kingly dignity attended to with all the marks that could inspire an awe and respect for his person. He had his subjects build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he strongly fortified and chose from his old military friends the guards to whose fidelity he intrusted himself and it.

The Medes were largely now of such uncouth manners that they might in a sense be called savages, and, arranging large numbers of these in bands under commanders and superintendents, he set them to work to build a capital city, marking out himself the circumference of the walls. This city was surrounded with seven distinct walls, all disposed in such a manner, that the outermost did not hinder the parapet of the second from being seen, nor the second that of the third, and so on as to the rest. For this the location was extremely favorable, its situation being on a hill whose grade or ascent was equal on every side. Within the innermost inclosure stood the king's palace and the treasury. In the sixth, which was next outwards, there were several apartments for lodging the officers of his household; and the intermediate spaces between the other walls were prepared for the habitations of the people. The first and largest inclosure was about the extent of Athens, and the name he gave to the city was Ecbatana.

The prospect of this city, which will be recognized by the reader of history as a very renowned place, was magnificent, and besides the disposition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheater, the different colors with which the parapets were painted, formed a delightful variety.

After the city was finished and filled with inhabitants, Dejoces turned his attention to the enacting of laws for the government of the state. But now he found himself so engrossed in his varied subject, in the formation of the laws, that he could not pay attention to the communications of his subjects, which caused them to think that he had become too proud to see or hear them, and made them discontended with his rule. He could now be approached only by

certain officers, employed as ushers, and even these, it is said, might neither laugh nor spit in his presence.

He gave such attention, however, to the affairs of state while engaged in composing the laws that it is said, in the innermost part of his palace, he saw everything that was done in his dominions, by means of his emissaries, who informed him of all transactions. By this means no crime escaped either his knowledge or the rigor of the law; and the punishment, coming close on the offense, impressed the wicked with fear and greatly prevented violence and injustice.

This king was so occupied during his reign in the civilization of his people and in providing a code of laws for their equitable government that he had time to engage in no enterprise against any neighboring state. His empire, however, perceptibly suffered from the Babylonians in the latter part of the reign of his immediate successor, of whom we shall now treat.

Phraartes, a name otherwise spelled Aphraartes, reigned twenty-two years. Some have thought this to be the man, called in the Apocalyptic book of Judith, Arphaxad.* Here it is stated that *Arphaxad added new buildings to that very strong city, Ecbatana.* This explains itself.

After this Phraartes, not being content with the kingdom of Media, left him by his father, made war upon the Persians and subjected them to his rule. Strengthened by this accession to his power he made war upon other neighboring nations, one after another, until he gradually subdued to himself all the upper Asia, that is, that portion lying north of mount Taurus, between Media and the river Halys.

Elated with all this success he ventured to turn his arms against the Assyrians, at that time somewhat weakened by the revolt of several nations, but yet powerful in themselves. Nabuchodonosor, otherwise called Saosduchinus, their king, raised a great army in his own country, and sent ambassadors to other nations of the east to ask their assistance. They all refused him with contempt, some of them treating his ambassadors ignominiously, thus letting him see that they no longer dreaded that empire which had formerly kept the greatest part of them in slavish subjection.

Nabuchodonozor determining in his own mind to be revenged on those insolent peoples, whenever he came into position to do so,

* Judith I, 1, 2.

set his battle in array against the Medians with what force he could, in the plain of Ragau. In this battle the Assyrian king won a complete victory over Phraartes and his Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of their confusion he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on to Ecbatana, forced its walls and towers by storm and gave up the city to his soldiers, who plundered it and despoiled it of all its costly decorations.

Phraartes es caping for a time among the mountains of Ragau fell at last into the hands of Nabuchodonosor, who sentenced him to be shot with arrows. The Assyrian king then having returned to Nineveh shortly after sent Holofernes with a powerful army to revenge himself of those who had refused him succors: The progress and cruelties of this commander; the general consternation of the peoples amongst whom he came; the courageous resolution of the Israelites to withstand him, in assurance that Jehovah would defend them; the extremity to which Bethulia and the whole nation was reduced; the miraculous deliverance of the city by the conduct of the brave Judith, and the complete overthrow of the Assyrian army, are all related in the same book (Judith).

The kingdom of the Medes was not, however, at this time overthrown; far from it, for immediately after the death of his father, Phraartes, Cyaxares 1 succeeded to the throne and reigned forty years (635–595). This was a wise and politic prince and seems to have made quite an advantage out of the late overthrow of his army by that of the Assyrians. He first settled himself in his own kingdom, made preparations commensurate with the object he had in view, and then conquered all Upper Asia. He proceeded to attack Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father upon that proud city. The Assyrians came out to meet him, having but the remains of that great army which suffered so badly before Bethulia. In the battle which ensued the Assyrians were defeated and driven back to Nineveh, but that city was saved from its present danger in the following manner:—

A formidable army of Scythians from the neighborhood of the Palus Maotis had advanced into Media in pursuit of the Cymmerians, whom they had compelled to leave Europe. Cyaxares, hearing of this irruption, raised the siege of Nineveh, and marched against that mighty army, which like an impetuous torrent seemed about to overrun all Asia. Having come to an engagement with the Scythians the Medes were vanquished. The conquering army now marched towards Egypt, whence Psammeticus, the then ruler of

that country, diverted them by presents. Turning back into Palestine now they committed what was regarded by the surrounding nations as a most rascally act, namely, that of desecrating and plundering the temple of Venus at Ascalon, the most ancient temple dedicated to that goddess. Some of those Scythians now settled at Bethshan, a city situated in the old kingdom of Israel, and adjacent to the plain of the Jordan, and which from them was afterwards called Scythopolis.

Now, for the space of twenty-eight years, the Scythians remained masters of Upper Asia, to the extent of the two Armenias, Iberia, Colchis, Cappadocia and Pontus. In order to get rid of them the Medes resorted to a most base and treacherous act. Under pretense of cultivating friendship and strengthening the alliance they had made together they invited the greater number of them to a general feast, which was made in every family. Each master of the feast made his guests drunk and in that condition they massacred the Scythians. Of the provinces they had lost the Medes now repossessed themselves, and once more extended their dominion westward to the Halys.

Halyattes, king of Lydia, having given entertainment to many Scythians, who had in this catastrophe of their people fled to him for refuge, Cyaxares now led his troops against Lydia. During the space of five years, it is said, many battles were fought with almost equal advantage remaining on both sides. But the battle they fought in the sixth year is thought to have been very remarkable on account of an eclipse of the sun which took place during its occurrence; an eclipse which Thales, the Milesian, had foretold. The Medes and the Lydians who were then in the heat of the engagement, equally terrified with the unforeseen phenomena, which they looked upon as a sign of anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both sides and made peace with each other. The mediators of this peace were Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and Nabuchodonosor or Labynetus, king of Babylon. To render this peace more lasting the two opposing princes evinced a willingness to strengthen it by the tie of a marriage, and so it was arranged that Halyattes should give his daughter, Aryennis, in marriage to Astyages, the son of Cyaxares.

On the restoration of peace Cyaxares' first care was to resume the siege of Nineveh. Nabopollassar, king of Babylon, had lately joined with him in a league against the Assyrians; and, having united their forces before Nineveh, they took and destroyed that

ancient city, killing Sardacus, the Assyrian king.* The two armies enriched themselves with the spoils of Nineveh; and Cyaxares, prosecuting the war, made himself master of all the cities of the Assyrian kingdom, excepting Babylon and the Chaldean territory which belonged to Nabopollassar.

Cyaxares dying in 595 B. C., left his empire to his son Astyages, who, in his turn, reigned thirty-five years. He is supposed to be the one called Ahasuerus in Dan. IX. 1. Of his long reign there are no particulars recorded in history. The name of his son Cyaxares II., the Darius of Daniel IX. 1, is famous in history, and scarcely less that of his daughter Mandane, the mother of Cyrus. Mandane was, of course, married to Cambyses, the son of Achamenes, king of Persia.

Cyaxares II. succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes in about the year 560 B. C. In conjunction with Cyaxares, as we shall see, Cyrus took Babylon, in the year 538 B. C., and after the death of Cambyses and Cyaxares he united in himself the kingdom of the Medes and Persians. He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, his birth being entered in 599 and that of Cyaxares in 600 B. C.

The Persians were at this time divided into twelve tribes and inhabited only one province of that extensive country which has since been known as Persia. Its population is estimated to have been then only about 120,000 men; but the exertions of Cyrus gave it that large territory which reaches from the Indus to the Tigris river and from the Caspian to the Arabian Sea.

Cyrus was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Persians, which for those times were excellent in regard to education. The common good, the benefit of the nation, was meant to be the principle of all their laws. The education of the children was looked upon as the most important duty and the most essential part of government. It was not left to the care of parents, whose blind affection sometimes renders them unfit for that office; but the state conducted it. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform system, where everything was according to regulation, their exercises, their diet, their rewards and their punishments.

The only food allowed either the children or the young men, was bread, cresses and water; the design being to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety. Besides, it was considered that a plain and frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragouts,

* 626 B. C.

was most conducive to the strengthening of the body, and to the laying the foundation of such robust health as would last to old age. It is said, also, that here the youths went to school to learn virtue and justice, as they do elsewhere to learn the arts and sciences, and one of the crimes or misdemeanors most noticed and punished was that of ingratitude. This system of education produced a very sedate and circumspect race of people, a people distinguished for gravity and reserve, for action rather than unnecessary oratory; a general character, doubtless, nearly corresponding to that of the Turks, especially before the latter nation became polygamous. The design of the Persians in all these regulations was the prevention of evil at the same time with the production of good, they being convinced that it was much easier and less expensive to prevent faults than to repress or punish them.

Till sixteen or seventeen years old the boys remained in the class of children; and here they learned to shoot with the bow or javelin; after which they were received into the class of young men. In this class they were more closely watched and more liable to restraint, that age having the greatest need of restraint, both subjectively and objectively. Here they remained ten years, during which they spent their nights in keeping guard, which served both for the protection of the city and to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they reported to their preceptors and governors for orders, and improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of grown men and in this they remained twenty years. Out of this class all the officers that were to command the troops, and all who were to fill the different posts and officers in the State, were taken. When they were past fifty they were not required to bear arms beyond their own country.

Besides these there was a fourth or last class from which men of the greatest wisdom and experience were chosen, as for the public councils, for judges, for ambassadors, etc. Every citizen might by this means aspire to any post in the government; but no one could attain to those posts till he had gone through all these classes and qualified himself for them by all the regular exercises. All classes were open to all; but generally only such people as were wealthy enough to maintain their children without labor sent their children to the highest classes.

In such manner was Cyrus educated and he is said to have surpassed all of his age not only in his ability to learn but in his tact and dexterity to execute whatever he undertook.

To show how much the manners and customs of the Medes differed from those of the Persians we extract from the history of Cyrus as follows. When Cyrus had attained the age of twelve years his mother Mandane took him with her into Media to his grandfather Astyages, who from the many things he had heard about him had a great desire to see him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners prevailing than those of his own country. Pride, luxury and magnificent display reigned here: For the Medes affected an effeminate life; to be dressed in scarlet, and to wear bracelets, etc., whereas the habits of the Persians were plain, coarse and simple.

Even at his age, however, all this display did not turn the head of Cyrus, who, without criticising or condemning what he saw, chose rather to live as he had been brought up, and adhere to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. His sprightliness and wit, his noble and engaging behavior, not only charmed his grandfather but every observer. From one instance I will relate the rest may be judged of:—

With the intent of making his grandson unwilling to return home Astyages made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was not only a great plenty but a profusion of everything that was nice and delicate to the palate and the eye. But all this magnificent preparation Cyrus beheld with remarkable indifference; and noticing his grandfather to be surprised at his manner he says to him: The Persians instead of going such a roundabout way to appease their hunger have a much shorter way to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answer the purpose. Astyages, then, allowing Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he saw fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the officers in waiting; to one because he taught him to ride; to another because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third because he took good care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cupbearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. Besides the post of cupbearer this officer had also that of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he possibly could not grant that favor to Cyrus, as often as he desired it, he fell under his displeasure and on this account experienced his resentment. For this officer Astyages had a particular regard and testifying some concern at the neglect now shown him, who deserved regard, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity he was accustomed to exercise in his services: And is this all, grandpa, said Cyrus! If this be

sufficient to merit your favor you will see I will quickly obtain it; for I will take upon me to serve you better than he. Thereupon Cyrus is equipped as a cupbearer and advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin thrown across his shoulder and holding the cup deliberately with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and grace which charmed both Astyages and Mandane. When he had done he flung himself upon his grandfather's neck, and kissing him cried out with great joy. O, Sacas! thou art undone; I shall have thy place. Astyages embraced him with great fondness, and said: I am mightily well pleased, my dear child; nobody can serve me with a better grace; but you have forgotten one essential ceremony, which is that of tasting. For, indeed, the cupbearer was accustomed to pour some of the liquor into his left hand and taste it before presenting it to the king: No, replied Cyrus, it is not through forgetfulness that I have omitted that ceremony. Why, then, said Astyages, for what reason did you not do it? Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor. Poison, child! How could you think so? Yes, poison, Grandpa; for not long ago at an entertainment you gave to the nobles of your court, after the guests had drunk a little of that liquor, I noticed all their heads were turned; they sang, made a noise, and talked they knew not what; you yourself seemed to have forgotten that you were king, and they that they were subjects; and, when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs. Why, says Astyages, have you never seen the same thing happen to your father? No, never, says Cyrus. How is it with him when he drinks? Why, when he has drunk, his thirst is quenched and that's all.

Xenophon, from whose cyropedia we have the foregoing, was no less a philosopher than his master Socrates. He here puts into the mouth of a child and conceals under the veil of allegory such instruction as in the original is told with all the wit and naivete imaginable.

The time having come for Mandane to return home Cyrus complied with the request his grandfather had repeatedly made of him to remain in Media, being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he had so far made good progress in, but which was not known in Persia owing to the barrenness of that country and its craggy mountains, rendering it unfit for horses. During the space of four or five years at this court Cyrus increased in wisdom, in stature and in the manly arts, as well as in favor with Astyages and the Median people.

When he was about sixteen years old Evil Merodach, the son of the king of Babylon, made, in a hunting expedition which he was pursuing, an irruption into the territories of Media; and thus did Astyages feel himself obliged to take the field against the invader. It was in this campaign that Cyrus, accompanying his grandfather, served his first apprenticeship in war. So well did he behave himself, while on this expedition, that the victory which the Medes gained, in expelling the Babylonians, was chiefly attributed to him.

The year after, his father recalling him that he might complete his course in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately for his home, so that neither his father nor his country should have reason to complain of his delay. But so much was he beloved by the Medes that, at his departure, he was accompanied by a crowd of all sorts of people a good distance. Astyages himself accompanied him farther on horseback and when the time came for the parting the whole company was bathed in tears.

On his return home Cyrus re-entered the class of children, where he remained one year more. After so long a residence at such a voluptuous court his old companions expected to find a great change in his manners; but when they found him to be content with their ordinary fare and that when he was present at any entertainment he was more sober and temperate than any of the company their respect and admiration for him was much heightened.

From the class of children he passed into that of the youths, and here it soon appeared he had no equal in dexterity, address, obedience and patience.

Ten years after he was admitted into the class of the men, wherein he remained thirteen years till he set out in command of the Persian army to go to the help of his uncle, Cyaxares.

Astyages, king of Media, dying, as said before, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus' mother. This monarch, soon finding himself involved in war with the Babylonians, asked aid from Cambyses, king of Persia; and further, he requested that Cyrus should be sent in command of the relief corps. These requests were granted and a force of about 31,000 Persians sent to assist him under the command of Cyrus. When the preparations were made and the army was about to set out on its march Cyrus made to his officers and men the following speech, in order to inspire them with the strongest assurance of success: Do you know, says he, the nature of the enemy you are about to confront? They are soft, effeminate, enervated men, already half

conquered by their own luxurious and voluptuous living, men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equally incapable of bearing either the toil of war or the sight of danger; whereas to you, who are inured from your infancy to a sober and hard way of living, to you, I say, hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce, to your meals; fatigues are your pleasure, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and glory your only passion. Besides, another considerable advantage lies in the justice of your cause. They are the aggressors. It is the enemy that attacks us and it is our friends and allies we go to aid. Can anything be more just than to repel the injury they offer us? Is there anything more honorable than to make all haste to the assistance of our friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of your confidence is that I do not enter upon this expedition without having first consulted the gods and implored their protection; for, you know, it is my custom to begin all my actions and undertakings in that manner.

On this his first expedition from Persia Cyrus set out in 559 B. C. in the fortieth year of his age: Cambyses, his father, accompanied him to the Median frontier, on the way, meantime, giving him such instructions as pertain to the good commander of an army to have. After the many lessons he had already received from the ablest military tacticians of the age Cyrus thought himself pretty well prepared to occupy the position of a commander, but now he was required to listen to more instructions from his experienced parent. Have your preceptors, says Cambyses, to him, given you any instructions concerning economy, that is to say, concerning the supplying of an army with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and preserving the health of the men; of fortifying their bodies by frequent exercises, of exciting a generous emulation among them, of making yourself esteemed and beloved by your soldiers?

Upon several of these points Cyrus owned he had never heard one word mentioned, and that this was all entirely new to him. What is it, then, your preceptors have taught you? asked Cambyses. They have taught me, replied he, to fence, to use the bow, to cast the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops, to review them, to see them march off, file off, and encamp.

Cambyses, smiling, intimated to him that they had taught him nothing of those things which it was most material and essential

for a good general to know. The question was: What are the proper means of making the soldiers obedient and submissive? The way to effect this, says Cyrus, seems to be very easy and certain; it is only to praise and reward those who obey; to stigmatize and punish those who fail in their duty.

You say well, says Cambyses. That is the way to make them obey you by force; but the chief point is to make them obey you freely and willingly. Now the sure method of effecting this is to convince those you command that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themselves; for all mankind readily submit to those of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle from which that blind submission proceeds, which you see sick persons pay to their physicians, travelers to their guides and the ship's company to their pilot. Their submission is founded only upon their persuasion that the physician, the guide and the pilot are all more skillful and better informed in their respective callings than they are themselves. But what shall a man do, asked Cyrus, to appear more skillful and expert than others? He must really be so, replied Cambyses; and in order to be so he must have applied himself closely to his profession, diligently study all the rules of it, consult the ablest and expertest masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprise; and above all he must have recourse to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wisdom and all our success.

Cyrus having made a junction of his forces with those of Cyaxares came to learn the numbers of the forces of the enemy and finding that to be about double what himself and his uncle could bring to oppose it he suggested a new expedient: This was, that the Persians who had been accustomed hitherto to fight at a distance with the bow and javelin should now be armed with short swords, daggers and battle axes, so as to engage the enemy at close quarters; that only in this way could they prevail again such great numbers. This suggestion of Cyrus was willingly accepted and acted upon by Cyaxares and ultimately brought success.

As Cyrus was engaged in viewing his army one day a courier arrived to inform him that his uncle Cyaxares needed his presence, at an audience he was about to give to the embassadors of the king of the Indies; and that in order that he should make a sufficiently grand appearance before those functionaries his uncle asked him to put

on the robe he had sent him for that purpose. Cyrus lost not a moment in putting on the robe but instantly set out with his troops and so presented himself to his uncle in the Persian fashion. Cyaxares, casting his eyes on him, appeared dissappointed, and Cyrus noticing this said: If I had dressed myself in purple and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold, and, with all this, had been long in coming, should I have done you more honor than I now do by my expedition and the sweat of my face, and letting all the world know with what promptness and dispatch your orders are obeyed?

It is seen here that Cyrus may have been called a mule for more reasons than the one usually assigned, namely, that his father was a Persian and his mother a Median; he appears to have been self-determinative, to have had, as we would say, a will of his own; to have been, in a sense, a rough and ready republican.

Cyaxares, however, now satisfied with the answer of Cyrus, ordered the Indian ambassadors to be introduced. Of their speech the purport was that they had been sent by their king to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and Babylonians, and that they were instructed, when they had heard what the king of the Medes had to say on his side, to proceed to the court of the king of Babylon to learn what motives he, on his part, had to assign for his proceeding; all this to the end that their king, having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those who, in his judgment, had right on their side. Cyaxares and Cyrus thereupon answered that they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India to the end that the existing trouble might be peaceably settled. In the sequel it appears that the Indian king declared for the king of the Medes.

Cyrus being diverted to Armenia, in order to compel submission there to the king of the Medes, they were not ready to proceed on their march against the king of Babylon before the year 556 B. C., at which time the Armenian king, who had been now compelled or induced to submission, augmented their army by the addition of his national forces. The Medo-Persian army was also much strengthened now as it proceeded into the Babylonian territories by the defection to the side of Cyrus of Gobryas and Gadates, two very strong princes or governors in that country. To punish these seceders the king of Assyria now took the field; but, behold, they are under the protection of the conquerors of Nineveh, and Cyrus

in company with them having engaged his force compelled him to retreat behind the walls of Babylon. In this condition of affairs most Cyrus was able to do at this present was to induce Nabonedus, otherwise called Belshazzar, to sign a treaty, engaging that he would not molest the allies of Cyrus in Babylonia during his absence, and that he would not cause or permit the agriculturists of Babylonia to be disturbed while cultivating their grounds or harvesting their crops.

Cyrus then began his march to Media, whither, having arrived on the frontier, Cyaxares manifested some suspicion of him, returning as he was at the head of such a large army flushed with victory; but Cyrus having explained everything to him he was satisfied and harmony was re-established between them.

Cyaxares now, having no male heir, offered to Cyrus his daughter in marriage, with the kingdom of Media for her dower. Cyrus expressed in the warmest terms his acknowledgment of the honor, but did not feel at liberty to accept it until he had gotten the consent of his parents thereto. On his return from Persia Cyrus married this princess and then began to prepare, in the formation of a great and effectual army, for the accomplishment of the great object he had in view, which was no less ultimately than the conquest of Babylon. To this end he first thought it necessary to attack the allies of Babylon and so directed his march against the kingdom of Lydia in Asia Minor. Here he fought the great battle of Thymbra, in which he defeated Crœsus and his allies. The Egyptian force on this hard fought field, of which there were reckoned 120,000 men, were the most redoubtable of the opponents of Cyrus, and it was only by his coming to a composition with them that he was enabled to end this battle. After the fight Crœsus, the rich king of Lydia, fell into the hands of Cyrus.

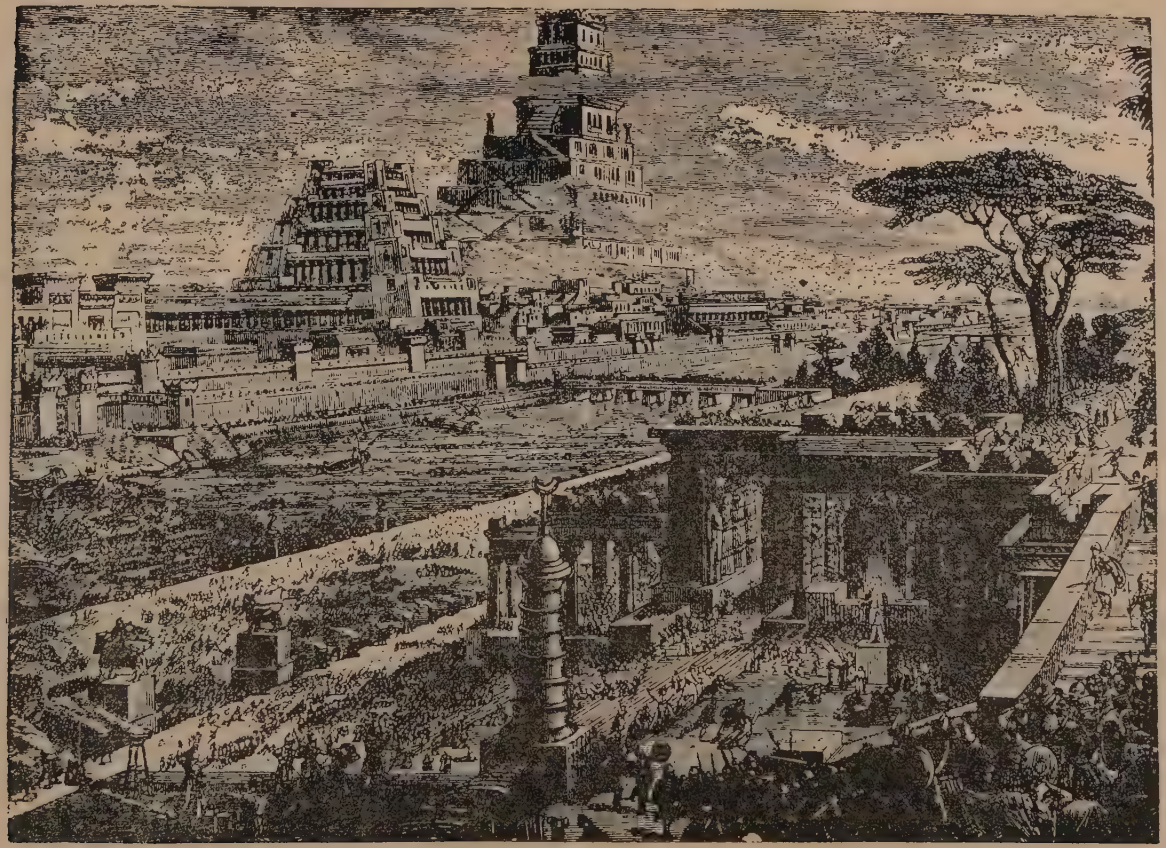
In this campaign Cyrus reduced to subjection to the Medes all the nations of Asia Minor between the river Halys and the Ægean Sea. After this he enters Assyria and advances against Babylon, the only city in those parts, which now stood out against him. To take this city was no easy task; its walls were so prodigiously strong and high and it is said to have had quite a good store of provisions within them. These difficulties did not, however, discourage Cyrus; but seeing that the place must be taken by some other way than by storm or assault he made believe he intended to reduce it by famine, although perhaps he had had from the start

another intention concerning it. To this end he caused a line of circumvallation to be made quite round the city with a large and deep ditch, and, that his men might not be overworked, he divided his army into twelve bodies and assigned to each of these its season of labor at the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves secure, by reason of the height of the walls and the considerable store of provisions within, insulted Cyrus' men from the top of the wall and laughed at all their attempts as so much labor spent in vain.

But as soon as Cyrus had the ditch, which he had been long preparing, finished, he entered upon the execution of his plan, a plan which until the time of its execution, he is said not to have communicated to any one. It is to be kept in mind that the river Euphrates coursed through the city; and, accordingly, he posted one body of his troops, under the Chaldean traitor, Gobryas, on that side where the river entered; and another body, under the traitor, Gadates, on the side where it flowed out of the city, and ordered these commanders to enter the city that night through the bed of the river so soon as they found it to be fordable.

Having given all necessary orders to his officers, in the evening the sluices of the river were opened and the waters of the river were conveyed into the ditches and made to course round the city instead of through it. By this means the channel of the Euphrates became drained in a comparatively short time and the two forementioned bodies of troops, under the commanders aforementioned, advancing into the city without opposition, met together at the royal palace, as according to their pre-arranged plan, and surprised and slew the guards. Some of the company who were within the palace, carousing with Belshazzar, opening the door to learn what noise was that they had heard, the soldiers from without rushed in and put all to the sword, including the king. The conquerors then gave thanks to the gods for having enabled them to accomplish so great a thing.

The foregoing is the account generally received of the way and manner of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus; but some see in this account a somewhat romantic or fictitious physiognomy; and suppose they have fair historical ground for concluding that Babylon yielded to a regular siege and opened its gates to appease its hunger and supply its wants; that is, if there were any siege necessary in this case. Those who conclude in this way follow Polyhistor, as seen on page 29 of this treatise, and any other writers



BABYLON TAKEN BY CYRUS.

who are consonant with him as to the history of Babylon, in its relation to Cyrus. But however it may have been in fact, it is taken as pretty certain that Bablyon was captured by Cyrus in 538 B. C., an event which put an end to the Assyrian empire, which had lasted from the beginning of Nabonassar's reign, 210 years; or as the Babylonian-Assyrian empire, from the beginning of the reign of Nebopollassar, 88 years.

Thus was the power of that city destroyed fifty years after she had destroyed the city and temple of Jerusalem; and herein were accomplished those prophecies which Isaiah, Jeremiah and Daniel have denounced against her.

But the prophets had foretold an entire destruction of Babylon and this has so happened that the location of that city is hardly recognizable now. On its capture by Cyrus Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere as at Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, Ctesiphon, etc.

Pliny informs us that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, not only neglected it but built Seleucia in the neighborhood which they used as a capital instead.

At the time Pausanias wrote in 96 A. D. there was nothing left of that city but the time-worn walls. His words are: "But that renowned Babylon, the greatest city the sun ever shone upon, has nothing left excepting the walls." But at length even the walls disappeared. The domestic animals abandoned the place; serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dangerous place for persons who were curious to go there and search after its antiquities; even the Euphrates, at this place, became a marsh.

Alexander the Great in 330 B. C. meditated making it the seat of his government; but his death a few years later prevented the carrying out of this design. In Isaiah XIV. 22, God had said: "I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant." And in verse 23: "I will make it a possession for the bittern and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction." These are prophecies which have had a marked fulfillment. For, by means of all the changes that have been wrought in and about it, Babylon has become literally a desert, so that geographers at this day can with difficulty discover its topography. This prophecy the Lord confirmed by an oath (vs. 24–25): "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and, as I have purposed, so shall it stand: That I will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under

foot; then shall his yoke depart from off their shoulders." But this oath, taken in its full application, is not to be confined to Babylon; it is applicable also to the whole wicked world, whereof Babylon is the type. And as Babylon is a type of the wicked so is Jerusalem of the righteous, so that between the righteous and the wicked, as between their types, a distinction will eternally stand.

So long as his uncle, Cyaxares, lived, Cyrus seems to have governed the empire in copartnership with him, but the fact seems to be that Cyaxares held first place. After the capture of the city Cyaxares made it his residence, but lived only two years, 538–536, when Cyrus assumed the supreme government. Cyaxares, as I have said before, is the one who is called in Dan. IX. 1, Darius, the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes. Doubtless Darius and Cyaxares were in the original language of their nation understood as variations of the same root name. But during the two years of Cyaxares' reign at Babylon he and his nephew, Cyrus, concerted a scheme of government for the empire which they divided into 120 provinces. Over these provinces they appointed 120 governors; and over these again they placed three presidents or superintendents, of whom we learn Daniel was first,* as in after times Napoleon was named first or chief of the three consuls. Daniel being thus placed in so enviable a position, as that of the second person in the empire, was the cause of the jealousy of the Babylonian nobles, which resulted in having Daniel cast into the den of lions. Out of this place, however, he emerged unhurt, and besides this very event was the cause of augmenting his reputation. People who have attained or have been promoted to high positions are not unlikely to have some envious calumniators, especially among their old acquaintances and equals; but let such use their ability and influence in all humility in advancing the cause of God and the real interests of man and no evil is likely to happen unto them, or if such must needs suffer let it surely be in a good cause.

On the review of his troops at Babylon at the end of the year 538 B. C., Cyrus found that he had at that point 120,000 cavalry, 2,000 scythed chariots, horses and men in mail armor, and 600,000 infantry. Having furnished the garrisons with as many men as were necessary for defense he proceeded to subdue all the countries towards the Arabian Sea and the confines of Ethiopia.

With Cyrus, properly speaking, after the death of Cyaxares, begins the Medo-Persian empire, the two kingdoms of Media and

* Dan. VI.

Persia being united in him not only on the Median side, through his wife and his mother, but through his own present abilities.

In his after years, Cyrus is said to have enjoyed peaceably the fruits of his labors, beloved equally by his own hereditary subjects and the peoples whom he had subjugated. His empire was bounded eastward by the Indies; westward by the Ægean Sea; northwards by the Caspian and the Euxine Sea and southwards by the Sea of Arabia and the frontiers of Ethiopia.

As to the seven years which he lived after the death of his uncle he spent the seven winter months of each year at Babylon because of the warmth of the climate there; three months at Susa in the spring; and two months at Ecbatana during the summer heat. To the very last he enjoyed a vigorous constitution, which Xenophon attributes to the sober, virtuous and temperate life he had led: Whereas they who give themselves up to drunkenness, gluttony or debauchery of any kind often feel the infirmities of age even while they are yet young.

Before his death he declared Cambyses, his eldest son, his successor in the government, giving to Tanoxaras, a younger son of his, the government of several provinces. He conjured them to live in peace with each other and on his death to consign his body immediately to the earth without inclosing it in gold or silver casket or in any cover whatever. Restore it, said he, immediately to the earth. Can it be more happy than in being blended and, in a manner, incorporated with the benefactress and common mother of mankind? Cyrus seems to have been acquainted with the tradition of man's derivation from the earth, or, as some Greeks had it, Autochthon; but he doubtless also knew that the spirit of man is from above, heaven-derived.

According to Polyhistor, as seen on page 29 of this treatise, Cyrus reigned at Babylon nine years after he had captured it, which so far is consistent with the other accounts, for in these nine years are included the two which Cyaxares lived at Babylon and the seven that Cyrus lived there after Cyaxares' death. But Polyhistor has Cyrus to come to his death in battle in the plain of Dahuras (Dura), while Xenophon has him to have died in peace.

Indeed Herodotus and Xenophon, the two authors upon whom we depend mainly for the history of Cyrus, relate the accouuts of his life and death in entirely different ways. What I have given hitherto is chiefly from Xenophon, which I have considered the more worthy of credence in this case and more consonant with the

accounts given in the Scriptures. But Herodotus, while telling us that those two great events, namely, of the birth and death of Cyrus, were related, even in his day, in different ways, proceeds to give the most wonderful and extravagant stories that can be imagined about these events, as follows: Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned in a frightful dream that a son who was to be born of his daughter would dethrone him, did, therefore, marry his daughter, Mandane, to a Persian of obscure birth, whose name was Cambyses. This daughter being delivered of a son the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to destroy the infant. He, instead of killing the child, gave it in charge to one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child being rescued and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards recognized by his grandfather, who thereupon banished him to the remote parts of Persia, and vented his wrath upon Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast and caused to feed on the flesh of his own son. Several years after young Cyrus being informed by Harpagus who he was and being encouraged by his counsels raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, defeated him in battle and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.

Then, as to Cyrus' death, Herodotus has him die in a way altogether different from that given above. According to this account Cyrus invaded the Scythian country and having attacked them in the first battle feigned a retreat, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians were delighted on coming into possession of the booty and having drank largely of wine and gone to sleep Cyrus returned upon them and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, among whom was a young son of the queen, who commanded the army. This young prince having returned from his intoxication, on beholding his subject condition of a prisoner, committed suicide. His mother, Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians battle a second time, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by this means drew them into an ambush and killed about 200,000 of their men, together with their king. Then ordering Cyrus' head to be struck off she flung it into a vessel full of blood, saying at the same time: "Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable."

What Herodotus also relates about the uncontrollable passion of

Cyrus and his childish revenge against the river in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and which he caused to be cut by his army into 360 channels, is directly contrary to the character we have of Cyrus in Xenophon, a character distinguished all through by moderation and humanity. Besides, any one will see how ridiculous the idea of Cyrus using his army in war against a river, in causing it to course in so many channels instead of one, and all this labor because a horse of his had been drowned in it.

But as I have said Herodotus, who has been called the champion storyteller, explains that even in his time, which was only about a century after Cyrus' death, there were different accounts as to the birth, life and death of Cyrus. He inclined to perpetuate the most wonderful stories that came to his knowledge; and in the case of the history of Cyrus his is not, in point of credibility, to be compared with Xenophon's account.

Medo-Persian Rulers:

Cyrus, the Persian.....Cyaxares or Darius the Mede.
Cambyses.....first year 529 B. C.
Smerdis (his brother).
Darius Hystaspes.....first year 521 B. C.
Xerses I.....first year 486 B. C.
Esther queen.....first year 478 B. C.
Artaxerses Longimanns.....first year 465 B. C.
Xerses II.
Sogdianus.
Darius Nothus.....first year 424 B. C.
Artaxerses Mnemon.....first year 405 B. C.
Ochus (Eochaid).....first year 364 B. C.
Darius Codomanus.....348–334 B. C.

Lydian Origins.

The first dynasty of the kings of Lydia are by Herodotus called Atyadæ, that is, descendants of Atys. He tells us they derived their origin from Lydus, the son of Atys, and from Lydus, those people took the name of Lydians, who before that time were called Mæonians.

The Atyadæ were succeeded by the Heraclidæ, or descendants

of Hercules, who possessed this kingdom for the space of 505 years. Argo,* great grandson of Alcæus, son of Hercules, was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned in Lydia. The last was Candaules, whose murder was brought about by the contrivance of his wife. She, on his death, married his murderer, Gyges, and thus was begun the dynasty of the Mermnadæ.

Archilochus the poet, who was a contemporary of Gyges, speaks in his poems of the adventures of the latter. Plato† relates the story of Gyges in a different way from Herodotus. Even Ciccro comments upon the story, especially as to the magic ring.

Gyges having reigned 38 years was succeeded by his son Ardys, 680 B. C., who reigned forty-nine years. It was in the reign of Ardys that the Cymmerians, driven out of their own country by the Scythians, went into Asia Minor and took the city of Sardis, with the exception of the citadel.

Sadyattes, his successor, reigned twelve years. He declared war against Miletus and besieged that city, but in those days sieges were a slow business and he died before the city was taken.

Halyattes, his successor, reigned fifty-seven years, beginning in 619 B. C. He vigorously prosecuted the blockade of Miletus which had lasted already six years in the days of his father and was continued six years longer by him. This siege ended in the following manner: Halyattes upon an answer he had received from the oracle at Delphi, sent an ambassador into the city to propose a peace for some months. Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, having notice of his coming, ordered all the corn and other provisions, collected by him and his people for their support, to be brought into the public market, and he commanded the citizens, that on a signal being given, they should present the appearance of feasting and jollity. The thing being carried out as proposed the Lydian ambassador on his arrival was greatly surprised to see such a plenty of provisions on hand and such a great cheerfulness reigning in the city. His lord and master, to whom he reported what he had seen, concluded he could not succeed in reducing the city by famine, and so preferring peace to fruitless war forthwith raised the siege. This is the prince who made war against Cyaxares, King of Media, and who also drove the Cimmerians out of Asia Minor. Besides he besieged and took the cities of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. Crœsus, his successor, began his reign in 562 B. C. His name is

* 1223 B. C.
† Rep. 1, II.

proverbial for riches. Owing to the possession of some gold mines in his territories he became possessed of much of the precious metals, which wealth of his had not, however, the effect of rendering him sensual, voluptuous or inactive. He thought it unworthy of a rational being to spend his time in idleness and the pleasures of sense. He was much of his time in arms and enlarged his dominions by the addition by subjugation of several neighboring provinces, notably Phrygia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the Carians, Dorians and Æolians. He was the first conqueror of the Greek colonists in Asia Minor. But though so immensely rich and such a great warrior his pleasure was mostly in literature and his court is said to have been the ordinary residence of those extraordinary characters called the seven wise men of Greece, among whom were Solon and Æsop, the author of the fables, who had formerly been a slave. Crœsus, as you have learned before, was conquered by Cyrus.

Grecian Origines.

Grecian history is divided by the best authorities into four ages, distinguished by so many different epochs, aggregating 2154 years.

The first age extends from the foundation of the several petty states of Greece (beginning with Sicyon, which is the most ancient) to the siege of Troy and comprehending about 1,000 years, that is, from the year 2184 to the year 1184 B. C.

The second age extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius Hystaspes, at which time the Grecian history begins to be mixed with that of the Persians, and includes a period of 663 years, or from 1184 to 521 B. C.

The third age extends from the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspes to the death of Alexander the Great, and embraces a period of 198 years, that is, from 521 to 323 B. C.

The fourth and last age commences at the death of Alexander the Great, at which time the Grecian powers began to decline, and extends to their final subjection to the Romans, in about 30 B. C. or about 293 years.

Javan or Ian (Gen. X., 2), the son of Japheth and grandson of Noah, is understood by the most competent historians and philologists, as the ancestor of the Greeks through his son Elisha. Though some have looked upon Javan as the ancestor of

the Ionians only, yet the Hebrews, the Arabians, the Chaldeans and other eastern nations call the whole body of Greeks by the name of Ionians, that is, descendants of Javan. Even Alexander, in Daniel VIII., 21 is mentioned as the king of Javan (not the king of Grecia as in the translation).

Javan had four sons (Gen. X. 4), Elishah, Tarshish, Chittim and Dodanim, and as Javan was the ancestor of the Greeks in general it is to be expected that we shall find some proofs of the settlement in Greece of one or more of his sons.

Elisha is the same as Hellas, as it is rendered in the Chaldee translation, and the word Ἕλληνες, which was used as the common appellation of the whole Grecian peoples, in the same manner as the name Ἑλλας was of the country, has just this origin. Also the topographical appellations Elis in Peloponnesus, the Elysian fields, the river Elisus or Ilisus, etc., all point to the same origin. Valis or Valeia, the local name of Elis, points to Pelasg as the root, the Pelasgi having inhabited Peloponnesus.

Tarshish was the second son of Javan, but it seems to be generally understood by historians that his descendants were settled mostly in Spain, and in the islands and countries about the Mediterranean, from all which countries they, being largely a seafaring people, settled the British Isles.

Chittim, the name given to the third son of Javan, is a plural form, the root singular being Chith, nominative Chaed. This is the original of the word Goth, Chuth and Chus. The first book of Maccabees 1, 1, says that Alexander, the son of Philip, the Macedonian, went out of his own country, Chethim, to make war upon Darius, king of Persia. And in chapter VIII., speaking of the Roman victories over Philip and Perseus, these two last kings of Macedon are called kings of Cethim. In the mind, therefore, of this writer, Macedonia was Chittim, which so far is correct. But there is no doubt that Chittim was applied to other countries besides Macedon, notably to Italy, and even to islands. Macedonia was therefore only one country of the Chittim.

Dodanim, or as some copies read it, Rodanim, was the fourth son of Japheth. This is also a plural form, the root singular being Dodan, or rather Dedaan. This being so there is no doubt the Dodanim were settled in various countries as were the Chittim. The topographical name, Dodona in Epirus, celebrated for its oracle, is thought to point derivatively to Dodanim, the son of Javan.

There was generally recognized among the Greeks a division into four races, each distinguished dialectically from the others. These were the Ionians, of whom the principal were the Athenians, the Dorians of whom the principal were the Spartans; the Æolians, and the Achaians. The dialects of all these became ultimately merged in perfected Attic.

According to Pliny the Greeks were so-called from the name of an ancient king of theirs of whom they had no very certain tradition; but the word Græcus is not used by Virgil. Homer, in his poems, calls them Hellenes, Danai, Argives and Achaians. In the word Helas, root Helad, we have Celt and Pelt.

In her early Japhetic state Greece was subject to frequent commotions and revolutions. In those days they generally resorted to violence to settle their differences. The stronger invaded the lands of their neighbors, which they thought were better than their own, and dispossessed the owners, who were thus obliged to seek settlements elsewhere. As Attica was a barren and rugged country its inhabitants were not so much disturbed and, therefore, remained from age to age in possession of their ancient patrimony. For this reason they knew nothing of any other than their home origin and to called themselves *Αυτοχθονες* that is, earth-derived people.

Ancient States of Greece.

The ancient Grecian states were of small sizes, the name of state or kingdom being sometimes applied to a single city. The most ancient kingdom of Greece was Sicyon, whose beginning is put by Euschius 1313 years before the first Olympiad, that is, in 2089 B. C. This lasted about 1000 years, its people being Pelasgian.

The next most ancient state is Argos in Peloponnesus, whose beginning is put in 1856 B. C. Its first king was Inachus, also a Pelasgian. His successors were his sons Phoroneus, Apis, Argos, from whom the country derived its name, and after several others, Gelanor, who was expelled his country by Danaus, the Egyptian. This change of government took place as early as 1550 B. C. or say 300 years after the foundation of the state by Inachus, and here begins a new dynasty.

The successors of Danaus were Lynceus, his nephew, that is, the son of his brother, Sesostris the Great; then Abas, Proteus, and

Acrisius. Of Danæ, the daughter of this last, was born Perseus, who transferred the seat of his kingdom from Argos to Mycenae, doubtless beginning a new dynasty.

Perseus left several sons, among others Alcæus, Sthenelus and Electryon. Alcæus was the father of Amphitrion, Sthenelus of Eurystheus, and Electryon of Alcmena. Amphitryon married Alcmena, of whom Jupiter begat Hercules.

Eurystheus and Hercules were born on the same day; but, as by Juno's contrivance, the birth of the former anteceded by a little that of the latter, Hercules became subject to him and by his order was obliged to undergo the twelve labors, so celebrated in fabulous history.

The kings who reigned at Mycenæ after Perseus were Electryon, Sthenelus and Eurystheus. Atreus, the son of Pelops, uncle by the mother, to Eurystheus, was the latter's successor. And in this way the crown came to the descendants of Pelops, from whom Peloponnesus, which before was called Apia, derived its name. The mutual enmity of the two brothers, Atreus and Thyestes, is well known.

Plisthenes, the son of Atreus, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Mycenæ, to whom in turn succeeded his son, Agamemnon, the chief of the Grecian forces at the siege of Troy; and he was succeeded by his son Orestes. The kingdom of Mycenæ, during the reign of the dynasty of Pelops, was distinguished by many and flagrant crimes.

Trisimenus and Penthilus, sons of Orestes, reigned after their father and were at last driven out of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules.

Of the kingdom of Athens Cecrops, a native of Egypt, was the founder, whose time is put at about 1556 B. C. He established the council of the Areopagus and divided the country subject to him into twelve districts. In the reign of his successor Cranaus the tribunal of the Areopagus decided the famous suit between Neptune and Mars. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more ancient than the advent of Cecrops thereto, being placed in the 1020th year before the first Olympiad or in about 1796 B. C.

Amphyction, the third king of Athens, established a confederacy between the twelve governments of Attica, which, through their representatives, assembled twice a year at Thermopylæ to consult upon the general affairs of the nations and the affairs of each nation in particular. This assembly was called the Amphictionic council.

The reign of Erectheus or Erecthonius who comes next before Amphyction is distinguished by the arrival in Attica of Ceres, after the rape of her daughter Proserpine; as also for the institution of the mysteries at Eleusis.

But the most illustrious period in the history of the heroes is the reign of Ægeus, the son of Pandion, put for 1284 B. C. In his days are placed the expedition of the Argonauts; the labors of Hercules; the war of Minos, second king of Crete, against the Athenians; and the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

Theseus succeeded his father Ægeus. He united the twelve nations of Attica into one government or body politic.

Codrus was the last king of Athens. He devoted himself to die for his people, and after him the title of king was abolished. Medon, his son, was now set at the head of the government, with the title of archon, that is, chief or president. The first archons were elected for life, but the Athenians still thinking this bore too close a resemblance to royalty elected their archons every ten years, and at last made the office annual.

The foundation of the city or tower of Thebes in Bœotia by Cadmus, the Phœnician, is placed in the year 1455 B. C. He there fixed his residence while he introduced letters among the Greeks.

As to Sparta or Lacedemon, it is supposed that Lelex, the first king of Laconia, began his reign about 1516 B. C. Tindarus, the ninth successive king, had, by Leda, twin sons, Castor and Pollux, besides Helen, and Clytemnestra, the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Having survived his two sons, the twins, he put himself to choose a successor by looking out for a suitor for his daughter Helen. All the suitors, of whom there were many, having agreed to leave the choice to this lady herself, she at length determined in favor of Menelaus, the brother of Agamemnon. With him she had not lived more than three years before she was carried off by Paris, otherwise called Alexander, the son of Priam, king of Troy; and this rape was the cause of the Trojan war. This war was waged on the coast of Asia and in it Greece gave indication of the possession of such ability as ultimately, in Alexander and his successors, brought Asia to her feet. The Greeks took Troy after a siege of ten years and the date of its capture is given by Usher in 1184 B. C. Some wise investigators think that the so-called war and siege of Troy are purely mythical; but, let this be as it may, in the tracing of historical epochs the dates given for the capture of Troy and the first Olympiad have to be kept in view.

The Olympiads.

An olympiad is the space of four years, which was the time that intervened between the celebration of the (Olympic) games. These games were celebrated every four years at the town of Pisa, otherwise called Olympia, in Pelaponnesus. The year 776 B. C., or that year in which Corebus won the prize in the foot race, begins the first Olympiad.

In the early times the Greeks proper paid little attention to Macedonia; in fact they seem not to have thought it part of Greece. Her kings lived retired in woods and mountains and claimed their descent from Hercules, which, however, might point to their Grecian origin. It was in the times of Philip and Alexander that the star of Macedonia shone out most brilliantly among the nations. This dynasty was founded in 794 B. C., so that, at the time Perseus, its last king, was conquered by the Romans, it had lasted 626 years.

Roman Origins.

For the early history of the Romans we have no other authority than tradition and the stories of poets. According to these, Æneas with his father Anchises, his son Ascanius and a small band of followers, fled from the destruction of ancient Troy, which we see, as according to Usher, took place in 1184 B. C., and sought the shores of Latium,* that is, Italy. Here he at length married Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, the king of the country, and thus became his successor.

Alba-longa, a city of Latium, whose language, as has been remarked, shows that it belonged to a cultivated people, is regarded as the parent city of Rome. If the story of the Trojan descent is to be credited, then the ancestors of the founders of Rome had been in Italy 431 years before the city, Rome, was founded. And if besides the story of the Trojan war is to be credited as a historical transaction then that war may in a sense be called the first contest of the Greek with the Romans.

The tradition makes Romulus and Remus to have been twin brothers who were suckled on a female wolf and to have lived in

* Lati root, equals Ital root.

the first half of the eighth century before Christ. Romulus himself founded the city Rome, in about 753 B. C. Romulus was the chief of a war-like band of men from Alba-longa, and marked out the location of the city himself with a plough. He was elected the first king of the new city. The tradition of the suckling of their ancestors by a female wolf the nation we call the Turks and doubtless other nations had in common with the Romans.

In the root Troy I can see the root Turk (*i. e.*, originally Deabarg); and also in the name Tarquin (*i. e.*, originally Deabarg-an), which as Gaed or Gaeld is equally a clan name of the Hindo-European race.

Both the city and state of Rome are represented as having been gradually formed. The original settlement of Romulus is said to have been limited to the Palatine Mount. Before the end of his reign there were united to this the Capitoline and the Quirinal. His successor, Tullus Hostilius, added the Cælian; Ancus Martius the Aventine; and finally Servius Tullius took in the Esquiline and Viminal, and inclosed the whole space of the seven hills with a stone wall.

Corresponding to the growth of the city was that of the state. To the original Romans on the Palatine were added successively the Sabine followers of king Tatius,— (the second king of Rome, Numa, the immediate successor of Romulus, being a Sabine). The Albans were united to Rome by Tullus; the Latins by Ancus; and, lastly, the Etruscan comrades by Cæles Vibenna. There is hardly any doubt that, even if these Sabines, Albans, Etruscans and Latius, which formed the nucleus of the ancient Roman republic, were not all branches from the same popular stock — and there is good reason to conclude they all were not,— the Latius must have been amongst them the most important and the dominating people. This is shown in the Latin language, which was that of the Roman kingdom, republic and empire.

ORIGIN

OF THE

ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

OF THE

NILE'S VALLEY.

BY

ROBERT SHAW, M. A.,

AUTHOR OF

"CREATOR AND COSMOS;" OF "COSMOTHEOLOGIES AND INDICATIONS OF JUDGMENT;" OF A "CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT ÆGYPT;" OF A "CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTS OR GAELS;" OF THE "ORIGIN OF THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION," ETC.; OF AN "INQUIRY INTO THE SUBJECT OF THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY;" OF THE "PROPHECIES OF REVELATION DEVELOPED IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTENDOM;" OF A "CHAPTER ON THE CYCLES OF THE ANCIENTS;" OF THE "CHALDÆAN AND HEBREW AND THE CHINESE AND HINDOO ORIGINES;" OF THE "PHŒNICIAN COSMOGONIES," ETC.

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INTRODUCTION.

(ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION OF NILE'S VALLEY.)

The extraordinary interest ever attaching to the subject herein treated, together with what I may be allowed to understand in myself as a praiseworthy desire to perpetuate the true idea in regard to the ancient civilization of the Nile's Valley will, I trust, be gracefully accepted as my apology for the publication of the following treatise.

This treatise will serve, first, for the perpetuation of the memory of a race of men, who, although found to have been many-sided in their abilities and energies, yet, being steady and orderly in their general habits, and having bent their genius and energies largely in one direction during a long course of ages, have surpassed in their productions of statuary and architecture all the other races which we know to have existed on the earth.

The idea of their marvelous works our treatise will serve to perpetuate, while at the same time it will serve to perpetuate the idea which I in common with many of my contemporaries entertain, and which many of our predecessors have entertained as to their ethnical origin and race peculiarities — an idea whereof I suppose I give good proof — as well as my idea of the origin and varied nature of their institutions, political and civil.

With these few words as preliminary I ask the reader to attend to the treatise itself, which, after he shall have finished, he will find my "Critical Review of the History of Ancient Ægypt," added last in the 2nd volume of my works, to throw much light upon, and leave some of its points and connections more definitely understandable.

ST. LOUIS: 1889. R S

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POSITION OF THE COUNTRIES
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NORTH EASTERN AFRICA
FROM THE INFORMATION OF
BROWNE, HORNEMAN, LYON & BURCKHARDT.

25° LONGITUDE EAST OF 30° GREENWICH.

AS TO THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

OF THE

VALLEY OF THE NILE AND ITS ORIGIN.

ITS ANCIENT WORKS OF ART BEING DESCRIBED AS THEY APPEARED AT AND BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THIS 19TH CENTURY.

AND AS TO THE GENERAL COSMOPOLITY OF ANCIENT ÆGYPT.

Egypt, according to its own traditions, was originally inhabited by savage tribes, without agriculture or organized government, who lived upon such fruits as the earth spontaneously produced and upon fish with which the Nile was always well stocked, while their buildings consisted merely of huts made of reeds. Of a portion of its inhabitants, namely, the shepherd and fishing tribes, the mode of life in later times evidences the truthfulness of this account. But it appears evident from its history that as the ages passed on Egypt was governed by different dynasties, so called, and although the obscurity which overhangs this subject owing to its great antiquity does not permit us to trace as clearly as we would wish the lineage of those successive governing clans, still we may conclude it not only probable, but true that some of those dynasties were in

their origin foreign not only to Egypt but to the valley of the Nile; and consequently that each of those governing races must in its turn have more or less impressed itself upon the then actually existing Egyptian race.

It is the opinion of some very able investigators upon this subject that the history of the political growth of Egypt did not arise from those savage tribes with which the history of Egypt begins; but from a race of different language and somewhat different color, who settling among those barbarians in the fertile part of the land, especially in the valley of the Nile, became the builders of cities, the promoters of agriculture, the originators of public works, the founders of colonies and states and the constructors of such magnificent temples and monuments as the world never elsewhere beheld; that these joined or assimilated to themselves the aboriginal peoples or brought them kindly into subjection to their civilization. Their dominion was thus established, not so much by force as by superior knowledge and a kind of civilization which arose from and was connected with their religion. This the Egyptians themselves express in their own way, when they ascribe the foundation of their civilization to their gods, particularly to Osiris, Isis and Amun.

But, if in the whole range of Egyptian antiquities there is to be found one proposition less open to contradiction than another it is that the Egyptian civilization, more especially political improvement, did not spread from the sea inland, but rather from south to north. Upper Egypt was, according to the history and traditions of the nation, more early civilized than Middle Egypt — even the first Egyptian dynasty coming from This — and there was a time when the name of Thebes was generally synonymous with the civilized portion of Egypt. It is equally certain that Lower Egypt was not cultivated till after both those portions, partly for the reason that it was not habitable till later and partly from the direction of the progres of the civilization.

Speaking of the real and standing civilization of the Egyptians at a very early period Mr. Geo. Rawlinson says: "Shuré was the leader of the 4th dynasty, and his name found by Mr. Perring on blocks built in the northern pyramid of Abouseer shows him to have been the founder of that monument. This may be called the Memphite or the pyramid period.* And not only does the con-

* Dr. Lepsius mentions 67 pyramids, which necessarily represent a large number of Kings. As it is likely that each pyramid represents a different king then it is unfortunate that the 67 Egyptian pyramids cannot now be traced.

struction of the pyramids, but the scenes depicted in the sculptured tombs of this epoch show that the Egyptians had already the same habits and arts as in aftertimes; and the hieroglyphics in the great pyramid written in the cursive character on the stones, before they were taken from the quarry, prove that writing had been long in use. The position too of each pyramid, corresponding, as it does, to the four cardinal points and the evident object they had in view of ascertaining by the long line of one of its faces the return of a certain period of the year, prove the advance made by the Egyptians in mathematical science; and all these evidences being obtained from the oldest monuments that exist, introduce them to us as a people already possessing the same settled habits as in later times. We see no primitive mode of life; no barbarous customs; not even the habit, so slowly abandoned by all people, of wearing arms, when not in military service; nor any archaic art. And if some clumsy figures have been found in the neighborhood of Memphis, probably of the 3rd dynasty, their imperfections are rather attributable to the inferior skill of the workmen, than to the habitual strife of the period; and rude figures were sometimes made long after the fourth dynasty."

"Whatever may have been the style of construction in the pyramids of Venephes certain it is that in the 4th dynasty, about two centuries after Menes, the blocks in the pyramids of Geezeh, many of which were brought from the cataracts of Syene, were put together with a precision unsurpassed by any masonry of ancient or modern times; and all these facts lead to the conclusion that the Egyptians had already made great progress in the arts of civilization before the age of Menes, and perhaps before they emigrated into the valley of the Nile. In the tombs of the pyramid period are represented the same fowling and fishing scenes as occur later; the rearing of cattle and wild animals of the desert; the scribes using the same kind of reed for writing on the papyrus an inventory of the estate which was to be represented to the owner; the same boats, though rigged with a double mast instead of the single one of later times; the same mode of preparing for the entertainment of guests; the same introduction of music and dancing; the same trades, as glass-blowers, cabinet makers, and others; as well as similar agricultural scenes, implements and granaries. We see also the same costume of the priests; and the prophet or Sam, with his leopard's skin dress; and the painted sculptures are both in relief and intaglio," etc., etc.

The most ancient Egyptian States, according to the histories of Manetho and others, were altogether in the valley of the Nile, on both sides of the river. The nature and constitution of the Nile's valley shows this to be so, because in Lower Egypt or the Delta, where the plain on both sides of the river considerably expands, the soil itself was not formed until at a considerably late period. The kingdoms of Upper and Middle Egypt, as mentioned by Manetho, are, beginning from the southern frontier, the States of Elephantis, of Thebes or Diospolis, of This, afterwards called Abydos, of Heracleoplis and of Memphis, this last named being not far from the place where the Nile divides. States in Lower Egypt, or the Delta, are not mentioned till towards the end of his dynasties, namely, the States of Tanis Bubastis, Mendes, Sebennytus and Sais.

The dynasties of Manetho, it is true, contain but little more than mere catalogues of successive kings, but they are, notwithstanding, of the greatest importance in regard to Egyptian antiquity, not only because they lead us to correct ideas concerning that, but more especially because they make known to us the names of the cities in which those kings reigned and so point out the localities of the most ancient Egyptian civilization. In a nation, whose whole being, language, government and civilization were so much formed according to the local circumstances these give the first ideas, the foundations upon which all further inquiries must be built.

In the period of her highest civilization the Egyptian polity exhibits the form of a complete hierarchy, in which every germ, which in a less fortunate soil must have perished, by favoring circumstances in various ways shot forth. A consideration of this subject in its various features leads to the conclusion that the civilization of the Nile's Valley, including Egypt, Nubia, Meroë, etc., was largely due to the instrumentality of the priest-caste. Thebes, as well as the States in general, of Upper Egypt, are called, in the annals of the priests colonies, from Meroë in Ethiopia (Diodorous Sic. 1, p. 175–6); and at Thebes the service of Jupiter Amun, whose temple was the common center of this State as well as of that of ancient Meroë, gives of itself a striking proof that such was the case. Elephantis most likely owed its origin to the navigation of the Nile. The situation of the place, lying just at the point where the river became and ceased to be navigable, made it what it became. Memphis, whose situation is so remarkable from the dams

and embankments, is called a colony of Thebes (Diodorous, 1, p. 160). Other principal cities of Egypt, likewise, derived their descent directly or indirectly from Ethiopia, of which they considered themselves as colonies and to which fact their religious institutions appear to give testimony. (Id. p. 175.)

These testimonies, then, and indications render the conclusion reasonable that the same race which ruled in Ethiopia and Meroë spread themselves by colonies, in the first instance, to Upper Egypt; that these latter colonies, in consequence of their remarkable prosperity, became in their turn the founder of others; and as in all this they followed the course of the river, there gradually became founded a succession of colonies in the valley of the Nile, which, according to the usual custom of the ancient world, were probably at first independent of each other, and there formed, as the Greek cities, just so many little States.

This outspreading colonization must not of necessity be understood to have taken place step by step in exact geometrical order, so to speak, for that there may have been a mutual colonizing of Ethiopia by Egypt at times in the course of ages is not to be denied.

That the whole of Egypt, as then existing, was governed by Menes, their first king, as according to their existing records, and not only one constituent part or state of it, is reasonably the understanding which their ancient history as transcribed into the Greek language and handed down by their high priest Manetho in the time of the Ptolemies was intended to convey; and that it was successive dynasties, from Menes downwards, which were in the mind of Manetho, and not contemporary ones in some ages, preceding the 18th dynasty, as some critics, Eusebius, among others, have supposed, is as fairly to be understood in like manner of Manetho, so far as his meaning may be required, and however the case may really have been.*

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* This I wrote in 1887, but during the last year my researches have satisfactorily and conclusively proved that the commencement of the empire of Menes, was with the 18th dynasty, so called; and that the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, so called, when fully expressed, are the substantial prototypes of the dynasties expressed before them in the history, which had an existence only on paper. This discovery I see now obtains corroboration from the Statement then added from Rawlinson as follows: "With the exception of the pyramids of Memphis and the Labyrinth, some fragments and small objects, some stelae and obelisks of Osirtasen I. at Heliopolis and in the Fayoum, nothing is met with of old times before the 18th dynasty. This may be reasonably ascribed to the invasion of the shepherds, as the preservation of the early tombs may be explained by the feeling common to all time of respect for the dead." (Herod. App. Bk. ii, p. 338.)

It is seen, therefore, that the monuments do not help us out much in regard to the history of the dynasties preceding the 18th; but there has been some stress laid upon one short passage in Manetho, translated "Kings of Thebais and of the other provinces of Egypt," which, whether or not of his original penning, was thought by some to favor the idea of contemporary dynasties.

But this general conclusion, considering the subject not only from its historical, but also from its physiological and ethnological standpoints, which gives us for the originators of this ancient civilization a race not so much Egyptian or Ethiopian, if you will (for going back far enough in my mental vision I look upon the primitive root of those two appellations as the same); but a race pertaining from a very high antiquity to the Nile's valley, and thus in so far differentiate not only from the Asiatic but also from the other African races. That the civilization of ancient Egypt, however, as to its origin, was as likely to have descended as to have ascended the Nile's valley will appear more clear if we take into consideration not only the ethnological character of some Ethiopic nations as compared with others, but also the character and the degree of civilization established among them.

Prof. Heeren (Researches, etc., p. 171), speaking in reference to what he had just said in a preceding chapter, says: "The Ethiopians with which we have become acquainted in the foregoing chapter must altogether be ranked in the lowest order of civilization. There still, however, exists an evident difference as to improvement amongst them. We have already seen all the various gradations from the complete savage, as described by Hanno, whose rank might have been disputed by the Ourang Outang to the hunting and fishing tribes; and again from the latter to the nomad herdsmen; yet we do not anywhere discover a single nation, that united in a settled abode, formed itself into a great and well organized State. Nevertheless, there certainly existed a better cultivated and, to a certain degree, a civilized Ethiopian people; who dwelt in cities, who erected temples and other edifices, who, though without letters, had hieroglyphics; who had government and laws; and the fame of whose progress in knowledge and the social arts spread, in the earliest ages, over a considerable part of the earth; that State was Meroë" Here we get a picture of Ancient Ethiopia as somewhat analogously though not strictly comparatively to Austria-Hungary or rather Russia of the present day, being made up of many different nations of various kinds and degrees of civilization, from what might be regarded as among the lowest to what might be regarded as among the highest at that time among men.

That this may be a tolerably fair representation of the case, no one, I think, will dispute; for it is certain that Meroë, has been now for two or three thousand years celebrated in various ways; but its peculiar and distant situation has always involved it in mys-

tery and obscurity. It is only within the last seventy years that the dark cloud, under which it had so long been hid, has been dispersed by the energetic and persistent efforts of Burkhardt, Bruce, Caillaud, Hoskins, and others. As a result of these explorations, Meroë did not by any means appear alone, but a new world of antiquities, whose existence had not even been hinted at as imagined by any modern writer, were laid open to the view of the astonished world. Hitherto had the southern boundary of Egypt and the last cataract of the Nile been considered as the ancient verge of civilization and science. The more distant regions were, however, now explored. By crossing the Nubian Desert, Bruce and his predecessors first led the way; others followed, who penetrated up the Nile, keeping near its banks, whereon they discovered that succession of monuments, which has created so much wonder among the lovers of antiquarian research; wonderful alike by their number, their peculiarity, and their magnitude.

Temple after temple appeared, sometimes erected upon, at other times, however, in the rock, and still at others excavated in the earth; scarcely had the explorers got out of sight of one, when another rose to their view. Colossal figures buried up to their shoulders in sand still towered above all these, and indicated the gigantic structures which lay concealed behind them. As the travelers continued their journey south, an immense number of pyramids appeared with temples and ruins of cities close by or intermingled with them; and, at last, the distant Meroë itself, with the ancient temple of Jupiter Amun, still erect and majestic in its ruins.

It may expedite matters if I here premise geographically that all the monuments to be noticed in this connection are found within the valley of the Nile, either close to the river, or at a moderate distance from it. The course of the Nile above Egypt, before its conflux with the Astaboras, lies through a valley enclosed on both sides by a chain of mountains or rather hills, which sometimes recede from, and sometimes advance towards the river, till they approach near its banks. These, while they offer no obstructions to the lesser windings within the valley, render impossible any great variation in the direction of the stream. From Burkhardt's observations, we infer that the soil of the valley to the southwards was at one time as fertile as it is in Egypt itself, for where it could remain in that State, it is still found so.

Thus, it becomes evident, that this valley may once nave been a highly cultivated region, with a dense population, dwelling in cities and flourishing in science, art and religion. But these mountain chains being succeeded on both sides of the river by sandy deserts, (the Nubian on the East, and on the west, that of Sahara, which extends across Africa), the sand has proved an opponent quite more formidable here than in Egypt. The lower mountain chain affording but slight protection, this deadly enemy of all civilization not only has penetrated into the valley, but has frequently in part or in whole buried the monuments. It cannot, therefore, seem at at all surprising that the same causes should have occasioned some alterations in the course of the river itself, many branches of which may perhaps have been forced into one, and small islands joined to the main land. It is, however, found as a matter of fact, that the valley of the Nile has been in times past in some places very different from what it is now. Traces are everywhere visible of old canals formed for extending its periodical overflow; and these changes alone would have been sufficient to have caused the inhabitants to sink and degenerate even if other untoward events had not conspired to that end. The river, deviating from its usual straight course, forms a curve of from 19° to 23° by running westward deeper into Libya, and soon winds again toward the East, and reassumes a northerly direction, which it maintains throughout Nubia and Egypt. The interior of the bows which it makes by these windings, is occupied largely by the Nubian Desert and by the kingdom of Dongola.

For the first accounts as to the course of the Nile above Egypt, we are indebted to Herodotus. He collected them in Egypt, probably at Thebes or Elephantin, beyond which place he did not travel. We are not, therefore, to consider him in this case as an eye-witness, but as reporting what he had heard from others. Some differences, though slight, between his account and the present course of the stream appear to confirm what we have just said; but on the whole, we have justly to admire the keenness of the inquiry of Herodotus.

"Beyond Elephantin," the boundary of Egypt, says he, "the country becomes rugged, and in that part they drag on the boat, fastening a cord on either side as you would to an ox. Should the hawser break the boat is forced back by the violence of the current. This navigation continues four days, the Nile winding like the Meander; and it is a space of twelve schaeni (nearly 82 English

miles) over which you must navigate in this manner. Next you come to a smooth plain where the Nile flows round an island called Tachompso. The parts above Elephantin are inhabited by Ethiopians as well as one-half of the island, the other half of which is held by the Egyptians. Close to the island is a vast lake on whose shores dwell Ethiopian nomads. Crossing this lake you fall again into the stream of the Nile, which flows into the above lake. Then, disembarking you will perform a journey of forty days upon the bank of the river; for in this part of the Nile sharp rocks rise above the water, and many shoals are met with among which it is impossible to navigate. Having past through this country you will again embark in another boat and navigate for twelve days after which you will come to an extensive city, the name of which is Meroë, and as some say, the capital of the rest of Ethiopia. The inhabitants here pay divine honors to Jupiter and Bacchus only, but these they worship with the extremest veneration. At this place is an oracle of Jupiter, whose declarations they permit with the most implicit obedience to regulate all their martial expeditions."

If we compare this general statement of Herodotus with respect to the route with the general statements of late explorers we shall find that what in their nature are not liable to change, such as rocks and cliffs, still answer to his description; while, in other matters, supposing Herodotus to have been rightly informed, some changes seem to have taken place. The river contains many islands of which a more accurate statement is wanting, but the lake through which it is said to flow is the great difficulty. The river, it is true, sometimes expands to a greater or less extent, but a lake nowhere in this region appears. It is not an unreasonable supposition that the surface features of that whole country may have changed a good deal since the time of Herodotus, and that what was once a lake may have become filled up with sand. At any rate at the time of the yearly floods, it is certain that the Nile in many parts, where the mountain chains run back and permit the waters to overspread the whole valley, presents the appearance of a lake.

Since the researches of Livingston and Stanley have been published I believe that very many people interested in the subject have come to the conclusion, either that the lake called Nianza is the Nile's source, or that the proper source is so connected with it that the Nile may be said to flow through this lake, somewhat perhaps as we know the River Rhone flows through the Lake of

Geneva, or the Jordan through the Lake of Tiberias. But Nianza could not have been the lake here referred to by Herodotus as the locality cannot once be suspected of aswering thereto.

Above the second cataract, which is near Wady Halfa, 21° 50′ N. Lat., the bed of the river is often interrupted by rocky shoals which cause rapids. Senkowsky, the Polish traveler, enumerated five of these; besides the two near Wady Halfa; a third near Wady Altyr; a fourth near Wady Ambigo; a fifth under 21°, near Wady Lamule, beyond which Burkhardt met with two others, the farthest being on the northern boundary of the kingdom of Dongola, 19½° N. L. This far he states the navigation of the river to have been obstructed; while Caillaud continues the obstructions to Merawe, forty-five leagues farther, where the Great Falls begin. The Arabian geographers, who seem to reckon as one all the cataracts enumerted by Senkowsky, place the first cataract in Nubia, near Bakin, ten days journey above Es-Souan, which is the same as that of Wady Halfa; the second near the island Sai, 20½°; and the last near the fortress of Astemun. But we must not expect exact uniformity in those enumerations of travelers, for the bed of the river in the whole of this course is rocky or shoally; according to the depth of the water there may appear to be more or less cataracts; and two cataracts may easily be reckoned for one.

Above the northern boundary of Dongola, the features of the country become much changed; the mountain chains retire farther back; the Nile, hitherto frequently pressed into a narrow channel, here spreads out into many branches, which enclose a number of fertile islands, adorned with palm groves, vineyards and meadows covered with numerous herds, especially camels. "Everything," says Hanbury, "might here be found in abundance;" the hopes this expression gave rise to, however, seem to have been in many cases disappointed, arising from the devastations of warfare; but in a normal and peaceful state of the country they would doubtless be realizable to a large degree.

The foregoing researches bring us to the neighborhood of the confluence of the Astaboras or Tacazze and the Nile, that is, to the beginning of the ancient island of Meroë. We will, doubless, find it expedient to take a stand here, and, before advancing farther, become somewhat acquainted with the monuments of the Nile's valley, to which the name of Nubian has been given. The nature of the monuments requires this distinction, as the region of the pyramids begins in Meroë; there has not been discovered any trace of

them in Nubia; and the various idea of the Egyptian, Nubian, and Meroëan monuments will have become sufficiently clear before the whole sequel be got through with. There is little more necessary in this connection than to enumerate the Nubian temples in succession.

The valley of the Nile on both sides of the river was once dotted with towns and villages, of which Pliny has left us the names of only twenty on each side. In his time the large ones no longer existed, and he informs us that they were not destroyed by Roman wars but by the earlier contentions between Ethopia and Egypt. These places must of necessity have been quite ancient, and, although no very evident proof exists of any of those places having been remarkably flourishing cities, still the great population of the upper valley of the Nile favors our carrying them back to an early period of the Pharaohs.

The great works on architecture here, as well as in Egypt, were confined to public edifices. The Nubian, during the day, lived almost entirely in the open air, his dwelling being little more than a resting place for him during the night. No wonder, then, that those slightly-built cities, which were merely huts congregated together, should have diappeared from or in the earth, or have dwindled down to mere hamlets. Notwithstanding this the ancient Parembole is still found in the present Debut or Debod; the name of Taphis is preserved in Tafa; Kalabshe is the ancient Talmis; Pselcis is the present Dakke; Metacompso is the modern Kobban; further south, Primis is now Abrim; all these are on the northern side of the first Nubian cataract or Wady Halfa. But, though the splendid dwellings of man have disappeared, the ruins, at least, of those of the gods remain. The series of temples begin again on both sides of the Nile, almost immediately above the Egyptian cataracts. The first is that of Debod, twelve miles beyond Philae, on the western bank of the Nile. At nearly the same distance that of Kandassy; and at only five miles further that of Tafa. At nearly the same distance again are the two temples of Kalabshe, the one built above the ground, and the other hewn in the rock. At about ten miles more the temple of Dandour; and, again, at a like distance, the temple of Ghyrshe, partly hewn out of a rock and partly above ground. In ten miles more the temple of Dakke; and at the same distance that of Maharaka, and sixteen miles thence that of Seboa, half built in the earth and half above the surface.

Thirty miles farther on stands the temple of Derar; and sixty

miles farther, the temple in the rocks of Ebsambal, with its colossi, forty-eight miles below the second or first Nubian cataract of Wady Halfa, near to which stands another temple. Beyond this the chain is broken and does not recommence till about one hundred and fifty miles have been passed over, below the isle of Sai, where we meet with a large temple, and then thirty miles onward is discovered the temple of Soleb, which Burkhardt takes for the most southern temple of the Egyptian model.

The first chain ends here, but a new one begins at the frontiers of the ancient Meroë; for at about two hundred miles further, near Merawe and Gibel el Birkel, lying contiguous, the temples appear accompanied by groups of pyramids.

About two hundred and forty miles beyond this we come to the junction of the Nile and Astaboras, immediately across which we are entered into the island Meroë, and proceeding about ninety miles further, we arrive at the temples and pyramidic ruins of the ancient city of the same name, whose location we must now define as clearly as possible.

Herodotus only mentions the city of Meroë while all the other early writers describe Meroë as an island with a city of the same name. They, therefore, do not in this case contradict Herodotus, whose general statements concerning the location of Meroë agree with theirs. In what he told us as to the Nile's course above Egypt, he advises us to leave the vessel near the island Tachompso, in order to avoid the cataracts, and to make a forty days' journey on land near the banks of the river, after which a new voyage of twelve days will bring us to the city of Meroë.

The fixing of the journey near the bank of the river was thought to be the safest, as by this course the Nubian desert was avoided, although by following the various bendings of the stream the distance was very much lengthened. There has, however, been hitherto much vagueness in those statements, as the windings of the river had not been pointed out with such minuteness and accuracy as was required.

According to Waddington's map the distance from the second cataract, or the first Nubian, that at Wady Halfa, to the junction with the Tacazze, is six hundred geographical miles; to which must be added one hundred and twenty geographical miles from Kalabshe, where we supposed the island of Tachompso is and where Herodotus advises to leave the boat, to Wady Halfa. However uncertain, therefore, the reckoning may remain the forty days journey will

take us into the territory of Atbara, between the Nile and the Astaboras, to the northern part of the empire of Meroë or of Sennaar.

"The Astaboras," says Agatharchides, "which flows through Ethiopia, unites its streams with the greater Nile and therby forms the island of Meroë by flowing around it."

"The Nile," says Strabo, "receives two great rivers, which run from the east out of some lakes and encompass the great island of Meroë. One is called the Astaboras, which flows on the eastern side, the other Astapus. Some mention instead the Astosabas and distinguished therefrom the Astapus, which runs in a course very nearly parallel with the Nile. Seven hundred stadia (about 79½ English miles) above the junction of the Nile and the Astaboras is the city of Meroë, bearing the same name as the island."

To these statements, which would of themselves be quite sufficient to determine precisely the position of Meroë, I will add the statement of Pliny. "In the midst of Ethiopia," says he, "the Nile bears the name of Astapus. It here forms great islands which it scarcely flows around in five days, especially the island of Meroë, where its left branch is called the Astaboras and the right Astaspes. It first takes the name of the Nile where all those branches unite."

A glance at my map of the Nile's valley will, therefore, show where the ancient Meroë is found. The Astaboras which flows around it on the eastern side is the present Atbar or Tacazze, which runs through Temesis, down from the country of the Gojam. The Astapus which bounds it on the west is the modern *Bahar el Abiad* or White River, which is said to be the proper Nile. That which is marked on my map, as according to Brown, Horneman, Lyon and Burkhardt, the Blue river, the Arabian geographers appear to call the Green Nile and make it the proper Nile instead of the White river, as according to all the moderns; while to the Astaboras or Tacazze, which flows on the east side of Meroë, they appear to give the name of Blue river. Not only the names of the streams but the local names have been changed by the Arabians and Turks, since they have had the dominancy in those countries, which introduces no little confusion, when we try to trace topography as according to the ancients. I am satisfied that either the White river or the Blue river, as marked on my map, is to be taken as the proper Nile; doubtless the former, as according to the general modern understanding.

Diodorus (l. c.) is found to have accurately stated the size of the island of Meroë as three thousand stadia or three hundred and forty

English miles in length and one thousand stadia or one hundred and thirteen miles in breath.

And, finally, Pliny determines its distance in miles from Syene in Egypt. Eratosthenes, he says, computed it at 525, and Artemidorus at 600 Roman miles. Shortly before his time, he says, under Nero, the distance was measured and found to be 873 Roman miles to the nearest point of the island. Now, all those different measures may have been correct according to the routes taken. The Roman commissioners having followed in the whole journey the course of the Nile chose very much the longest way. The Greek geographers reckoned according to the short caravan route, which, leaving the Nile, strikes across the desert of Bahiuda. Bruce went by a still shorter way from Meroë to Assouan as he ventured to pass directly across the great Nubian desert, the same route taken by Burkhardt on his return.

From the foregoing statements the following general conclusions are not only admissible but safe : —

1st. That the ancient island of Meroë is the present province of Atbar, between the river of the same name (anciently called the Astaboras or Tacazze,) on the east and the White river or the Nile on the west. The point where the island begins is at the junction of the Tacazze and the Nile. In the south it is enclosed by the Walduba, a branch of the Tacazze, and the Bahad a branch of the White Nile, whose sources are nearly in the same district, although they flow in different directions.* It lies between 13° and 18° N. Lat. In recent times it has formed a great part of the kingdom of Sennaar and the southern part belongs to Abyssinia.

2dly. Meroë was a considerably extensive district surrounded by rivers, whose superficial content was about forty thousand square miles. It cannot, of course, in the strictest sense of the word be called an island, because, although very nearly, it is not completely enclosed by rivers; but it was taken for an island of the Nile, because, as Pliny expressly says, the various rivers, which flow round it, were all considered as branches of that stream. Bruce, however, informs us that it becomes in the rainy season a complete island, consequent upon the overflowing of the rivers.

3rdly. Upon this island stood the city of the same name. From

* If deemed necessary see the large map of Bruce, whereon will be found all the small streams and their tributaries, whose names are not given on other maps. The map I give will, however, with a little attention, be entirely sufficient to determine what is here spoken of to the satisfaction of most persons.

the statements of Herodotus alone we cannot determine precisely the site of this city. According to Eratosthenes, however, it lay seven hundred stadia (nearly eighty English miles) southwards or rather a little southeastwards of the junction of the Tacazze or Astaboras and the Nile, Pliny, following the statements of commissioners, whom Nero had sent to explore it, reckons seventy milliaria, sixty-three English miles, and adds the important determining fact that near it in the river on the right side going up stream is the small island Tadu, which serves as a port to the city. From this it may be concluded with certainty that the ancient city, Meroë, was not on the Tacazze or Astaboras, as might otherwise be conjectured from the names of those rivers being so unsettled, but on the Nile proper: and its situation, notwithstanding the difference of nearly seventeen miles between Eratosthenes and Pliny may be determined with the minutest accuracy by the small island, just mentioned, which Bruce has noted upon his map.

4thly. Therefore, the ancient city of Meroë stood a little southeast of the present Shendy, under 17° north latitude, nearly nine hundred miles on a parallel of latitude or a bee line from the Great Pyramid of Egypt, and in 52° east longitude.

Bruce saw its ruins at a distance. He says: "On the 20th of October in the evening we left Shendy and rested two miles from the town and about a mile from the river; the next day the 21st, we continued our journey; at nine we alighted to feed our camels under some trees, having gone about ten miles. At this place begins a large island in the Nile, several miles long, full of villages, trees and corn; it is called Kurgos. Opposite to this is the mountain Gibbainy, where is the first scene of ruins I have met with since that of Axum in Abyssinia. We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, all plainly designed for the statues of the dog. Some pieces of obelisks likewise with hierogliphics totally obliterated. The Arabs told us these remains were very extensive and that many pieces of statues both of men and animals have been dug up there. The statues of the men were mostly of black stone. It is impossible to avoid risking a guess that this is the ancient Meroë." Thus Bruce.

But what he and Burkhardt only saw at a distance and hastily has since been carefully examined by later travelers and set forth in drawings. These inquiries have, however, shown that the antiquities of Meroë are not confined to a single spot, but are found in many localities. The whole strip of land from Shendy to Gherri

teems with them, and, with respect to such antiquities, may be considered classic ground. Much north of the island a group is found, that of Mount Berkal, which are concluded to have belonged to the Meroëan class of monuments.

The antiquities of Meroë are arranged under three principal groups, those of Assur, of Naga and of Messura; that of Assur lies a little to the north of Shendy, at about two miles from the Nile. The two others run southward, more towards the desert and are at some leagues distance from the Nile. The monuments still found consist of temples and pyramids; all private dwellings, pertaining to those ancient communities have long ago crumbled away and disappeared. According to Strabo they were built of only the frail materials of split palm trees and tiles; but the earth is in many places now so covered over with bricks as to leave it not doubtful that a city formerly stood here. The site of the ancient city of Meroë is still discoverable by the remains of a few temples and of many other edifices of sandstone.

To the east of Assur is the great church yard of pyramids so-called. It is impossible to behold without astonishment the number of those monuments, eighty being mentioned in the plan of Caillaud; but the number cannot be well ascertained as the ruins of many are doubtful. They are divided into three groups, one due east from the city; the two others a league from the river, one north the other south. The most northern one is the largest and best preserved. They indeed appear dwarfish in comparison with the monuments of a similar kind in middle Egypt, the height of the largest not being over eighty feet; but from their number they are more wonderful. They are built of granite and most of the largest of them have a temple-like building in the Egyptian style, a pylon and a door which leads into a portico and this again through a sanctuary into the pyramid. It does not, therefore, seem to have been the desire here as in Egypt to conceal the entrance. Whether the interior of any of these have been examined, so as to determine whether sarcophagi and mummies have been found therein or whether any such thing have been found beyond Egypt south of Phylae and the cataracts, I am not aware.

According to Strabo, however, the Ethiopians did not embalm their dead, but buried them in a different manner, in earthen vessels near the sanctuary. The corners of the pyramids are partially ornamented and the walls of the Pylons are decorated with sculptures, that on the largest pyramid, drawn by Caillaud, representing

an offering for the dead. In one compartment a female warrior with the royal ensign on her head and richly attired, drags forward a number of captives as offerings to the gods; upon the other she is in a warlike habit, about to destroy the same group, whose heads are fastened together by the top hair, as appears also upon the ruins of Naga. On a third relief in the sanctuary she is making an offering of frankincense to the goddess. Annubis appears on a fourth field with a burning light in his hand, accompanied by the jackal, the guardian of the lower world. This representation, together with the magnitude of the pyramid, is thought to indicate the probability of its being the sepulchre of a king. In Ethiopia, and consequently in Meroë the pyramidal architecture was native from the earlier ages, whether or not the pyramids were there used or partially used as sepulchres of kings. But, if this Ethiopic pyramidal architecture be compared with the Egyptian, another proof appears of what may be thought to have been already established, namely that that peculiar species of architecture, which may have had its origin in Ethiopia was perfected in Egypt.

Ruppel, of Frankfort, who also visited Meroë, not only confirms the statement of Caillaud, but goes farther and informs us of similar groups of pyramids in the Island of Kurgos. "After having been for some time in sight of the ruins of Kurgos, which, are also mentioned by Bruce, I was at last able to go and examine them under a guard. On the other side of the Nile my way lay for fifty-seven minutes through the slime or mud. Traces were visible of ancient canals, running parallel with the bed of the Nile, a proof that this territory was once highly cultivated. Ten minutes after I came to a great heap of hewn and burnt stones. Time, however, had destroyed everything. With difficulty were some shafts of columns discovered, whose capitals were ornamented with the heads of animals; proofs that this was the site of ancient temples.

Twelve minutes farther a group of pyramidic mausolea. There were thirteen, all of hewn stone, forty feet high without an entrance. Near them was a lion's head in black granite, evidently a sitting sphinx. Thirty minutes farther east a group far more considerable than the former of twenty-one tombs. Some were of the pyramidal form with indented borders of plain workmanship. One of these monuments, the most southerly, differs from all the others. A prismatic steeple stands upon a socle twenty feet square. It has, like the rest, an eastern entrance, leading to the hall or gallery, as

in the sepulchres of Meroë (Assur). The walls are ornamented with beautiful sculpture; the reliefs like those at Meroë, but in greater perfection, they invariably represent the apotheosis of the dead. Among those pyramids there is one, as among those at Meroë, peculiar on account of its entrances. On both sides of this are two female figures, holding lances in their hands and in the act of piercing with them a band of prisoners. The drapery, grouping and keeping of this surpasses everything of the kind I have seen in Nubia and Egypt, not even excepting the temple of Tentyres. They are free from the stiffness which is found in the Briareus of this place. Those ornaments from their preservation seem of later date than those at Meroë.

A third group is met with five minutes southeast of the foregoing. It consists of nine pyramids, each with its entrance towards the east, the inner walls of which are covered with sculpture. The reliefs represent apotheoses of female figures only, while in all others they represent heroes, to whom offerings are brought. These southern sepulchres are also less than the others, the height not being above forty feet. In the group of twenty-one pyramids there are some which measure ninety feet. All of these monuments are built of hewn stone without mortar." Thus Prof. Ruppel.

The monuments of Naga and Messura to the south of Shendy are not pyramids but temples. In the city of Meroë two temples, a larger and a smaller, though neither of them seems to have been of any greater architectural magnificence, are laid down in the plan of Caillaud. A recent traveler has ascertained that the larger temples were not in the city but at a few miles distance.

At about eighteen miles southeast of Shendy lie the monuments of Naga or Naka and at about the same distance east of the Nile. They consist of numerous temples of which a large one lies in the center and various smaller ones are scattered around in every direction. The ruins show that at one time there stood here a considerable city. The remains of the principal temple show unmistakably to what God it was dedicated. An avenue of statues, rams couchant on pedestals, leads into an open portico of ten columns, out of which, after passing through a second similar gallery, we arrive at the pylon. Adjoining this is a colonnade consisting of eight columns; then a hall, and through a third door is the sanctuary. The door, the pillars and the walls of the sanctuary are of hewn stone; the rest are of brick with a coating upon which traces of painting are visible. The pylons and the pillars are ornamented

with sculptures highly finished. Those on the first pylon, on each side of the entrance, are especially remarkable. A king and queen bearing the emblems of dominion, are in a kindly manner, welcomed by the deities; the latter by Amun with the ram's head and the former by the same in human shape, but without further mark of distinction. In the freize above oblations are offered by both to the same deities; below, at the bottom, are maidens with vessels out of which they are pouring water. The building is in the Egyptian style and of a great size. The whole, from the first pylon to the end, is about eighty feet long. In the entrance there is this peculiarity; the duplicate gallery of rams, before and after the portico, is not common elsewhere; and the plan of the whole seems to show that architecture had not yet attained to the perfection which it afterwards exhibits in the great temples of Egypt. The western temple is smaller, but more fully decorated with sculpture. On the pylons the same scenes are again represented, as we have already beheld in the pyramids of Assur. A male warrior on one side and a female warrior on the other destroy a number of captives, whom they have bound together by the hair. The captives appear wholly in the power of these warriors and the scene may be meant to symbolize the absolute power of the deity over all mankind. The emblems of dominion, the ureus on the head dress; over each being also a spread eagle with a globe; and their magnificent attire show these warriors to be king and queen. The sculpture below it exhibits a train of single captives with their hands tied behind them. The reliefs on the interior represent the sacrifice of the prisoners to the gods. In the upper row appear the five male dieties, Amun with his followers, first the god with the lion's head and the ornament with the ram's horns; behind him Amun himself; Re, the sun god; Phtha, his son; and then, again Amun with the ram's head. In the under row appear the females in an equal number; first, Isis, who has already seized and holds fast the group of captives offered to her. The offerings are over the king followed by the men and under the queen by women. The following sub-scene is still more noticeable. In it appears the same god with the lion's head and the ram's horns on the head dress, but having a double head and four arms. It is the only subject of this sort, so far as has come to my knowledge, that has come under the observation of any explorer from the sources to the mouth of the Nile. It is unique and might be thought to have been borrowed from the Indian mythology. The king approaches

the god from one side and the queen from the other with tablets in their hands.

These representations, it is seen, possess many peculiarities and are not purely, but perhaps pre-Egyptian, more especially as to religious rites. In the worship of Amun and his kindred gods there appears here nothing essentially differing from the style of Upper Egypt. The relief already mentioned, with the male and female deities, contains this family of gods almost complete. In the persons offering, however, appears most noticeable differences. The queens appear with the kings, and not merely as presenting offerings, but as heroines and conquerors. Nothing of this kind has yet been discovered either in the reliefs of Egypt or Nubia. It has, therefore, reasonably been concluded that they are subjects peculiar to Ethiopia, that is, such as relate to the ancient rulers, male and female, of Meroë, and are devoted to the perpetuation of the record of their deeds and their devotion, such as that was, to the gods. A reference to ancient history will assist us to a general understanding here: "Among the Ethiopians," says Strabo (p. 1177, speaking of Meroë), "the women are also armed." Upon the relief at Thebes representing the conquest of Ethiopia by Sesostris there is a queen with her sons, who appears before him as a captive. A long succession of queens under the appellation of Candace (Pliny VI. 35) must have reigned here; and when at last the seat of government was moved from Meroë to Napata, near Mount Berkal, there was then also a queen who ruled under the title Candace. (Strabo, p. 820, Book of Acts, ch. VIII. 27.) Although history has preserved so little on the subject, it is, therefore, not strange but quite in agreement with Ethiopian manners in those ages, to see a queen represented in a warlike habit near her husband.

The perfection to which sculpture had been brought here is quite remarkable. In the Egyptian monuments there is in general nothing superior to it and in boldness of outline it seems even to surpass them. "These colossal figures," says Caillaud (speaking of some ten feet high he had seen here), "are remarkable for the richness of their drapery and the character of the drawing; their feet and arms are stouter than the Egyptian; yet are they altogether in the Egyptian style." In the case of the pyramids of Kurgos Ruppel notices a similiar perfection. Some suppose those monuments belong to that brilliant period of the empire of Meroë, the eighth century B. C., when the Ethiopian dynasty of Sabachus and Tirhaka ruled over

Egypt, to whom as they suppose, it would have been easy to send Egyptian artists to Meroë, to perpetuate their fame in their sculptural and generally artistic workmanship. What our hypothesis is concerning the origin of the Egyptian civilization will be remembered here, namely, that it descended the Nile's valley by means of colonization and was transplanted into Egypt in germ; where, having taking root, by genial influences it was brought to that perfection which to our knowledge it attained.

The second station, now called el Messura, for a description and drawing of which we are indebted to M. Caillaud (Plate XVII. Explication), is equally interesting. "In an extensive valley in the desert," says he, "eight hours journey from Shendy to the southeast and six leagues from the Nile, are very considerable ruins. They consist of eight small temples, all connected by galleries upon terraces. It is an immense building, formed by the joining together of a number of chambers, courts, temples and galleries, surrounded by a double inclosure. From the temple in the midst the way to the other is through galleries or terraces, one hundred and eighty-five feet in length. Each temple has its particular chamber. These buidings are placed in exact order and consist of eight temples, thirty-nine chambers twenty-six courts twelve flights of steps, etc. The ruins cover a plat of land two thousand five hundred feet in circumference.

But in the immensity of ruins everything is upon a smaller scale, the monuments as well as the materials employed. The largest temple is only thirty-four feet long; upon the pillars are figures in the Egyptian style; others in the same portico are fluted like the Grecian; upon the basis of one I thought I discovered the remains of a Zodiac. Time and the elements, which have destroyed accient Saba, seem to have been willing to spare us the observatory of Meroë; but until the rubbish be cleared away a complete plan of it cannot be expected. To find so few heiroglyphics in all those ruins excites, indeed, our wonder. The six pillars, which form the portico of the middle temple, are the only ones containing any, all the other walls being without sculpture.

Some hundred paces from the ruins are the remains of other small temples; and the traces of a great reservoir of water, surrounded by little hills, which protect it from the sand. There is here, however, no trace of a city, no heap of rubbish, no sepulchre. If the city of Meroë had been here the pyramids would not have been built at a distance from it of two days' journey. Some

think the form and the architecture prove that the public offices of Meroë were here and that the city was in the neighborhood of the sepulchres where the pyramids are.

It has been concluded that this is the site of the ancient oracle of Jupiter Ammon; first from the suggestion of the ground plan; and, secondly, because it is only thus that the singularity of the foundation can be accounted for, of that labyrinth of passages and courts which must be gone through before arriving at the entirely secret temple in the midst. Some have, indeed, supposed that there are here also subterranean passages as in the Egyptian Labyrinth. A passage of Diodorus defines more accurately the site of the ancient temple and strikingly confirms the above notion. It informs us that this temple did not stand in the city of Meroë, but at some distance from it, in the desert, as it is here situated. When, in the period of the Ptolemies, the then ruler of Meroë overthrew the dominion of the priests, he went with an armed company to the retired spot, where the sanctuary with the golden temple stood, surprised the priests and killed them. (Diodorus, 1, p. 178.) The passage in Strabo says that he went with armed men to the sacred place (τό ἱερον) where the golden temple (νεως) or ship (ναος) as according to some, stood. Thus we see that in some ancient nations and languages the word for ship, or a dialectic variation of it, meant also a temple, as we have Noah's Ark, a ship and the Ark of the covenant or of the temple, a temple in miniature. "The smallness of the principal temple," says Prof. Heeren, "is not surprising; the same thing has been observed at Ammonium in the Libyan desert. It was probably a place merely for the preservation of the sacred ship, which stood between the pillars of the sanctuary." This idea would appear to connect those peoples around the Red and Caspian and Mediterranean seas, around the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile to its sources, in short in all those adjacent parts of Asia and Africa, as subject to the same general civilization, variations of the same system of religion, and, as related to each other, by a common ultimate origin.

The situation of this in the retired spot near Meroë is in a way similar to that in the Libyan desert spot spoken of before and will appear still more singular on further consideration, and especially when it is considered that one of the great trading routes passes just by it.

As the principal temple was so small, the others which are called temples may be considered merely as chapels, but it remains yet

uncertain for what particular uses they were designed. Hence, Caillaud in the explanation to his plates designates them "constructions." The separate members were small, but the aggregate was great.

Very remarkable here is the rarity of sculpture and hieroglyphics; no trace of that Egyptian art has been discovered, the new figures on the pillars now scarcely legible having nothing in common with it. One of them has the hair done up in the broad Nubian fashion.

In what relation the institutions at Messura stood to those at Naga can only be surmised. If Messura were the oracular temple, that body of the priesthood, which had the care of the oracle, would have resided there. The number of those in proportion to the whole class of ministers would be but small, perhaps only the high priest and his assistants. Naga, however, appears to have been the metropolis of the caste. Here stood a number of temples, not only dedicated to Ammon, but to the kindred gods and here also, are found the remains of a city, which would afford convenient dwelling to the priesthood, no traces of which are found in Messura.

"Thus," says Heeren, "we stand on that remarkable spot which antiquity frequently regarded as the cradle of the arts and sciences; where hieroglyphic writing was discovered; where temples and pyramids had already sprung up, while Egypt still remained ignorant of their existence. Who then can avoid asking what was here formerly? What took place here?" (Researches.)

In order to answer those questions as satisfactorily as is now possible, what we have to do is to select from existing records bearing on the subject, first, what may be regarded as facts and then add those things that are more or less probable.

The fact stands well attested, that besides the pastoral and hunting tribes which led a nomadic life towards the west and east of the Nile's valley, there existed in the immediate valley through which the Nile flows a cultivated people, who had from a very early period fixed abodes, built cities, temples and sepulchres, the monuments of whose intelligent industry do now after the lapse of so many centuries excite our admiration and astonishment.

It is further certain that the civilization of this people was in an especial manner connected with their religion; that is, with the customs and general manner of life connected with the worship of certain deities. The remains left of their institutions and the gen-

eral history of this people written in stone proves this too clearly for any doubt to be entertained upon the subject.

This religion consisted in the general idea connected with the worship of Ammon and his kindred gods. The circle of the Egyptian deities might possibly have been a little larger than that of Olympus among the Greeks. It became enlarged by the appearance of the same deity in different relations and consequently with changed attributes, under different forms and with different head ornaments. But the rites of Ammon so much prevailed that his emblem, the ram's horns, are seen everywhere and it seldom fails to happen that the kindred deities exhibit, in some part or other, something which refers to him. There is one thing worthy of remark, namely that of all the representations of Nubia, yet come to our knowledge, there is not one, which, according to European and American notions of propriety is offensive to decency.

Quite remarkable in this system of religion was the oracular element. Of Africa Ammon was the oracular god. If afterwards, as was the case in Egypt, other deities delivered oracles, yet they were of his race and kindred. "The only gods worshiped in Meroë," says Herodotus, "are Zeus and Dionysos (which he explains to be Ammon and Osiris). They also have an oracle of Ammon and undertake their expeditions when and how the god commands."

How those oracles were delivered we learn partly from history, partly from the representations on the monuments. In the sanctuary stands a high ship, upon which are many holy vessels, but, above all, in the midst a portable tabernacle, surrounded with curtains, which may be drawn back. In this is an image of the god, set, according to Diodorus, in precious stones; nevertheless, according to one account, it could have no human shape. The ships in the great temples seem to have been very magnificent. Sesostris presented one made of cedar to the temple of Ammon at Thebes, the inside of which ship was covered with silver and the outside with gold. The same was hung about with silver paterae. When the oracle was to be consulted it was carried around by a body of priests in procession, and from certain movements, either, of the god or of the ship, both of which the priests appear to have at least understood if not managed, the omens were gathered, according to which the high priest then delivered the oracle. Both upon the Nubian and Egyptian monuments this ship is often represented, sometimes as stationary and sometimes as carried in pro

cession; but never anywhere except in the innermost sanctuary, which was its resting-place. The tabernacle is in some cases without a curtain, in others veiled. Ammon appears in the same sitting upon a couch, an altar, furnished with gifts before him. In one representation the King is kneeling before the ship at his devotions, in another he approaches it with an offering of frankincense. In the sanctuary of the rock monument at Derar, in Nubia, we also discover it twice, once in procession, borne by a number of priests (here the tabernacle is veiled, and the King comes meeting it, bringing frankincense); in the other representation it is stationary. These processions appear not only upon the great Egyptian temples at Philae, Elephantin and Thebes, but also upon the great Oasis. The sacred ship was here the oracle ship. Some have supposed the god of the Nile to have been especially set forth here as representing the origin and means of fertility in the Nile's valley.*

However, this may have been the oracles, certainly were the main support of this religion, and, if we connect with them the local features of the country it may be thought to throw light upon the origin of this idea. In all this valley fertility is confined to the borders of the river. At a short distance from it the desert begins, Meroë was a chief point of congregation for the trade of the regions of the Upper Nile and of the southern regions of Africa. It was the great emporium of the caravan trade between Ethiopia, Northern Africa and Egypt, as well as Arabia Felix and even India. Before going further it will, therefore, be well for us to learn what the ancients have to say concerning the history and political status of Meroë.

According to their accounts Meroë was a city as well as a State, which had its constitution and laws, its organized government and ruler. But the form of this government was a hierarchy, one very common in those southern regions. The government appears to have been in the hands of a caste of priests, who chose from among themselves a king. I shall transcribe here the account given of them by Diodorus, which is the most extensive and believed to be the most accurate we have.

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* Although, in the ancient Gaelic tongue, Amhain or Abhain is a river, pronounced Awan, as in the oriental countries Abraham, for example, is pronounced Auraham or Aurahau (See Leayard's Nineveh, vol. 1, p. 189; also notice the English River Avon), yet, if the name Amun, under our consideration, arose from the river Nile or the idea of a river and all that pertains thereto, as it is very likely it did, I would think the idea would have been more general primitively than as if pertaining to any single stream.

"The laws of the Ethiopians," says he, "differ in many respects from those of other nations, but in none so much as in the election of their kings, which is thus managed. The priests select the most distinguished of their own order and upon whichever of these the god (Ammon) fixes as he is carried in procession, he is acknowledged king by the people, who then fall down and adore him as a god, because he is placed over the government by the choice of the gods. The person thus selected immediately enjoys all the prerogatives, which are conceded to him by the laws in respect to his mode of life; but he can neither reward nor punish any one beyond what the usages of their forefathers and the laws allow. It is a custom among them to inflict upon no subject the sentence of death, even though he should be legally condemned to that punishment; but they send to the malefactor one of the officers of justice, who bears the symbol of death. When the criminal sees this he goes immediately to his own house and deprives himself of life. The Greek custom of evading punishment by flight into a neighboring country is not there permitted. It is said that the mother of one, who would have attempted this, strangled him with her own girdle in order to save her family from that greater ignominy.

But the most remarkable of all their institutions is that which relates to the death of the king. The priests at Meroë, for example, who attend upon the service of the gods and hold the highest rank, send a messenger to the king with an order to die. They make known to him that the gods command this and that mortals should not withdraw from their decrees; and perhaps add such reasons as could not be controverted by weak understandings, prejudiced by custom and unable to oppose anything thereto." Thus Diodorus.

The government continued in this primitive state till the period of the second Ptolemy and its subversion is no less remarkable than its formation. By its increased intercourse with Egypt, the light of Grecian philosophy and Phoenician intelligence penetrated into Ethiopia. Ergamenes, at that time king, tired of being priest-ridden (which is the language of a certain writer on this subject), fell upon the priests in their sanctuary, put them all to death and became effectually a sovereign; a result, beyond all doubt, which was not generally expected in that dark and distant region. It is true that of the history of this State prior to the revolution just mentioned only scanty information has been preserved, but yet enough to show its high antiquity and its early magnificence. Pliny (VI. 35) tells us that "Ethiopia was ruined by its wars with Egypt, which it some-

times subdued and sometimes served; it was powerful and illustrious even as far back as the Trojan war, when Memnon reigned. At the time of his sovereignty Meroë is said to have contained two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers and four hundred thousand artificers. They still reckon there forty-five kings."

In the Persian period Meroë was an independent and important state, otherwise Cambyses, as according to Herodotus and Strabo, would not have been likely to have made such great preparations for an expedition against it which resulted so disastrously. During the last dynasty of the Pharaohs at Sais, under Psammetichus, the Kingdom of Meroë resisted his yoke, although his son Psammis undertook an expedition against Ethiopia.

If we go a century back of this, say between 800 and 700 B. C. we shall come to a flourishing period of the empire, contemporary with the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, where we shall conseqently have a light from the Jewish annals in connection with the records of Herodotus. This is the period of a powerful Ethiopic rule over Egypt for according to Herodotus fifty and according to Eusebius forty-four years.

Herodotus does not represent Sabacus, his Ethiopic-Egyptian dynast of this period, either as a tyrant or a barbarian, but as an intelligent man and benefactor of his new charge, the Egyptian nation, by the construction of dams for the better protection and irrigation of the country.

But of this Ethiopic-Egyptian dynasty Herodotus mentions only one name, Sabacus, to whom he gives a reign of fifty years; Eusebius, however, mentions three to whom he gives an aggregate reign of forty-four years, namely, Sabacus, twelves years, Seuechus twelve, and Tirhako twenty years. I think the conclusion quite reasonable here that Sabacus and Seuechus are only different ways for spelling the same name, which here stands for the same man. The same number of years precisely is given to each of those names by Eusebius. And, as Herodotus mentions only Sabacus, it is barely possible that Tirhacus would be a family name standing for the same form, which in the Gaelic would be Seach, and thus that the whole three appellations would stand for the same man. The first supposition is, as I say, quite reasonable, the last barely possible; for while Sabacus would be a Greek form Herodotus might give for Seuachus, then Tirhach-us might be conceived to be the family name, as Tir-Seach-us, or child of Seach. For, if in the old languages Tir means land, country, it must also have had the

primitive meaning of 'house,' 'son,' 'child,' by which in compound, as you perceive, a family name would arise. The fact that some authors identify Tirhako with Sethos, the priest-king of Herodotus, might be thought to give a degree of probability to this last supposition; for Sethos, root Seth or Seath, it is well known, is in the Gaelic exchangeable for Seach. But, without here saying anything for or against as to the identification of Tirhako with Sethos, I may say that notwithstanding Herodotus mentions only one in this dynasty, and as we may take Sabacus and Seuachus as two forms of the same name, we shall have here quite a literal reading as well as reasonable understanding by making Tirhacus both be and mean Son of Seachus. This would give two generations instead of, on the one hand, one, or on the other hand three for the forty-four or fifty years. The Jewish annals would seem to support the idea of two successive Kings in this dynasty; for the Seuachus or Sabacus is the So of 2 Kings xvii, 4, to whom Hoshea, King of Israel sent an embassy. Tarhacus or Tirhaco was the contemporary of Sennacherib, the successor of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria and deterred him (supposed *anno* 714 B. C.) from the invasion of Egypt, merely by the rumor of his advance against him (2 Kings xix: 9). The name and fame of Tarhaco was not unknown to the Greeks. Eratosthenes in Strabo mentions him as a conqueror who had penetrated into Europe as far as the Pillars of Hercules; and it is more than probable that he was not the same with Sabachus or Seachus, but his successor.

The kingdom of Meroë, therefore, must certainly about this period, and for long ages before have ranked as an important state. If we go back two centuries to the time of Asa, the great-grandson of Solomon, who ascended the throne of Judah about *anno* 995, B. C., or within twenty years after his grandfather's death, we shall find this to be the case. Against him, the Jewish annals inform us, came out Zerah, the Ethiopian, with a host of a thousand thousand men and three hundred chariots (2 Chron. xiv: 9). Michaelis, in this case, translates Ethiopian Cushite, which appellation embraces both the inhabitants of Arabia Felix and Ethiopia, remarking, however, expressly by comparing 2 Chron. xvi, 8, that he must have been King of Ethiopia and probably of Arabia Felix as well. Although the expression a thousand thousand may merely indicate a large army, yet it affords a proof of the strength of the empire, which at that time, doubtless, included Arabia Felix; but the chariots of war which had never been in use in Arabia prove that

the passage refers to Ethiopia proper, as the seat of the government. Farther back than about the year 1000, B. C., or say the time of Solomon, the annals of written history are silent, but the monuments now begin to speak and affirm that high authority, which the traditions of Meroë as well as the generally enlightened opinion of antiquity attribute to this state.

The name of Rameses, called in Greek Sesostris, has been found upon many of the Nubian monuments; and that he was the conqueror of Ethiopia is affirmed by Herodotus (ii: 110), and Strabo (p 1140). Prof. Heeren, in his Researches (p. 215), 1825, A. D., referring to this says: "That the Pharaohs should have carried their conquests into Ethiopia could in no period seem less strange than in ours; in which the same scene has been acted. Scarcely was the present ruler of Egypt firmly possessed of that kingdom than his son, Ismael Pasha, undertook the same conquest, and not only penetrated to Meroë, but even at one time as far as Singue 10° N. Lat." The name of Tuthmoses, has also been found in Nubia upon one of the ancient monuments of Armada. But in this sculpture as well as in the procession, representing the victory over Ethiopia, in the offering of the spoil to the gods, there appears a degree of civilization, which shows an acquaintance with the peaceful arts; they must, therefore, be attributed to a nation which long ere this had an organized government. We thus touch upon the Mosaic period in which the Jewish traditions (Josephus Ant. Jud. ii: 10), ascribe the conquest of Meroë to Moses. The traditions of the Egyptian priesthood also agree in this that Meroë in Ethiopia had laid the foundation of the most ancient states of Egypt. But history itself has carried us back to those ages in which the formation of the most ancient states took place and has clearly shown that Meroë was one of them.

In the ancient Ethiopic state, as to its government, we cannot expect a picture which will bear much similitude to the civilized nations of Europe and America. Meroë rather resembled in appearance the larger states of interior Africa, with which we are acquainted somewhat at the present day; a number of small nations, some with and some without settled abodes, form there what is called an empire, although the political bond which holds them generally together appears loose and is often scarcely recognizable. Eratosthenes has handed down to us a picture of the inhabitants of Meroë in his time. According to his account the island embraced a variety of peoples, of whom some followed

agriculture, some a nomadic life and others hunting; all of them choosing that which was thought best adapted to the district in which they lived. He says, however, that in his time the nomad tribes dwelling to the north of Meroë in Nubia were no longer subject to that state. The dominion over roving hordes, it is well known, can seldom be very certain, permanent or have fixed boundaries, and it would be rash to apply what Eratosthenes says of his times to all the preceding centuries, while on the other hand, we learn from the monuments that the rulers of Meroë lived in almost continual warfare with the nomad tribes.

To the west Meroë was bounded by sandy deserts which separated it from Darfour, a place not mentioned by that name in antiquity; and, to the east, it had for neighbors in the mountains the rude Shamgallas, the Troglodytes or the race of Bischaries, at about ten or eleven days journey distant from the city of Meroë. (Erat. in Strab. l. c. p. 1134). According to what has been recorded those tribes had their own kings or chiefs and were not under the dominion of Meroë.

To the south of Meroë lay a province which by an extraordinary condition of affairs had come into possession of a numerous and powerful race of Egyptian colonists. When Psammetichus had obtained, by the aid of Greek mercenaries, the sole government of Egypt, the numerous Egyptian warrior caste, taking great offense thereat rebelled against him. They had, indeed, already in the foregoing troubles, when the priest-caste intrigued for the sovereignty and thereat for a long time played a winning game, felt themselves deeply injured. These Egyptian warriors, 240,000 in number, deriding the attempts of the king to detain them, chose to expatriate themselves than to submit to the new order of things which began with the reign of Psammetichus in Egppt. This took place about anno 650 B. C. Having immigrated into Ethiopia, in the face of the protestations of Psammetichus, that they were deserting their native country, and going over to the enemy, the king of Meroë joyfully received them and appointed them a province, whose inhabitants, as noticed before, having been lately in a state of rebellion, were expelled in order to make place for these newcomers. This district, according to the best informed authorities, was the present Gojam, *i.e.*, the land of the strangers, an island formed by a deep curve of the Nile, which it makes immediately after its rise and then returns, almost in a complete circle, nearly

back to its sources. Their new home, then, was in the neighborhood of the sources of the Nile.

Here this numerous Egyptian colony formed a separate state, dependent upon Meroë, but governed by its own subordinate kings, or rather, at least at a later period, by its queens. Among the Ethiopian tribes dwelling in those regions they introduced, as according to Herodotus, civilization, after the general type of the Egyptian; they built cities, the most considerable of which was called Sembolytis and another named Esar. This state, which endured for many centuries, extended itself on the east as far as the mountains, and clear traces of it are visible in the histories of those countries at later periods.

The state of Meroë, therefore, in the ages of its existence, comprised a number of different races or tribes, united together by one common religion or form of worship which was managed by the priests, the most cultivated class of the people, and, in effect, the dominant caste. The question as to what race of men this caste of priests really belonged to or descended from, some antiquarians have thought to be a very interesting one, but it is a question the solution of which remains as yet only among the probabilities, nothing historically definite having been adduced as to it. This much, however, has been concluded as probably certain, namely, that the priest caste did not consider themselves as of a race that had immigrated to that land, but as primitive to it, in which opinion they coincided with the people generally of that country.

If we examine as to whether the information we have or can attain respecting this race of the Nile's valley will warrant us in concluding such race as having immigrated into this region or whether we can discover in the tribes still existing there the descendants of such immigrant race, what we have to do is to examine the monuments left by the race, as from these the means of our knowledge must be largely drawn and as from their innumerable pictures we are enabled to judge somewhat in regard to the internal as well as the external character of the race.

In these monumental representations we always discover the same formation of countenance, the same shape (except in a few figures in the rock sepulchres, which in general display the infancy of the art); the same color, and although with many variations, yet, upon the whole, the same rich costume. The countenance has in it nothing of what we now understand as the negro variety, it is a handsome profile; the body is tall and slender; the hair straight

or slightly curled; the color a reddish brown. That the color in the painted reliefs was that of the people represented no one will doubt who has seen Belzoni's plates of the royal sepulchre at Abusambal. It is unnecessary to understand that the color in nature was exactly the same; the artists, in this respect, were perhaps limited by their materials; but it appears plain that the race intended to be depicted was neither white nor black, but of a color between these two, namely, dark-brown. The Nubian race is now supposed to most exactly represent them. Though the color, through slight intermixture with female negro slaves, is becoming somewhat darker, yet the same shape, the same profile, and the same moral characteristics are still to be found, as far as this can be expected in their present degenerate state. The Nubian, says an eye-witness, is thin and slender and beautifully formed; and his beauty is as unchangeable as that of a statute. He has more courage and daring than the Arabian. They are of a dark-brown color, with hair either naturally curly or artificially arranged by the women, but not at all woolly. Neither their external appearance nor their language allow us to give them an Arabian origin. They were once, according to Strabo, a mighty nation spreading out on both sides of the Nile. They are now pressed back into its valley; scarcely more than the ruins of a nation; but it has been impossible altogether to suppress them. Their ancient civilizations was closely connected with their religion and naturally declined with it; intermixture with foreigners, wars and oppressions helped on the degradation; all that now can be expected in their case is but a shadow of what they once were. (Strabo, pp. 1134–5, Leagh and others.)

But, whoever will compare closely the descriptions of them given by modern travelers with the representations upon the reliefs, will not fail to recognize the same general physical appearance, and the same countenance. They even still carry the same weapons, the long, often two edged spear, the great shield of hippopotamus-skin, with which they so often appear upon the monuments, and by which even the prophet characterizes them (Jer. xlvi., 9): and if the richness of their dress has been exchanged for lighter habilaments it may be considered that the temperature of the climate renders these ornaments rather than necessary clothing. All these distinguishing marks are, as stated, in the nature of probabilities and not founded upon historical evidence as ordinarily understood; but the views here given of the subject may be considered as just until replaced by others evidently more probable.

The question which will be expected to follow this in consideration is: whether Ethiopia and especially Meroë was the parent of the civilization of the Nile's valley, which descended thence into Egypt; or whether civilization ascended the Nile from Egypt into Ethiopia? I have before indicated partially what my mind was on this. I have stated that we had historical evidence that rulers of Meroë were at certain periods rulers of Egypt; and, on the other hand, that some of the Pharaohs extended their dominion over Ethiopia. What, therefore, could be more natural than that those nations would be mutually effected by being brought into close contact and general intercourse with each other; and as the erection of monuments, temples and their appurtenances formed so essential a part of the rites of the religion of Ammon, that the Pharaohs, when they ruled over Ethiopia, or the Ethiopian kings when they ruled over Egypt should, on both sides, have endeavored to perpetuate their memories in these respective countries by the foundation of temples and the erection and decoration of monuments? That this was so in effect is proved by the structures which exist in those countries as well as in Nubia, which lies between them, and by reliefs which decorate those structures and temples.

Those, therefore, who derive the civilization of Egypt from Ethiopia and especially from Meroë do not generally go farther than to affirm that certain colonies led by the priest-caste spread from Meroë into Egypt. That all this happened at the advice of the oracle of Ammon is proved by Herodotus, who says: "They undertook their expeditions at the time and to the place appointed by the god." The fact is too well known to render it necessary to be proved here that the foundation of colonies in the ancient world generally took place under the dictation of the oracles. This was so in Greece and in other countries as well as in Egypt, Ethiopia and Siwah. These oracles, were under the ministry or management of the priest-caste, doubtless sometimes in connection with the chief ruler of the nation; it is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that those settlements were usually in the first place determined upon deliberately and then carried out for definite purposes. This is confirmed by the ordinary and monumental history.

One of those settlements, the nearest to Meroë on the north, that near Mount Berkal, is called after the present city, namely, Merawé At this place are found the remains of two temples, dedicated to Osiris and Ammon. The larger with an alley of Sphinxes, and all the sections of the great temples of Egypt, surpasses in extent,

variety and perfection of finish, those in the parent State. The smaller called by Caillaud, a *Typhonium*, exhibits in its sanctuary Ammon with his whole train. But besides the name, another thing proves this place to have been a colony from Meroë; I mean the pyramidal sepulchres, with nearly the very same number of pyramids as at Assur, though larger in size. Opposite also on the western bank of the Nile, near Nuri, is a group of pyramids, which are said to be the only ones found between the island of Meroë and Egypt. The reliefs on the temple relate to the worship of Ammon. On the Pylon a king or hero is offering to him a number of captives; in the interior decoration, gifts of fruit, cattle and other things. In the front building of the pyramids is represented Osiris, as king of the lower world, to whom gifts are likewise presented. This place at a later period, probably in the time of the Ptolemies, became the capital, and was called Napata; and this in the time of Nero, when the Romans captured and destroyed it, was the residence of the successive queens, who dwelt here under the title of Candace. (Pliny, VI. 35, Mannert X. p. 220).

Ammonium in the Libyan Desert, was, according to the testimony of Herodotus another of those colonies, which consisted not merely of a temple and oracle, but rather, as Meroë, formed a small State where the priest-caste was the ruling body, and chose a king from among themselves; and, according to his account, this colony was formed in common from Meroë and Thebes. This remarkable fact, not only proves the foundation of such colonies and the objects for which they were intended, but also places beyond a doubt that a common interest was recognized as mutually existing between those religious institutions at Meroë and Thebes.

The princely Thebes itself was by far the most important settlement of this priest-caste; it formed a sort of second metropolis or central point, whence they spread over the rest of Egypt and the Oases. The priestly tradition of Ethiopia and Egypt, asserted the worship of Ammon and Osiris, with all its institutions, feasts, processions and paraphernalia, to have been first settled at Meroë, the metropolis. Diodorus (I. p. 18), cites the character of the authorities whence he derives this information; at one time as written, namely, the narrative of Agatharchides, in his work on the Red Sea, and the history of Artemidorus; at others as oral, namely the assertions of the priests of the Thebaid; and of the embassadors from Meroë, whom he himself had there an opportunity of conversing with; all these agree very well together.

From the city of Meroë, therefore, according to the most ancient authorities did Osiris carry the civilization of which he is the symbol into Egypt. The worship of Ammon and his temple associates, the same sacerdotal polity, the same oracles confirmed it in antiquity; and we do not find the temples of Upper and the pyramids of Middle Egypt to be exponents of the same truth, with those designs wrought to the highest perfection of which the monuments of Meroë and Nubia furnished the simpler models.

So far thus: But that Meroë was a colony of Thebes there is not the slightest historical proof. And what would be gained by such an opinion, even though the question should turn upon the rise of civilization in the Nile's valley? On what account would it be less likely to rise in Meroë than in the Thebaid? No doubt in both countries certain external causes promoted it; but that they were to be found as well, rather sooner in Meroë than in the Thebaid much might be adduced.

The researches of investigators upon this subject lead to the general conclusion above set forth which is no small proof of the correctness of our inferences. It is, therefore, here expedient to set forth the opinions to which Gaw and Champollion have led, more especially since we know they have proved themselves to be some of the most painstaking, laborious and accurate investigators in this field.

"The observation of Gaw," it is said, "seems especially interesting, on account of the results to which it will lead; we mean his remark that he hopes by his work to prove that the original models of Egyptian architecture may be found in the Nubian monuments, from the rudest rock excavation to the highest point of perfection; and the specimens are met with in Nubia of the three different epochs of architecture. Of the first attempts, the excavations from the sides of rocks which were not till a later period ornamented with sculpture, the temples of Derar, Abousambal and Ghyrshe afford examples. From them Egyptian art proceeded to perfection, as we know from the monuments of Kalabshe, Dekar, etc.; and again retrograded as is shown in the small buildings of Dandour," etc.

"In the letters upon Champollion's latest discoveries it is said that history is extended and authenticated. Champollion reads the names of the mighty Egyptian Pharoahs upon the edifices which they erected, and arrives at certainty respecting the deeds of Tuthmosis, Amenophis II., Rameses Miamun, Rameses the Great or Sesostris and others, which our modern skeptical critics would tear from the

volume of authentic history and place among the fabulous. But a powerful voice is raised in their favor by the irrefragible evidence of the venerable reliefs, the innumerable inscriptions upon the pylons and long walls of Theban palaces. Nearly thirty royal dynasties enumerated of which from seventeen upwards uninterrupted monuments have been discovered.

The most flourishing period of the Egyptian state, and its highest point of civilization Champollion places under the eighteenth dynasty, the first of which dynasty expelled the shepherd race, or hyksos, from lower Egypt, under whose domination most if not all of Egypt had been for centuries. It was also the Pharaohs of this dynasty who so aggrandized Thebes; who built the vast palace of Karnac, Luxor, Medinet Abon, Kornu and Memnonium. What a high pitch of civilization! What an astonishing era of art; two complete thousand years before the Augustan age of Rome! The magnificent palace of Karnac records by its hieroglyphics that it was built during the eleven hundred years which elapsed from the time or Amenophis I. to that of Nekao II. Amenophis I. was the third, Amenophis II. (whom the Greeks call Memnon) the eighth, and Amenophis III., the sixteenth of this glorious dynasty. But the most exalted hero among the Pharoahs was Rameses the Great or Sesostris, as he is called, by Herodotus, the first of the nineteenth dynasty."

"But this advantage of the researches, so interesting in their consequences, is not merely confined to the antiquities of Egypt; it stretches away to the south; it opens up an historical view of countries, whose names have not yet been enrolled in the eternal tablets of history. In Nubia and Ethiopia stupendous, numerous and primeval monuments proclaim so loudly a civilization contemporary, aye, earlier than that of Egypt, that it may be conjectured with the greatest confidence that the arts, sciences and religion descended from Nubia to the Lower country of Mizraim; that civilization descended the Nile, built Memphis, and, finally, something later, wrested by colonization the Delta from the sea. From Meroë and Axum downwards with the Nile to the Mediterranean, there arose, as is testified by Diodorus, cultivated and powerful States, which, though independent of each other, were connected by the same language, the same writing and the same religion."

"Champollion, by comparing the manners and customs, the political institutions and physical organization of the Egyptians with those of other nations regards it as certain that they are a genuine African-descended race; undoubtedly aboriginals of this quarter of

the world, as they resemble the western Asiatic nations, their neighbors, in but a very few unimportant particulars. Their language contains as few analogies with the Sanscrit and Zend, the Chinese and the Arabic, as their writing with that of the rest of the known world. Everything tends to prove them a great, a self-cultivated and an exclusive family of nations, possessing the north-east of Africa, Nubia, the Oases and Egypt."*

That the Ammonian oracles were principal stations of the caravan trade may suggest the close connection which did really exist between religion and commerce, which was, doubtless, as natural to those countries as it is unnatural to our institutions. Though this priesthood was not of itself a trading people yet it seems by its establishments to have served as a guide and fosterer to the southern commercial intercourse. This a general survey of the commerce of those countries in the early ages would fully establish.

That an extensive commercial intercourse existed in early times between Ethiopia and Arabia Felix on the one side and the western coast of the peninsula of India and Ceylon on the other is a matter which is pretty well established historically. Thus it may appear that nature has so preordained the commerce of those nations by bestowing treasures on one portion which the others are destitute of and cannot well do without. India is, in natural productions, one of the richest countries in the world, and, on that account, has always been esteemed a country of great importance in the world's commerce. Besides the textile fabrics peculiar to it and some which it may possess in common with a few other countries it possesses almost exclusively cinnamon and pepper, the two spices most in demand. In colder regions these may be dispensed with or used as articles of luxury; but under the damp and burning climate of those southern latitudes they are indispensably necessary as antidotes to putrefaction; and none of the nations in these regions can ever do without them after having once experienced their effects.

Yeman, otherwise called Arabia Felix, though separated by sea from India, is yet by nature connected with it in an extraordinary

* The foregoing extracts are taken from continental European reviews and magazines, written at the end of the first quarter of this nineteenth century. It is said that in later discoveries a whole archive has come to light in papyrus rolls, containing the names of the Pharoahs and annals of their reigns. An immense flood of light has been shed during this nineteenth century upon the history of that very ancient and interesting race more especially by the researches of Mr. Brugsch Bey. Doubtless much that is of interest will yet come to light concerning it.

manner. One-half of the year — from Spring to Autumn — the wind sets in and wafts the vessels from Arabia to India; the other half — from Autumn to Spring — it as regularly carries them back from India to Arabia.* A sky almost always serene affords them the stars as guides, and spares them the trouble and danger of feeling along the coasts. Though Arabia produces no spices she amply makes up for the deficiency by other very valuable productions. If not exclusively, Arabia is above all others the native country of frankincense, myrrh and other aromatics and perfumes. If the purification of the air by sweet-smelling savors were not as necessary in these warm climates as spices are for the preservation of health, yet the value of these productions was greatly enhanced by religion. In the offerings to the gods in those semi-civilized nations frankincense was largely used.

But eastern Africa not only divided the production of frankincense with Yeman, but produced a different commodity of great value, namely, gold, of which neither Yeman nor India could boast and without which their traffic must have been, even in those early times, much limited. The western coast of the Indian peninsula did not produce this metal, nor Arabia if at all but sparingly; but eastern Africa contained those districts abounding in gold, which are still numbered among the richest of the world.

Indian spices, especially cinnamon, are brought to our view in the book of Exodus (ch. xxx: 23, 24), in which we can enumerate the quantity of spices to be used in compounding the holy oil of the sanctuary. The Phœnicians and Hebrews early carried on an extensive trade with Arabia Felix. The Hebrew poets and prophets cite the names of its various cities and harbors, and enumerate the treasures which were imported from them (Ezek. xxvii: 21–25 and the commentaries). The Greeks were also accustomed to proclaim the boundless riches contained in Yeman. "Its inhabitants, the Sabians," says Agatharchides, as quoted by Diodorous, "not only surpass the neighboring barbarians in wealth and magnificence, but all other nations whatsoever. In bringing and selling their wares they obtain among all nations the highest prices for the smallest quantities. As their distant situation protects them from all foreign plunderers, immense stores of precious metals have accumulated among them, especially in the capital. Curiously-wrought gold and silver drinking vessels in great variety; couches, tripods

* The former is a southwest, the latter a northeast wind.

with silver feet, and an incredible profusion of costly furniture in general. Porticos with large columns, partly gilt, with capitals ornamented with wrought silver figures. The roofs and doors are ornamented with gold fretwork, set with precious stones; besides which an extraordinary magnificence reigns in the decoration of their houses, in which they use silver and gold, and ivory and the most precious stones and all other things which men deem most valuable. These people from the earliest times have enjoyed their good fortune undisturbed; being sufficiently remote from all those who strove to feed their avarice with the treasures of others."

From the foregoing quotation it is plain that the inhabitants of this country had, by their commerce and country's native products, attained in the early ages to immense wealth; and also, as indicated by their architecture and plastic arts, had made considerable progress in civilization. According to Herodotus much of their wealth was derived from the merchandise of India for which their country was the great mart; and his testimony is fully confirmed by that of Arrian in his "Periplus of the Red Sea," who has always had the reputation of having been a well informed writer.

"Before merchants," he says, "sailed from India to Egypt and from Egypt to India, Arabia Felix was the staple both for Egyptian and Indian goods much as Alexandria is now for the commodities of Egypt and foreign merchandise."

The explicit testimony here brought forward shows the commercial intercourse between Arabia and India to have been of high antiquity; and everything connected with the subject indicates the Arabians to have been the navigators, the Indians nowhere appearing in that vocation. When, therefore, we are informed that Arabia Felix at that time was the market for Indian products we may with great probability conclude that those people at this time as well as afterwards possessed the carrying trade of the Indian ocean. Whether this was confined to coasting or whether advantage was taken of the monsoons in sailing across the sea direct must be left to conjecture; hut we can scarcely suppose that the benefit of this wind should have remained unknown during a lapse of centuries to people dwelling in the regions whence it blew. If every other passage across this sea in the infancy of time may excite suspicion nothing can be reasonably opposed or supposed to the shortness and facility of this. Moreover, a great part of the way along the Arabian coast might be navigated by the monsoons; and the great number of islands, with which the ocean is here dotted

would serve as landmarks and harbors. It is, however, a remarkable circumstance that the direct transit from Yemen to India leads direct to that very district of all that vast country in which (as at Elephantin and Salsette) some of the most ancient and remarkable monuments that are to be found in India still exist.

The intercourse between Yemen and Ethiopia has been subject to no real difficulties. They are neighboring countries separated only by a narrow strait. Just beyond this lies the Ethiopian land of frank. incense, known to Herodotus, and near to that the gold countries of eastern Africa mentioned before. That Egypt and the other countries of northern Africa were well supplied with the home products of Ethiopia, as well as other countries just mentioned, is evident from so many circumstances that no doubt can remain upon the subject.

As we go back into antiquity the closer seems to have been the connection between Egypt and Ethiopia. The Hebrew writers seldom mention the one without the other; the people of both countries are represented as commercial nations. When Isaiah (xlv: 14) prophetically celebrates the victories of Cyrus their submission is spoken of as his most magnificent reward: "Thus saith the Lord, The labor of Egypt and merchandise of Ethiopia and of the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee and they shall be thine." When Jeremiah (xlvi: 8–11) celebrates the great victory of Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish the Ethiopians are allied to the Egyptians. When Ezek. (xxx: 5) threatens the downfall of Egypt by Babylon the remotest parts of Ethiopia tremble at the denunciation. The records of Egypt exhibits the close intimacy in which they stood to each other. The primitive states of Egypt, as already seen, derived their origin from those remote regions; Thebes and Meroë founded in common a colony in Libya, called Ammonium or Siwah; Ethiopian conquerors more than once invaded Egypt; Egyptian kings in return made conquest of Ethiopia; the same worship, the same customs and manners, the same mode of writing are found in both countries. And under Psammetichus, as shown above, the warrior class (called slaves by some, perhaps because, in effect, reduced to slavery by Psammetichus) retired into Ethiopia and dwelt there. This general intimate connection might seem to indicate an understood permanent kinship, somewhat such as exists, taken in its broadest sense, among the Scottish clans.

Egypt, also, as far back as history reaches was well stocked with the products of the Southern regions. Whence did she obtain the

drugs and spices with which her dead were embalmed? Whence the incense that burned on her altars? Whence the immense quantity of cotton with which her people were clad and of which her own soil produced so little?

Moreover, whence came into Egypt that early rumor of the gold districts of Ethiopia, which Cambyses set out to discover and in the attempt lost half his army? Whence that profusion of ivory and ebony which the ancient artists of Greece and Phoenicia embellished? (Herod. iii., 114.) "Ethiopia, the most distant region of the earth, brings forth gold in abundance, and ivory and ebony and various other woods, and the tallest, handsomest and most long-lived of men." Whence that general and early spread of the name of Ethiopia, which glimmers in the traditional history of so many nations, and which is celebrated as well by the Hebrew poets as by the earliest Grecian bards? Whence all this, if the deserts which surrounded that people had formed an impassable barrier between them and the inhabitants of the northern districts?

But why should tradition which has so long slumbered be now invoked? The remains of those majestic monuments, the series of which extend from Elephantin and Philae beyond the desert to Meroë, now speak for themselves. However short and monosyllabic their language, they plainly enough evince that a close connection must have existed between the peoples that erected them.

The reader is, however, now in a position to judge both of the certainty and extent of the international commerce of those southern regions in those remote periods. It was a commercial intercourse between some of the richest and most productive regions of the earth; the gold countries of eastern Africa, the spice countries of India and the native land of frankincense, of precious stones and drugs in Southern Arabia.

But this research presupposes anotner inquiry, namely, as to the relation in which commerce stood in those regions to religion.

Commerce has always in the East been very closely connected with religion. All commercial intercourse requires peaceable and secure places in which it may be carried on. Commerce in the eastern countries is carried on in a very different way generally from that in which it is carried on in Europe and America. In these latter countries, every State, city and hamlet affords protection to its people so that trade is carried on peaceably and securely. Goods are transported speedily on freight trains and steamboats from point to point; and men travel, in like manner, without ap-

prehension of violence from unruly men. In the immense districts of the Eastern world the case is very different. The rich caravans have often to perform here journeys of hundreds of miles through nations of nomad robbers. The market is not where they might choose, but where the requirements of nature fixes it, in the midst or in the neighborhood of those roving hordes. What can be supposed to protect commerce, but the sanctity of the place?

Moreover, a ready sale of merchandise requires a concourse of people, and where this has place is most usually in the vicinity of the national sanctuaries, where the whole nation is wont to congregate to celebrate their feasts. Here, where men give themselves up to good living the necessities of life, if not the luxuries, will be in plentiful supply and good demand, and here the merchants will net the best profits. Now, however, even the East affords a striking example of the extent to which the maritime commerce has diminished that by land. Mecca has long been, through its holy sanctuary, the chief mart of the commerce of Arabia, and the great caravans of pilgrims, which journey thither from Asia and Africa are largely trading caravans. The fairs which depend upon their arrival are said to be the greatest in Asia.

The rapid growth of a place in the East, when once it has obtained a sanctuary, that becomes the objective point of pilgrimages and by that means becomes a trading place almost surpasses credibility. Tenta, for example, a city of the Delta, is celebrated as containing the sepulchre of a Mohamedan saint, Seyd-Achmed. The veneration in which this is held brings an incredible number of pilgrims, who come at the season of the vernal equinox and summer solstice from Egypt, Abyssinia, Arabia and Darfour. The number is estimated as averaging 150,000. These periodical assemblages besides the worship of the saint are devoted to commerce; and each of them is the period of a celebrated fair, which lasts for many days and at which the produce of Upper Egypt, the coast of Barbary, and of the eastern nations is exchanged for the cattle of the Delta and the linen there manufactured. (Memoires Sur l'Egypte, tom. iii., p. 357.)

It was the worship of Ammon and his kindred deities whose rites were propagated by the foundation of colonies of the same caste of priests along the course of the Nile from the vicinity of its sources till its divided streams lose themselves in the sea; and the places celebrated for the worship of those deities were also famed as the great marts for the commerce of those regions.

A consideration of this will easily determine the most ancient trading route from Ethiopia to Egypt and northern Africa. The situation and nature of the country will allow of no other, in the main, than a caravan trade; for they cannot navigate on the river above a certain point, and in antiquity, single merchants could travel with as little safety as they can now without a convoy. For the caravan trade from northern Africa and the negro countries to Upper Egypt, Thebes was the places of rendezvous. There are usually three principal caravans which go from inner Africa to Egypt; one from Fezzan or Barbary, and one from Darfour and a third from Sennaar and Atbar, the ancient Meroë. From its situation Nubia is the natural and has, therefore, always been the great point of communication for the caravan trade between Ethiopia and the countries north and n. e. and n. w. of the Nubian desert. In going from Egypt, Atbar is the first fertile spot which relieves the eye of the weary traveler over the dreary desert, the crossing of which is attended with so much toil and often with pain and danger. It is likewise the natural emporium for such productions of inner Africa as are wont to be transported to the north. It is the extreme point of the gold country towards Egypt; and possesses an easy communication with the southern regions by means of the many navigable streams with which it is surrounded. Its moderate distance from Arabia Felix facilitates its intercourse with that wealthy country, which again rendered it, as long as it possessed the trade of Arabia and India, the natural market of Africa for Arabian and Indian goods.

But, though Sennaar or the country of Meroë, appears as a great commercial country, yet the territory about the city of Meroë seems always to have been the principal locality of market.

Bruce, in relating his adventures, says: "Shendy," now the nearest city to ancient Meroë, "was once a town of great resort. The caravans of Sennaar, Egypt, Suakin and Kordofan, were all accustomed to rendezvous here, especially after the Arabs had cut off the road by Dongola." The celebrated Maillet, who wrote at the beginning of the eighteenth century, informs us that at that time, the caravan from Sennaar arrived there every year, bringing gold dust, ebony, ivory, balsam, and black slaves, all wares equally known and valued in antiquity. It assembled at Gherri, a place lying a few miles above Shendy and Meroë. The merchants from Sennaar and Gondar, the two chief cities of Abyssinia, and many other districts congregated here to begin their journey. The cara-

vans leave the Nile to the east and stretch across Libya, where after a seventeen days' journey, they enter a fertile valley, planted with palms; then continuing their route, which leads over mountainous districts, they again reach the Nile at Monfelut, a city of Upper Egypt.

The information brought by the French expedition confirms all this and discloses other important information. Shendy, we are told, is the place where the caravan road to the north of Egypt and to the east of the Arabian Gulf or Suakin, separate. Shendy, therefore, has long been a place of great trade, and it still remains the next city to Sennaar. Burkhardt, who remained a month at Shendy, gives in his work copious details concerning the trade of that town. "Commerce," he says, "is the very life of society in those countries. There is not a single family which is not connected more or less with some branch of traffic, either wholesale or retail and the people of Berber and Shendy appear to be a nation of traders in the strictest sense of the word." At but a few miles distance from Shendy, are the great salt works which supply all Abyssinia with this useful commodity. Strabo also mention this.

Although the intercourse between Egypt, Arabia and Sennaar is thus brisk that to the west with Soudan is represented by Burkhardt as insignificant and unimportant. The commerce of interior Africa is carried on in two directions principally; one follows the valley of the Nile from Egypt to Sennaar, the other is that of the Soudan, from the Joliba to the Mediterranean. Between these the empire of Bornou intervenes. These trading routes are found to have been the same in antiquity as now, a matter as to which all explorers are agreed.

To the communication between northern and southern Africa the principal obstruction is the desert; the countries beyond, in all directions, maintain, as we learn both from the ancient writers and the more modern reports of the British society, a constant intercourse.

The usual route of the caravan, in the present, runs to the east of the Nile, where that river makes its great bend towards the west, *through the midst of the Nubian desert;* the same that Bruce followed from Sennaar to Egypt and Burkhardt from Egypt to Sennaar. From the beginning of the desert, on the northern boundary of Sennaar to Essouan on the Egyptian frontier the distance amounts to twenty days journey. Another route which almost constantly follows the course of the Nile, is, in consequence of

its great westerly bend, much farther around, whether the first, that is, the shorter or more difficult route, was frequented in antiquity cannot be determined from direct historical evidence, but as Eratosthenes and Artemidorus state the distance from Syene to the city of Meroë, the former at 625 and the latter at 600 miles, and this distance is undoubtedly reckoned according to this shortest route, we may safely conclude that it was known. According to Burkhardt it is the only route from Shendy to Egypt and the one generally pursued by the caravans of Sennaar. Though not without its perils it did not appear so dangerous to him as the great Syrian desert. Springs are met with and these to some extent, naturally govern the direction of the road. A description of the longer way on the banks of the Nile, and as far as the nature of the stream will allow, upon that river, has already been given from Herodotus, whose forty days journey is explained by the context, that the course of the river was almost invariably followed. The succession of inhabited places along the river renders it probable that in those times it was the common way, especially for those who dreaded the dangers of the desert. These places continue to Merawé, where the last cataracts begin and a very natural cause is found in this situation for the establishment of those settlements. Pliny was not only acquainted with them but describes the manner of the voyage up the Nile. "Syene," says he, "is the rendezvous of the Ethiopian vessels. The sailors fold them together and carry them on their shoulders as often as they come to the cataracts." These boats were probably made of hides; but the same custom of carriage is still continued with the boats that are. "Notwithstanding the number of falls and cataracts," says Maillet, "which render the navigation difficult they do not altogether impede it. The boats are brought as near as possible to the cataracts; the movable wares are then all taken out and a number of men take the boat, which is built very light for the purpose, upon their shoulders and carry it past the cataracts, while others transport the merchandise to the same place. The boat is then relaunched on the Nile, and so they go on from cataract to cataract, until they have passed them all." But, independently of Herodotus' direct statement that in order to avoid the cataracts people would rather go a journey of about forty days, the nature of the journey itself shows that the usual caravan route then could not have been that through the middle of the desert. The number of settlements show that this route lay through the inhabited district near to the river, which

doubtless rendered it possible for single voyageurs to go it without danger.

In no historian do we find indicated the route which led in ancient times from Meroë to the Arabian Gulf and Yemen; nevertheless traces are still extant, of the intercourse of these nations, which time has not been able to obliterate. Just in the midst of the way are found the ruins of Axum, and, at its end, on the coast opposite Arabia Felix, the remains of Adule and Azab.

If nothing else, the antiquity of Axum entitles it to a particular notice. So far as I have discovered its name is not mentioned by any historian previous to the first century of our era. It is first mentioned by Arian, in his Periplus of the Red Sea, who probably flourished under Nero, and afterwards by Ptolemy. Arian calls it a metropolis at about seven or eight days journey from the Red Sea, and at that time the chief emporium for the ivory trade. In the sixth century when Justinian formed an alliance with Ethiopia Axum was highly celebrated. At this time, at least, it was the residence of the Ethiopian monarchs, hence the capital of Ethiopia: Cosmas, Nonnosus, Procopius and others have much to say about it.

But, notwithstanding the silence of the early writers, the ruins of Axum are still there to attest its great antiquity. The first account we have of these remarkable monuments was given by the Portuguese, Alvarez and Tellez, the first in his voyage in and the second in his history of Ethiopia. To this succeeded the narrative of Bruce which is indeed quite an extended history of that country under the name of Abyssinia. But Bruce's account has been, to some extent, sharply criticised by Salt, a later traveler.

The remains at Axum belong to different ages; partly to a very high antiquity; partly to the first centuries of the Christian era; and partly to a still later period; while Alvarez and Tellez had not sufficient knowledge to distinguish these critically, still their information is very remarkable, showing as it does, that in their time many monuments existed which do not now appear. Besides the obelisks, sometimes standing, and sometimes fallen down, which were in part covered with inscriptions, Alvarez mentions many pedestals and statues of lions jetting out water. Tellez not only speaks of obelisks and pyramids, whose resemblance to the Egyptian cannot be mistaken, but also saw, as he relates, an inscription in Greek and Latin letters, most likely the same that Salt has published. Bruce's words are as follows: —

"On the 18th of January (1770), we came into the plain

wherein stood Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia, at least as it is supposed. For my part I believe it to have been the magnificent metropolis of the trading people or Troglodytæ Ethiopians, for the reason I have already given, as the Abyssinians never built any city, nor do the ruins of any exist at this day in the whole country. But the black or Troglodyte part of it have in many places buildings of great strength, especially at Azab, worthy the magnificence and riches of a state which was from the earliest ages the emporium of the Indian and African trade."

The ruins of Axum are very extensive, but entirely consist of public buildings. In one square which is supposed to have been the center of the town, there are forty obelisks, none of which have any hieroglyphics upon them. They are all of one piece of granite and on the top of that which is standing, there is a patera, exceedingly well carved in the Greek taste."

We proceeded southwards by a road cut in a mountain of red marble, having on the left a parapet-wall about five feet high, solid and of the same materials. At equal distances there are hewn in this wall solid pedestals, upon the tops of which we see the marks where stood the colossal statues of Sirius, the Latrator Anubis or Dog-star. One hundred and thirty-three of those pedestals, with the marks of the statues I just mentioned, are still in their places; but only two figures of the dog remained when I was there, much mutilated, but a taste easily distinguished to be Egyptian."

There are likewise pedestals wherever the figure of the Sphinx have been placed. Two magnificent flights of steps, several hundred feet long, all of granite, exceedingly well fashioned and still in their places, are the only remains of a magnificent temple." Thus far Bruce.

The remains of ancient art found by Salt are two groups of obelisks, a considerable distance apart, each composed of fourteen or fifteen pieces; only one of each group being now standing. The largest formed of one piece of granite is eighteen feet high and some of those thrown down are still more. The smaller one is twenty feet. Many of them are ornamented with sculptures, which seem, however, rather embellishments than hieroglyphics, and some are plain. The proportions and workmanship are admirable. The sculptures represent architectural ornaments somewhat similar to those in the Indian rock-pagodas, a door below and apertures or windows above. The priests stated the original number of the obelisks to have been forty-five. Several altars and pedestals lay

scattered around, fallen from their former places; the two magnificent flights of steps are included in the plan of Mr. Salt as well as two others hewn in the rock. The Greek inscription he has transcribed is said to belong to the fourth century, A. D.

The ancient monuments of Axum were laid waste by the violence of fanaticism, according to the ecclesiastics of the place by a queen of Amhara, named Gadit, about *anno* 1070 A. D.; or, according to an inscription found there by a conqueror named Abun David, perhaps by both. As Axum was for more than eleven centuries the seat of a Christian Church (the present one was built in 1657) many of the old materials were probably used in the new buildings, and only such remains as could not readily be removed or put to use. This, however, is sufficient to remove any doubt that might exist as to the high antiquity of Axum. Though the plan of the principal building can no longer be accurately laid down, yet Mr. Salt expressly remarks that all the antiquities in the vicinity of the new church now form one group and formerly belonged to one great fabric. But there is perceived in the separate members as well as in the aggregate a most striking resemblance to the Egyptian monuments. The rows of obelisks which here form an avenue; the pedestals which at one time bore statues, perhaps of a gigantic size; and the vast magnitude of the whole are perceived to exhibit the same architecture, the same art in the arrangement of the great masses of stone, and the same taste as the ruins of Thebes, of Elephantes and Meroë, with which Bruce, in one place compares them. Remarkable differences, it is seen occur; for it has been generally observed no traces of obelisks appear in Nubia and Meroë, while here we find them in groups; and while, on the contrary, the Egyptian obelisks are covered with hieroglyphics none such appear on those at Axum, which are merely ornamented.

These circumstances have left Mannert (Geography of the Greeks and Romans, part X., 166), to conjecture that Axum was originally one of the cities founded by the immigrant warrior Caste from Egypt. One of the cities founded by them he considers to be identical with Esar, and there is, on the whole, much which seems to favor his opinion. It lay within the territory possessed by them, which extended eastwardly towards the Arabian Gulf; and if this opinion should be correct it might be thought to reasonably account for the absence of hieroglyphics, as there was among them no priestly caste. This would show Axum to mount up at least to the early part of the seventh century B. C.; and it is known from the

Periplus of Arrian to have been, some centuries later, a principal mart for the interior trade; that it was so even earlier is a probable conjecture.

The end of this trade route was, according to Bruce, Azab, at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf, whence the passage to Arabia Felix requires under sail but a few hours. Ruins, similar to those described in the passage above cited by Bruce, are still said to point out the site of this remarkable place, which was at one time the great emporium of Indian and Arabian products for the vast regions of Africa. It is, however, recognized as very desirable that the African coast of the Arabian Gulf, about the straits of Babelmandel should be more accurately explored. If even what Bruce has said with respect to Azab (Saba) be set aside, it might still be considered very astonishing, if the long intercourse between Arabia and Africa had not produced some large settlement, either where Azab is placed upon our charts or without the straits, perhaps, as from that part a connection with Aden would be so much easier.

Adule, another ancient fort on the Arabian Gulf, lay at a short distance from the present Arkeeko, 15° N. Lat. "Adule," says Pliny, "according to an ancient writer, is the greatest emporium of the Troglodytae and Ethiopians. They bring here ivory, rhinoceros-horn, hippopotamus hides, tortoise shells, and slaves. Egyptian bondsmen, who ran away from their masters, founded it." Adule is decided to have been an Egyptian colony, and must not this be a version of the immigration of the warrior class in the time of Psammetichus, whom the then ruling power and its supporters would be most likely, through contempt or policy, to have designated slaves? I have not noticed that any modern explorer has reached Adule; Stuart, whom Salt sent there, having been intercepted, was obliged to return. The Arabians are, however, uniform in their assertion that the ruins of a city, which they call Zulla, exist there, and a column brought thence to Arkeeko, gives evidence of the Egyptian style. The successful adventurer, who reaches this place, will perhaps, find there, still in position, the celebrated monument of Adule, for the preservation of whose inscription we are indebted to Cosmas, and which records the victories of Ptolemy III., over the Ethiopians and Sasu. It is barely possible that this has been accomplished by some modern explorer without having come to my knowledge.

It has been frequently mentioned by Bruce, as an important cir-

cumstance, that in all Abyssinia, there are only three places, namely, Azab, Axum, and Meroë (to which we may now add Adule), where ruins of those great establishments are found, whose form as well as high antiquity shows them to have sprung from a common origin. All these are ruins of large public edifices; every thing about them is colossal; while of private habitations there is not the slightest trace. These, doubtless, from their being less durable, have long ago disintegrated into dust, though it must always remain doubtful, whether and how far we ought to extend our notion of cities to any of those places. The greater part of the the peoples of Ethiopia were nomads, as they are in the present day, and, as from the nature of their country, they must always remain. Is it not more likely that those places adorned with temples and obelisks, were merely extensive market places, where caravans from remote regions of the world, gathered together, and to which distant nations, under the protection of the deities who inhabited those temples, conveyed the products of their countries in order to barter them for others. This view seems, at least, most agreeable to the physical geography of Ethiopia, and most in accord with the august magnificence of those monuments, which we do not find were surrounded by such assemblage of private houses as would create in our mind the idea of city. In those distant countries everything sprung from different causes, and, therefore, must have been different in the general idea from what they are in the regions of Europe and America.

Following I give a resume of the observations of G. A. Hoskins in his work, "Travels into Ethiopia." This is the most extensive work which up to his time (1833) was published upon ancient Ethiopia and especially upon Meroë, which was the great objective point of the author's journey and for which he prepared himself not only by a long abode in Greece and Italy in studying the monuments of those countries, but also in Egypt.

He set out from Thebes in Upper Egypt, Feb. 1st, 1833, penetrated as far as the ancient city of Meroë and arrived, on his return, at Wady Halfa, the second cataract of the Nile, on the 16th June of the same year, when his account closes, so that his journey into Ethiopia lasted four months and a half. His retinue consisted of twelve persons whom he hired to accompany him, among whom was an expert Italian painter, named Baldoni, who furnished the drawings by which the descriptions are illustrated. The work is cast in the form of a journal, to which are added four chapters on

the history and affairs of ancient Meroë. It will be sufficient for our purpose to select such part of this author's work as may serve to extend our knowledge concerning those remote regions, without necessarily following him step by step.

Having started south from Philae, with his convoy of eleven camels, which he had obtained from the Ababdes, he at first followed the course of the river, but left it to cross the Nubian desert to Korosko. The party only in one place met with water, which was salt; the skeletons of famished travelers and camels were lying in heaps along the way. Near Macharif, the present capital of Nubia, they again reached the Nile and thence-forward continued their journey along this river; and thus after passing the conflux of the Astaboras and the Nile they arrived on the 4th of March at Meroë, the ancient capital of Ethiopia. Of this city he found only the Necropolis with its pyramids remaining. Of these the descriptions and drawings given in his work are deemed much more complete and accurate than those given by Caillaud.

"Never," says this explorer, "were my feelings more ardently excited than in approaching, after so tedious a journey, to this magnificent Necropolis. The appearance of the pyramids in the distance announced their importance; but I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectations when I found myself in the midst of them. The pyramids of Ghizeh are magnificent, but for picturesque effect and elegance of architectural design, I infinitely prefer those of Meroë. I expected to find few such remains here and certainly nothing so imposing, so interesting as those sepulchres, doubtless of the kings and queens of Ethiopia. I stood for a while lost in admiration. From every point of view I saw magnificent groups, pyramid rising behind pyramid, while the dilapidated state of many did not render them the less beautiful as works of art. I easily restored them in my imagination and these effects of the ravages of time carried back my thoughts to distant ages."

The author first gives the positions of the single pyramids in a general plan, in which we notice twenty-one in greater or less preservation as well as the traces of several others. These, however, are only the pyramids of the principal group, which the author first reached on the west side of the river. But he mentions three groups in which eighty pyramids may be counted. The principal group is situated on a hill two miles and a half from the river, and of some of these he gives drawings in his work with their dimensions. The largest is sixty feet high and the same in diameter at

the base. Most of them may be ascended by steps. One has a window but it is thought to have been only for ornament and not for the purpose of admitting light. All have a portico with an entrance, which always faces westward. The principal group contains thirty-one pyramids and the plan of twenty-three of them may be distinctly traced. Another group contains thirteen; two out of three other groups consist each of two; a third of six. At the distance of 6500 feet from the chief group towards the west may be discerned the remains of twenty-six pyramids, all of them in ruins. The porticos generally contain a room, six to twelve feet in length and as many in breadth, the façades of which are much ornamented. "We may," says the author, "clearly recognize in them the origin of the Egyptian propylons." At the end of most of those porticos, opposite to the entrance, there is the representation of a monolithic temple, with sculptures, which are, however, much defaced. It is evident that attempts have been made either from curiosity or rapacity, to break open several of those temples. No where is there the slightest vestige of their having contained corridors. The entrance of one of those porticos was arched, whence the author infers that the Egyptians were acquainted with the arch, which he considers to have originated in Ethiopia. But, says one, the example of a single one which may possibly have been built at a later period, is not deemed conclusive, however the case may have been as to it. In relation to this we may fairly consider that even had the arch been known in Egypt, it could not have been introduced into the temples, where everything was done in conformity to the strict rules laid down by the priests from which no deviation was permitted.

The walls of the porticos are adorned with sculptures of which fac-similes are given in the work. They consist of processions with libations and sacrifices in honor of a goddess. The principal figure, which is in a sitting posture, is covered with a long, close robe, which is not usual with Egyptian figures. The whole figure is unlike the Egyptians. It is also distinguished by marked corpulency, which is considered one of the principal beauties in the East. Two other sheets contain a representation of another procession of the same kind, in which, however, it is impossible to determine the sex of the principal figure or to distinguish whether it was a king or a queen. From the work of Caillaud we know there were also representations of military subjects, such as the execution of prisoners, but none of these are here repeated. Whenever dis-

crepancies are found between the drawings given here and those of Caillaud the author vouches for the correctness of M. Baldoni's and of his own, the latter of which were executed partly with the assistance of the camera lucida. These pyramids are of sandstone; the quarries from which this stone was derived being still pointed out in the mountains. Time and a tropical sun have given them a dark-brown tinge. But the climate is, on the whole, favorable to the preservation of those monuments; and hence the dilapidated condition of most of them is the most convincing proof of their great age.

The author found no remains of the ancient city of Meroë, excepting some masonry and some of the bricks of which, according to Strabo, the city was built. As at Memphis there is scarcely a vestige of a temple or palace; the city of the dead alone remains. Gazelles now fearlessly pasture upon the plain which surrounds it; in wolves and hyenas the neighboring hills abound. But the name Meroë still lives in that of a village not far distant.

From thence the author went to Shendy, a town which now contains only 3,000 to 3,500 inhabitants, and from six to seven hundred houses. The colored portraits of the inhabitants of both sexes show that their complexion was brown and not black. Before their subjection to the pasha of Egypt, Shendy, Dongolah and other towns had their own chiefs (meleks contr, meks), who were more or less subject to the great melek of Sennaar. These were so many petty tyrants who with their famiiies constituted the aristocracy of the country.

From Shendy the author went on the 9th of March through the desert to the ruins of Mezura or Wady Owataib, which are also known from Caillaud, and of which drawings are given in his work; these he reached on the next day.

"I was," says he, "surprised to find such extensive remains of antiquity in such a situation, as it were in the interior of the desert. They consist of a building containing temples, courts, corridors, etc., which were not only destined for religious but also for civil and domestic purposes, and, upon the whole, measured 28,554 feet in circumference. In the center there is a small temple, forty seven feet long and forty wide, which is evidently the principal temple. It is surrounded by a colonnade which on the north side is double. The interior contains four columns. The temple is approached by a long corridor. At each side of the gate to which the corridor leads there is a colossal image hewn in the wall; but it is mutilated,

the head and arms being wanting. The style of the one is tolerably good, that of the other far inferior. An accurate notion of the buildings which surround the temple cannot be conveyed by description; they must be referred to in the plan."

This is the building in which a certain able reviewer in his researches concerning Meroë etc., thought he recognized the old temple of the oracle of Ammon. He considered himself borne out in this assumption, partly by its situation in the desert, as according to the statement of Diodorus, and partly by the enigmatic plan of the building itself; while the four colums in the interior immediately suggests to him the idea that they were destined to support the sacred ship, by means of which, as is well known, the oracles of Ammon were delivered, and a representation whereof may be seen on many of his temples in Thebes. This, however, was limited to the central temple, as it was clear that the surrounding buildings were not erected all at once but gradually as occasion required, and especially as residences for the priests. But the author who elsewhere generally coincides with the opinions of the reviewer mentioned here objects that the temple would have had hieroglyphics upon it. He cannot form any more definite conjecture as to its purpose than that the whole was perhaps a pleasure-castle of the kings, or that it may have served as an hospital; but in the opinion of the reviewer there is no doubt whatever that its destination was of a religious nature, as the principal building was a temple, the smallness of which will not create surprise when it is considered that it was intended for the reception of the ship of the oracle; and as to the absence of hieroglyphics, that the six columns of the portico, according to Caillaud certainly appear to have been furnished with them.

The above remark that the whole building only arose gradually may serve to explain the traces of Grecian architecture, as we know from Diodorus that the temple was still standing in the Ptolomaic age in which King Ergamenes overthrew the priestly aristocracy.

From this place the author went to the ruins of the temple of Abou Naga of which nothing more than the area is given and a drawing representing two pillars, which are also without hieroglyphs. From their style the author considers these to be the oldest monuments of ancient Meroë; "for," he observes, "the absence of hieroglyphics is either a proof of the highest or of a later antiquity." Hence he had intended to go to the ruins of Mezauret eleven miles distant, the first accounts of which we have in Cail-

laud; but this design he was obliged to relinquish. Even at the ruins of Naga they had been disturbed by lions, whose vicinity was announced by their traces and their roar; it was only by kindling fires at night that they effected to scare them away. The danger to be apprehended by those unbidden guests, in case they penetrated farther into the desert, so wrought upon the imaginations of his companions, that they refused to accompany him and thus he found himself obliged to return.

On the 14th of March the author set out from Shendy on his return trip, in which he followed another route, namely, to the west of the Nile, through the desert Bajoudah; his description of this ronte is a valuable addition to our geographical knowledge. This desert is not destitute of trees and springs; the sand is not very deep; and in many places there was a pleasing prospect. The immediate objective point of his journey was Gibel el Birkel with its monuments, and then the place called Meraweh, in which, from its name and history, we recognize a colony from ancient Meroë. They reached Gibel el Birkel on March 22d. The plan and drawings he gives of this place differ in many respects from those of Caillaud; but he assures us that he took great pains to insure the greatest possible exactness, in which, doubtless, this author's work is entitled to preference as he had taken with him for the work a well skilled artist.

The monments here consist of two classes, temples and pyramids. The temples stand at the foot of the isolated hill, 350 feet in height. Two of them are entirely in ruins consequent upon the sliding of a mountain; two are excavated in the rock; the others, eight in number, the remains of which still appear, are above ground. They are built in the Egyptian style, and upon them are inscribed the names of the Pharaohs of the Ethiopic-Egyptian dynasty-whose reigns fell between 800 and 700 B. C., to which it is supposed the erection of these monuments may be referred. The author has not only given an exact architectural description of them, with ground plans and drawings, but also of the decoration on the walls, representing processions and military scenes, which are known also from Caillaud, but are here drawn more minutely.

The Necropolis, consisting of pyramids, is divided into two parts; the one on the west side of the river by Gibel el Birkel, the other on the east side near Nuri. They are in better preservation than are those of ancient Meroë and also have porticos; the highest near Nuri being of eighty-eight feet. They are also of sandstone and

reliefs around and in the porticos represent religious processions and military subjects. The spectacle of all these ruins produced on the author a grand impression. "I felt," says he, "that I was indubitably in the vicinity of a once rich and flourishing country." The pyramids may be ascended with some difficulty, their height in most cases being between thirty and sixty feet. There are about fourteen pyramids at Gibel el Birkel; about thirty-five at Nuri on the opposite side of the river, and, the latter being the most dilapidated, the author reckons them among the most ancient monuments. The subjects described on the entablatures leaves no doubt that they were mausolea of kings and queens.

On the 3rd of April the author embarked at Meroë for his return, descended the Nile and on the 10th arrived at Dongolah, of which place he gives much information concerning the inhabitants, their manners, customs, etc. He then continued his journey down the river to the Island of Argo, which he visited in order to see and describe its antiquities. These consist of two prostrate colossal statues of grey granite: the faces are Egyptian, but the sculpture Ethiopian. They appear never to have been entirely finished. The author having been here informed that a revolt had broken out in the province of Mahas, which he must needs pass through, as he thus found it impossible to continue his journey in this direction he was compelled to return to Dongola; and it was not till after the suppression of the insurrection that he thought safe to undertake his journey, which he finally accomplished, partly upon the Nile itself, chiefly along its left bank. As already mentioned his diary ends with his arrival at the second cataract or Wady Halfa.

Four more chapters follow: the first two on the history of Meroë, the next on its trade and the last two on its art. The history of Meroë is gathered from those passages of ancient history, sacred and profane which mention that city; with the assistance, however, in this case of the inscriptions in the temples (as the names and titles of the Pharaohs in the hieroglyphic writings which the author saw and copied are uniformly added), at the same time especial use being made of the accounts of Rossellini of whose work the author has a very high opinion. Here, also, the author opens up a wide field for investigation and discussion upon various points, as for example, when *he identifies the Sethos of Herodotus with Tirhako* and finds the names of the three Ethiopic-Egyptian dynasts namely, Sabacus, Seuechus and Tirhako inscribed upon a temple at Gibel el Birkel. It appears more than probable that he, sus

pecting those inscriptions meant these three names, arbitrarily gave them a meaning which their originals did not bear. The author is of the opinion that Meroë was the parent country of the worship of Ammon as well as of the general civilization of the valley of the Nile and largely of the surrounding countries of Africa in which opinion he concurs with the reviewer.

Particularly worthy of notice are the plates with which this work is embellished and which are in various ways interesting and instructive. This is especially so of the colored portraits of the races of those regions, whose complexions may be here distinctly recognized. The vignettes generally represent landscapes, and are largely executed with the camera lucida. The larger sheets which exhibit drawings of the monuments give partly the general plans, partly the ruins in their present and some of them in their former

THE NUBIAN. THE NEGRO. THE ASSYRIAN. THE PELASGIAN. THE ARAB.

The five races of men known to the Ancient Egyptians.

state, as far as this can still be recognized. At the end of the work there is a drawing upon four large sheets, representing a grand procession in one of the royal sepulchres of Thebes (acc. to the author, Tuthmosis III, 1500 B. C.) on which are delineated the three races, namely, the red or brown, the black and the white; besides which it exhibits various species of animals, even the giraffe and the elephant, and many varieties of monkeys; other objects

pertaining to trade are also represented, concerning which the author has given a commentary. The large map annexed comprehends the whole region of the Nile with it tributaries, from 15° 30′ N. Lat. to its deboucheure.

As to Egyptian History.

The history of Egypt, arranged according to the thirty-one dynasties of Manetho, is divided, as regards its sources, into two periods, one of these comprising the first seventeen dynasties, the other the eighteenth to the thirty-first. It is only of this latter period that any monuments remain. The history of the Egyptian Empire of Menes begins with the 18th dynasty. This, with the two dynasties following, embraces the real history of all that apparently preceded. The 18th dynasty is that which is connected with the question of the Shepherd kings* who were called by the Egyptian name of Hyksos, Hykshasu or Shasu. This is the Greek name Xoites, which is Chat or Chit (in Chitim) with the plural ending u. These, as the authorities say, dominated, for a longer or a shorter time, all Egypt. If they were a people descended from Menes, as has occurred to me might have been the case, then it would indicate Menes, whoever he was, to have been of a race of Shepherds, whether African or Asiatic. It has been supposed that those people with beards and long garments appearing on the monuments with their flocks are referable to the Shepherds; but this is likely a mistake; for, doubtless, these latter refer to people in altogether different circumstances than the Egyptian Shepherds. The Arabs are largely Shepherds and an expression of Josephus in speaking of them

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* "They have been variously pronounced to be Assyrians, Scythians, Cushites or Ethiopians of Asia, Phœnicians or Arabians. Manetho calls them Phœnicians and shows them not to have been from Assyria, when he says they took precautions against 'the increasing power of the Assyrians;' and the character of shepherds accords far better with that of the people of Arabia. Indeed, the name Hykshos may be translated shepherd or Arab kings, Hyk being the common title king or ruler, given even to the Pharaohs on the monuments, and Shos signifying shepherd or answering to Shasu, Arabs. How any of the Arabians had sufficient power to invade and obtain a footing in Egypt it is difficult to explain; but it is well known that a people from Arabia called Phœnicians or the *red* race, who were originally settled on the Persian Gulf, invaded Syria and took possession of the coast; and similar successes may have afterwards attended their invasion of Egypt, especially if aided by the alliance of some of its princes. The statement of Amos (ix:7) that the Philistines of Syria came from Caphtor, which was a name applied to Egypt, may relate to the subsequent passage of another body of Phœnicians into Syria after their expulsion from Egypt." Rawlinson's Hist. Herod. App. Vol. II, p. 351.

That the Hikshasu were, definitively, Phœnicians has been the opinion of investigators who have had the greatest opportunities of going thoroughly into the subject and of knowing how it was in reality.

is as follows: "Some say that they are Arabs." Manetho and Syncellus call them Phœnicians, a denomination which was to some extent applied to the neighboring tribes of Syria and Arabia. M. Rossellini, however, one of the most distinguished investigators into the Egyptian and Ethiopian antiquities, takes them for Scythians. He founds his assertion etymologically upon their generic name according to him, Scios, which he concludes to be the same as Scythes. In this he may have followed a correct thought, for Gaelic history evidently indicates the Phoenicians or Edomites to have descended from the Scythians; and their Nial, the son of Phoenius (*i.e.*, the Phoenician race), might represent the race of those Scythians called, in the valley of the Nile, Scios or Hyksos. These appear to have the held the government of Egypt for a good number of centuries; long enough, indeed, for them to have become fairly Africanized, and for their race in the valley to have received the name of Nile (Nial). On the eastern borders of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf these people had received the name of Phoenicians, which is the same as Edomites, redish men (Phoenix, purple; the Red Sea). But would the invasion and occupation of Egypt during that long course of ages by these Hyksos, or shepherd kings, have been merely a variety of the real historic Biblical representation of the Israelites going down into Egypt and living there for, according to the Bible, an indefinite period, the life of shepherds? Manetho, the Egyptian priest-historian, in the time of the Ptolemies, says that the shepherd race when expelled by Tuthmosis in 1542 B. C., went up and built the city, Jerusalem. Although from that time to the era of Solomon, say 1000 B. C., the history of the Israelites be obscure, you, nevertheless, see how the going down of the Israelites into Egypt, and their coming up thence, in due time, and founding Jerusalem and occupying Palestine (*i.e.*, the land of the Palai or shepherds), may be understood of the nation of the Israelites and so as real and *bona fide* history.*

If we take a review of what we have thus far advanced, we find we can deduce from it the following conclusions: —

1st. It appears that in the early ages a commercial intercourse existed between the countries of southern Asia and Africa, between

* But in regard to the whole question of the Israelites in Egypt Mr. Brugsch Bey says: "The inscriptions do not mention one syllable about the Israelites. We must suppose that the captives were included in the general name of foreigners of whom the documents make such frequent mention. The hope, however, is not completely excluded that some hidden papyrus may still give us information about them as unexpected as it would be welcome." Egypt under the Pharaohs, vol. II., p. 99. And at page 210 of the same volume, he says: "As to the mention of the Fenekhe (Phoenicians), I have a presentiment that we shall one day discover the evidence of their most intimate relationship with the Jews."

India and Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya and Egypt, which was founded upon their mutual necessities and was instrumental in the civilization of those peoples.

2nd. The principal seat for Africa of this international intercourse was Meroë, and the principal route is still pointed out by a chain of ruins, extending from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. Adule, Azab, or Saba, and Axum are links in this chain between Arabia Felix and Meroë; Thebes and Ammonium between Meroë, Egypt and Carthage.

3rd. The chief places of this trade were likewise establishments of the priest-caste, who, as a dominant race, had their principal seat at Meroë, whence they sent out colonies, which in their turn founded other colonies, became the founders of States and likewise the builders of cities and temples.

No doubt then can exist concerning the close connection here between commerce and religion, nor regarding the manner in which many States became formed in the interior of Africa, in very ancient times. But though this caste by sending out colonies guided the course of trade, it did not itself in general directly participate in it. It would, indeed, have been altogether contrary to the manners of the East, for a cast of priests to have become a tribe of merchants; nevertheless, without directly following trade, they contrived to obtain a share of its benefits, and the consideration which this cast obtained through it was very great; partly from the oracles; partly from the number and variety of the merchants; and partly from the peaceful security which their religious institutions afforded them.

In illustration of this I give a passage from Burkhardt's Travels in Nubia, p. 326, etc. Here we read of a priestly establishment at Damer, a town of five hundred houses, seated on the south shore of the Tacazze or Mogrew, just before its junction with the Nile, therefore in the isle of Meroë. In this small but independent State the authority is in the hands of a high priest, called *El Faky El Kebir*, who is their real chief and oracle giver. The office is hereditary in one family. The Faky El Kebir, or great Faky, lives the life of a hermit, shut up in his chamber all the morning till about three o'clock in the afternoon, after which he transacts business till after sunset. He occupies a small building, one part of which is a chapel and the other, a room about twelve feet square, in which he constantly resides day and night. He is a venerable looking figure, clothed in a long white robe. There are many Fakys under him of

various ranks, who enjoy more or less a reputation for sanctity. At Damer, are several schools to which young men repair from Darfour, Sennaar, Kordofan and other parts of Soudan, in order to acquire a proficiency in the law and in the reading and interpretation of the Koran. The schools are in an open space, adjoining the great mosque. Imagine, instead of this, a temple dedicated to Ammon and instead of the Koran and Law the priests' ritual and the books of Thoth or Hermes and you will easily represent to yourself one of the ancient priestly establishments of Meroë, and of which Meroë was the parent. "The affairs of this little hierarchical state," continues Burkhardt, "appear to be conducted with great prudence. All its neighbors testify much respect for the Fakys; the treacherous Bischarein are even so completely kept in awe by them that they have never been known to hurt any of the people of Damar, when traveling from thence across the mountains to Souakin. They particularly fear the power of the Fakeys to deprive them of rain and thus to cause the death of their flocks. It is also a trading state; caravans pass occasionally from Damar to Dongolah, Shendy, Souakin and the Arabian gulf; for many of the fakys are traders. Caravans generally make a short stay at this place, as the land is well cultivated and common necessaries easily obtained. Two fakys accompanied the caravan as guards as far as the limits of the country of Shendy. The road is dangerous and the inhabitants upon it robbers; but such is the fear entertained of the fakys of Damar that the mere sight of them marching unarmed at the head of the caravan was sufficient to inspire the country people with great respect. It would require an armed force to pass here without the aid of some of these religious men." This passage will make it more easily understood how settlements of priests influenced the course of trade.

Men who are accustomed to a settled abode in cities are not fit for a caravan life, constantly on the move. In Arabia, then, as well as in Africa, these caravan communities are formed of the nomadic tribes. The nature of the trade necessitates the employment of a great number of hands; to care for the camels and other beasts of burden; to load and unload the goods; to protect the caravan generally from robbery and violence. The assistants not unfrequently become merchants themselves. The nomadic tribes of which Africa and Yemen are full are not only the best adapted to the caravan trade but possess in their camels, their dromedaries and their herds the only means for carrying it on. It was thus that the

merchandise of the Sabeans was conveyed to Yemen by the Nabatu and the Midianites; it was thus that the Carthaginian caravans were formed by the Nassamones and Lotophagi; and thus, in the present day, those from Tripoli to Cairo are formed by the inhabitants of Fezzan.

The regions of Ethiopia, we know, were also occupied by vast numbers of pastoral tribes. The nations who dwelt to the west of Meroë, along the banks of the Astaspus, tribes of Agows and Bedjahs, were not unknown in Egypt, which they frequented with caravans. They, occasionally speaking there of the river on which they dwelt, maintained it to be the proper Nile. Diodorus obtained this information from themselves in Egypt. The Troglodytae and their neighbors, the Ichthyophagi were engaged in the caravan business; they were so well acquainted with the routes to the most distaint parts of Africa that Cambyses chose them for the spies which he sent under the form of an embassy to the Macrobians. They were already able to speak the language of the nation, which showed that they had been accustomed to intercourse with them.

The peoples of these countries were so well known in Egypt that even Herodotus could describe them as far as the Straits of Babelmandel; for he not only defined its location accurately but showed that where it ended on the south the land of frankincense begun. The caravans which trade between Egypt and Abyssinia are now and have been from time immemorial composed of the Bedjahs and Ababdes who at this time occupy the mountains and part of Nubia.

These nomades appear as the carriers of merchandise in the pageants which Ptotemy Philadelphus gave at his accession to the throne, when among other exhibits the procession of an Arabic-Ethiopian caravan was shown. "There came a train of camels, carrying three-hundred pounds of frankincense, crocus, cassia and cinnamon, together with two hundred pounds of other costly spices and drugs. These were followed by a host of Ethiopians, armed with lances; one band of these bore six hundred elephants teeth, another two thousand pieces of ebony and another sixty vessels of gold, silver, and gold dust." (Athein. p. 201).

Notwithstanding the part which these nomades took in conducting it, the trade still remained in effect with the people of Meroë and Axum, who carried it on through their foreign settlements; and these places still remain what they are by nature and position adapted for, the great marts for the southern commerce.

Thus from all that has been said the conclusion is plain *that the*

first seats of commerce were the first seats of civilization. Exchange of merchandise necessitates exchange of ideas and adaptation and fitness for their intercommunication; and by this mutual friction there is kindled the sacred flame of moral and intellectual culture.

That the civilization of the Ethiopians was connected with their religion appears throughout. Some scientific knowledge — perhaps a good deal more than is now generally supposed — was undoubtedly connected with it, else the erection of those monuments would have been impossible. It is strange that none of the ancient historians have made them philosophers or astronomers, for undoubtedly they were to a considerable degree both of these. Astronomy certainly could not have been unknown to a nation which, to notice nothing else as exponental of their intelligence, were wont to spend much of their lives in journeyings across the deserts, where the stars of the firmament could be their only guide and whose climate brought a more regular change of seasons than we are accustomed to. Diodorus derives the civilization of the Egyptians in general from Ethiopia; this, however, is allowed to be true only in a limited sense; it is supposed that the *first germ shot forth in Ethiopia, but that the fruit did not attain its full growth till transplanted into Egypt.*

The express testimony of Diodorus informs us that the Ethiopians possessed the art of writing, not in alphabetic characters, but picture writing, a proof of which is still preserved upon the ruins of Meroë. Hieroglyphical inscriptions are found as well in the vestibule of pyramids of Assur, especially in the sanctuary, as in the principal temple at Naga; and from this passage of Diodorus the first invention of writing has been attributed to them. Criticism has disputed this point, the truth or falsehood of which it has been found impossible to prove. The invention of this kind of writing would, however, be nowhere more easy than among a people with so decided a bias for the pictorial arts; nor the perfection and use of it more natural than among a people whose government, next to religion, was founded upon trade.

Diodorus further informs us that the knowledge of picture writing in Ethiopia was not a privilege confined solely to the caste of priests, as in Eygpt, but that every one might attain it as freely as they might, in Egypt, the writing in common use. This general use, then, may be regarded as a proof of its having been applied to the purposes of trade. A great commercial nation altogether without writing could hardly be supposed to exist, and however

deficient hieroglyphics might be found to be for the multifarious wants of our trade, yet it seems to have been quite adequate for all the purposes of the caravan trade, whose regular course and simple merchandise required but few accounts to be kept.

To those who give sufficient attention and study the subject in the proper and manner and spirit, the piety and justice of the Ethiopians, the fame of which spread to the distant regions, will not be difficult to understand. In a nation whose policy was to establish upon the basis of the connection of religion and commerce and not by means of violence and oppression they are the first virtues that would be cultivated.

One of the greatest problems remaining, although one of the greatest certainties, is the progress that nation has made in architecture and to a certain extent in the pictorial arts. The ruins of those colossal monuments, more or less preserved, are still there to be seen and will remain the proofs of the awful magnificence of their architecture.

"It is," says Prof. Heeren in his Researches, "one of the worst errors into which we but too frequently fall to consider ourselves as the standard of what is or can be done by other nations under the circumstances. Is it necessary that the band between science and architecture and the plastic arts should everywhere be as closely knitted together as with us? Might not mechanical dexterity and handicraft be carried to a high degree of perfection on their own account alone? Is it not possible then that the powerful vigor of a nation might be drawn by circumstances to concentrate itself upon one point and in that way might here have produced works which to us seem supernatural? Is not, indeed, the connection between scientific and artificial improvement in our own country very different from what it was in the middle ages, when our forefathers erected those lofty domes which we still gaze at but cannot imitate?"

The hand of time has, in the regions of Africa, altered the nature of the tie between commerce and religion, but has never been able to dissolve it. How little, taken as a whole, do we find the people of Africa to differ from what they were. Temples and sanctuaries seem always to have been the objective points of their trading journeys, as they are in the present day. About those obelisks lodged at one time the caravans journeying to the temple of Ammon, which now perform their pilgrimage of the Caaba of the prophet at Mecca.

As to the Monuments in the Nile's Valley.

The valley of the Nile, in its whole course, was once covered with a succession of cities and monuments, which must have formed, with but little interruptions, one continuous chain. Egypt, the upper part of which, from its southern boundary down to Chemmis, contains among its divisions the ancient Thebaid, is called Upper Egypt; and the lower or northern part, from Chemmis to Cercasorus, where the Nile divides into two branches, is called Middle Egypt, is found to present considerable differences as to the remains of antiquity found in those different sections at present. As we ascend the river those relics increase both in number and importance, those of Upper Egypt being by far the most numerous and interesting. In the whole of Middle Egypt, except a few quite decayed ruins and the antiquities of Arsinoe or Fayoum, not yet sufficiently examined, the pyramids are the only architectural monuments which now remain. While Upper Egypt, on the other hand, contains all those temples, which, however unintelligible the insciptions and representations on their walls, are far better calculated by their awful magnitude and their altogether peculiar style to give us some idea of what this nation formerly was. This series of monuments commences at Dendera or Tentyris, 26° N. Lat., on the western side of the river, where the temple so celebrated for its zodiac at once inspires the beholder with the idea of a gigantic and massive architecture, differing from what any other country on the globe has produced. A glance at this, however, wherein some of the painted sculptures appear as if about to speak, only prepares the astonished explorer for the more magnificent wonders, which await him about twenty miles further up the river, in the monuments of Thebes. The whole width of the valley, on both banks of the stream, forming an area of about nine miles from west to east, is covered with the ruins of this magnificent ancient city, and where the habitations of the living end there begin the dwellings of the dead, which extend to a considerable distance into the mountains on the west. Temples, whose huge masses tower up like mountains, surrounded by colossi, sphinxes and obelisks, whose magnitude insures their continuance, are scattered over the plain. Thousands of years have already passed over them, yet neither the course of time nor the destroying ravages of barbarians have wholly effected their overthrow. At Karnac of Thebes the great temple

of Jupiter Ammon still exists; at Medinet Abou and Luxor, of the same place, the stately palaces of the Pharaohs are still standing; the Colossus of Memnon, one of the wonders of the ancient world; the other temples and colossi, whose number can scarcely yet be told; and the royal sepulchres, with their paintings as fresh and uninjured as though they had received the last stroke of the pencil but yesterday still remains. From this place to the southern boundary of Egypt, link after link of the chain of monuments follow in rapid succession. Thebes is scarcely left behind before the remains of the ancient Hermonthis, now Erment, present themselves to view. Here is a temple of Typhonius, the exterior much defaced, but the interior in good preservation; in one of its ceilings are the signs of the zodiac. About eighteen miles further is the temple of Esneh, the ancient Latopolis; and on the eastern or opposite bank of the Nile is what is left of the former Chnubis. At nearly the same distance still further to the south follows Edfu, the great city of Apollo of former ages, with the most magnificent and perfect of all the temples, that of Thebes excepted. Adjoining the great temple is a smaller one, whose ornaments leave no doubt of its having been dedicated to Typhon. Near to the temples of the benevolent deities it was customary among the Egyptians to build that of the evil principle. And to this immediately follow the monuments of Eleithyia, a place highly interesting from the two sepulchral grottos it contains, with paintings representing the domestic life of the Egyptians. Then Silsilis and Ombos, all on the eastern bank of the river. Scarce twenty miles further south we come to the ancient southern boundary of Egypt. It is here especially that the nation seems to have outdone itself in the erection of monuments, as though it would impress strangers from the south, on their first entrance into its territory, with an idea of its magnificence and grandeur. A short distance, farther, on the north side of the cataracts, immediately following Syene or Assouan, the ancient frontier town of Egypt, lies in the midst of the stream the island of Elephantis; and just beyond the rapids, about six miles to the south of Syene, is that of Phylae. Both these islands, especially the latter, are full of the grandest monuments of architecture. Phylae is said to contain the remains of five magnificent temples, not, indeed, among the largest, but of the highest finish in regard to workmanship. This was one of the holy places, where, in a retired spot, is shown the tomb of Osiris. Here Greeks, Romans and Arabs have erected buildings, which have disappeared or lie scat-

tered in the dust; while the monuments of ancient Egypt, which preceded the oldest of them for indefinitely long periods, stand prominent among the plain groves which surround them, seemingly imperishable.

Even from the foregoing sketch of the marvels of architecture and sculpture, contained within the narrow strip of the Nile's valley, a conviction will, at least to some extent, be produced, that there did exist a time when this classic ground was the central point of the civilization of the world, and when its inhabitants must have possessed much that constitutes an opulent and mighty, an intelligent and cultivated nation.

Middle Egypt, as well as Upper Egypt, had its fertility confined to the banks of the Nile; the valley, therefore, was exclusively the seat of wealth and culture. But here, the valley, which in Upper Egypt is always so contracted, begins gradually to expand; though its whole breadth as far as Fayoum scarcely any where exceeds twelve or fifteen miles. A large canal drawn from and running parallel with the Nile, on its western side for nearly 150 miles, well known by the name of Joseph's Canal, serves, as far as it goes, to extend the overflowing of the river. Near Fayoum, however, the valley widens as the Libyan chain of mountains retires towards the west, and forms a very fruitful province, which is watered by a branch of Joseph's Canal. This part of Egypt, anciently called Arsinoë, in distant ages was celebrated for its stupendous works of art, the most considerable of which was lake Moeris, said, as a reservoir of the Nile, to have secured the fruitfulness of the province. A part of this remarkable lake still exists under the name of Lake Kerun. Modern research has here shown, contrary to the opinion, which appears to have been entertained by Herodotus, that this lake-basin cannot be entirely regarded as of man's handiwork, but that art here only assisted and brought into use the work of nature. A greater part of the province of Arsinoë formed a valley, which by the annual overflowing of the Nile was placed under water, that, on the fall of the river, again formed a natural passage out through a gorge on the southwest part of the valley. In this state of things it required only the construction of a few dams and canals in order to regulate these changes of the water.

Not far from this lake stands one of the greatest constructions of ancient Egypt, the celebrated Labyrinth, of which Herodotus says: "Whoever will take the trouble to compare them, will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to the work-

manship and expense." Or, as another sees fit to translate it: "All the buildings of the Greeks put together could not have cost so much." We learn from more recent accounts that many remains of ancient Egyptian buildings and art are here still to be found; even the pyramid of brick mentioned by Herodotus may still be discovered; but the whole of the buildings are now in ruins, and more or less buried in sand which has been driven from the desert by the wind.

To the north of Arsinoë, the Lybian mountains again return to their former distance from the Nile and along the river's course through the remainder of Middle Egypt, leaves the breadth of the valley, in most places, somewhere about nine miles. No buildings are found here, as in Upper Egypt, although the city of Memphis, the more modern capital of the Kingdom, which would appear to have emulated Thebes, formerly stood here. The name still exists in the village of Menf, about twelve or fourteen miles to the south of Cairo, but it stands on the west bank of the river, while Cairo, a city built by the Arabs, stands on the eastern side. But if the abodes of the living have disappeared from ancient Memphis, those of the dead still remain. The whole mountain chain, as well as the sandy desert, which runs within the valley at its base, is full of tombs, similar to those that are found in Upper Egypt. This district, however, is particularly distinguished by another species of monuments, the pyramids, which by their prodigious massiveness, if nothing else, must forever excite the astonishment of mankind. These are situated sometimes single, sometimes in groups, on a strip of land thirty-five miles long, extending from Ghizeh or Djizeh, opposite in a slanting direction, the present capital, Cairo, to beyond Meidun. Many of them are so gone to decay that only slight traces of them can now be discovered, while others continue to tower o'er the wrecks of time and to withstand the shock of ages. That it would have been difficult at any time to tell their exact number is evident. They all stand upon that sterile plain covered with sand and filled sepulchres, at the foot of the Libyan mountain chain. Those of Djizeh, opposite Cairo, which are generally understood when the pyramids are spoken of, are followed at about nine miles to the south by those of Sakkara, near the ancient Memphis, in the neighborhood of which are numerous sepulchres. Farther on are those of Dashoor and others, all more injured than those just mentioned as far as Meidun. Although it be uncertain whether or not they reached beyond this it is pretty evident that pyramids were

never built in Upper Egypt, as there is no reason why they should have gone to ruin there sooner than the large temples. Some think the cause of this phenomenon to be found in the difference of the stone which Upper and Middle Egypt produce; but this cannot be fairly given as the reason, for the limestone of which the pyramids are mainly constructed is found in Upper Egypt, where the sandstone and farther on granite also prevails.

Lower Egypt begins at the point where the Nile divides into two branches. The division of its waters extends fertility, which, confined in Upper and Middle Egypt to the narrow valley, here takes a wider range and stretches over the plains enclosed by the branches of the river. The western mountain-chain, which has hitherto straightened it here makes a bend into Libya; the eastern chain terminates just below Cairo with the mountain Mokattam. There is an ancient Egyptian tradition mention by Herodotus, that the Nile had at one time a different course and turned toward the Libyan desert. Even if this tradition should not be received in its fullest extent yet modern research has placed it beyond a doubt that at least a part of the stream formerly flowed toward Libya. The valley near the Natron lakes, from which it is only divided by a ridge, which in the western side of Lower Egypt is known by the name of the Waterless sea (Bahr Belama), gives very evident traces that it once formed, though long before the period to which proper history reaches back, the bed of the river. (Vide Memoires Sur l' Egypte i, 223, etc., by Gen. Andreossi). The stupendous dam, which turns the waters in a different direction, was ascribed by tradition to Menes, the first historical King of Egypt and founder of Memphis. According to the account in Herodotus the damming was made one hundred stadia, eleven or twelve miles, above Memphis. It is, in fact, easily seen that it was by this dam that the waters of the Nile were first driven into their present channels and the Delta rendered fertile and habitable.

A striking example is given in Lower Egypt of the great changes which may take place in the features and shape of a country, by great physical convulsions and changes on the one hand, and on the other by the decay of its culture. But, with respect to the submergence and upheaval of the land itself within what may be called the historic ages, in this particular country, it must be remembered that the neglect of the canals and dams alone for a considerable space of time would be sufficient to cause much change. Gen. Andreossi, an investigator, who, by his knowledge of physics and hydrostatics,

was competent to go thoroughly into the subject and judge thereof places it beyond dispute that, as to its origin, the Delta was formed from the sediment of the river, with, in comparatively late ages, some assistance from art, thus supporting the assertion of Herodotus that the Delta was a gift of the Nile.

The constitution and character of the land of Egypt, in its different geographical divisions, lead us to suppose that the condition and character of its inhabitants must not only have been subject to great changes, but also that great dissimilarity must have existed among them. From the physical conditions of the country, therefore, let us, for a brief space, turn our attention to the inhabitants and patiently make a few preliminary inquiries concerning them.

In regard to this the first object of inquiry is the color, the figure, in short the whole external appearance of the inhabitants or what may be called the national cast, in so far as this inquiry may enable us to unravel the intricate question regarding the particular race of men to which the ancient Egyptians may be considered as belonging.

There are two sources whence we may draw in our effort to determine this problem; these are, first, the ancient writers; and second, the monuments.

Herodotus, speaking as an eye witness, mentions incidently that the Egyptians were a dark-brown race, with woolly or rather curly hair. This he does in his endeavor to prove that the Colchians, who had this color and hair were originally Egyptian colonists. Ammianus Marcellinus confirms Herodotus in calling the Egyptians brown. But to the sober-minded modern travelers the ancient Egyptians were in appearance much the same as the Copts, their descendants, are to their eye to day. "I believe," says Denon, "the ancient race of the Egyptians to exist in the present Copts; a kind of dark colored Nubians (basamés), much as they are seen on the ancient monuments; flat foreheads, half woolly hair, the eyes rather staring, high hips, the nose rather short than flat, a large mouth with thick lips, placed rather distant from the nose, a thin and poor beard, few graces of body," etc. "The color of the skin," says Belzoni, "is nearly the natural color, if we assume that the (ancient) Egyptians were of the same color as their decendants, the present Copts, of whom some are as fair as Europeans." Few countries, however, are from their situation more exposed to the invasions of foreigners than is Egypt, surrounded as it is on three sides by nomad hordes; and as it has always been a principal

place for trade it has been much visited by strangers, who, however, we need not suppose were likely to have intermingled largely with the body of the people. We must also remember that Egypt had been civilized in its own way for thousands of years before the visit of Herodotus, during which time many changes might have taken place.

The truth of this remark will be best confirmed by the monuments which still exist of ancient Egypt. A number of various sized idols have often been referred to, from which we should judge of the physiognomy of the people, and, although the negro features appear in some of these, it must be considered that we can neither fix the time when nor the district where these were made. In the judgment of some distinguished critics the Sphinx's head comes the nearest to the ancient Egyptian profile. One of them, namely, the colossal Sphinx's head* near to the great pyramid of Djizeh, was thought by one critic to have presented a slight cast of the negro; but at first glance I thought it might fairly be taken as representing a different race, namely, the Phoenicians, that is, if we are to understand, as is reasonable, that those people are represented in their descendants of the present day. As, however, the Phoenicians are supposed to have been a bearded race and the Sphinx is beardless it may have been designed to represent the Egyptian variety of that race, for, according to Gen. x: 6, the Egyptians and Canaanites or Phoenicians were descended respectively from Mizraim and Canaan, two sons of Ham, or Cham, a son of Noah.

But, in relation to this subject, if we study the monuments, the temples, obelisks, etc., of which we can certainly pronounce that they belong to the flourishing periods of the Pharaohs, we shall find this course most agreeable to sound criticism. These are largely covered with works of art, which contain a great number of human figures, either representing deities or men. They clearly indicate all through a desire in the artist to copy nature, from their faithfully representing the peculiarities of the different peoples, their features, color and nature of their hair, etc. The same proofs that this was the case are found upon the temples of the Thebaid as upon the ruins of Persepolis in Asia. If the historical meanings

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* "Thothmes IV (18th dynasty) has left few monuments worthy of note, except the great Sphinx at the pyramids, which bears his name and appears to have been cut out of the rock by his order, and here again a similarity of name led Pliny to consider it the sepulchre of Amasis." His time acc. to Brugsch Bey 1533, B. C. Rawl. Herod. App. Bk. ii, p. 359.

were designed to be readily understood necessity must have led to this, and from this it probably became a rule of ancient art, and as a consequence those countries are vast libraries of lithic books. Says a distinguished critic in this line: "It is impossible to compare these monuments, as they are now delineated, and to consider the people who erected them to have been negroes. I refer here to the great historical bas-reliefs upon the temples at Thebes, with which Denon has first made us acquainted. The figure of the king comes before us at different times and upon different occasions. It is always the same head; so that, according to the writer himself, it seems to be a portrait, or rather an idealized portrait. But it is so far from having the least appearance of African lineaments that it seems rather to approach the Grecian model. Just as little resemblance is there to be seen of the ideal African in more than a hundred heads of his attendants, as well warriors as priests. I refer as well to the other reliefs upon all the temples above Thebes, so far as they are made known to us in the great work upon Egypt. I refer, finally, to the very accurately finished plate of the representations upon the obelisks, for which we are indebted to Zoëga. Compare also the heads of the sphinxes and deities upon the top of the obelisk on Mount Citatrio, and the similar fragment of another in the museum of Cardinal Borgia, and see if there be anything to be found of the ideal African character." (Heeren's Researches, etc.)

Although, perhaps, this author, from whom I have quoted, should not justly be understood in that way, yet his general tenor might be thought to convey the notion that his opinion of what we understand as the negro race was not a very elevated one, as we would say; and yet he appears to coincide with the opinion of Champollion that the Egyptians were a genuine African descended race and nearly black. Now, the Latin word niger, from which, what we understand as the typical African has his appellation of negro, means black, and, we know there are some we call negroes that are, first, much blacker than others; that is, there are varieties of this color represented in the race; and, secondly, we know further that there are some negroes who have as good facial features and as good figures or physical shapes as any white man on earth; not to mention, finally, that some negroes have as good and sweet a disposition, have as pure a heart and mind, and, we have reason to believe, are as pure and good in the sight of God as any white person. But, you say, this is a slight digression from the main subject; and for what pur-

pose? My friend, consider thou, that because an individual of your species is of a black or brown or red or any other color you please, this should not prevent but that he should, in your judgment, both public and private, have equal rights as if of any other color than that he hath, or of a combination of all colors, say white. Much injustice has been done to individuals and races by the entertainment in the mind of nations or corporations, or individuals, of ideas of their inferiority in some way or other, although if everything in the respective cases were known, the persons entertaining these ideas and those of whom they were entertained would be in no good thing or character inferior to one another. My friend, consider thou, that thou shouldst practically allow and give equal rights to all human beings, and that thou shouldst not judge so much from appearance as to judge righteous judgment. But, is our author correct in agreeing with Champollion that the Egyptians were a genuine African descended race? You may agree with him in that; but, whether correct or not, you will find that Mizraim, or Egypt, descended from the same ancestor as did Nimrod, the founder of Nineveh, and as that great and powerful and dominating race of Central Asia called the Assyrian, yea, and Babylonian. (See Gen., chap. x.). Of course, the Egyptian race must have approached more or less in general appearance, color and character to the nations on all sides of them; on the one side to the nations of Africa to the south and west and to the south-east and south-west of them; and, on the other side, to the Syrians, Assyrians, Persians and Indians of Asia, as well as in later times very slightly to the Greeks and the peoples of Asia Minor. Their position on the map among those nations would imply in general what I now say as to the Egyptians; that is, I mean without their necessarily having had much intercourse with foreigners; for we learn that as to foreigners they were, as far as they were able, generally disposed to be exclusive, to maintain their own laws and customs, and so their own type of race, but the monarchs, to some extent, married foreign wives.

Of this type the ancient Egyptians have left us abundant illustration in the pictures of themselves on the walls of the chambers of of the dead. The colors in these appear still so fresh and perfect as to excite the wonder of every one who examines them. The subjects mostly relate to the domestic life of the Egyptians; the human figure is consequently very frequent in all its positions. Everything else being faithfully copied from nature it is reasonable

to conclude that these are also. Although Bruce had already called the attention of the world to those pictures in the royal sepulchres of Thebes yet it was the literati attached to the French expedition, who were thoroughly competent to examine them and took the pains to do so, who first imparted to us a clear conception of them. The first remarkable specimen of them is given in the sepulchres of Eleithyias, in the Thebaid, which is found to be the true school for Egyptian antiquities, because they represent their whole manner of living and almost every part of their domestic economy. Women as well as men are here portrayed; the "men are red; the women yellow; the clothes white; the hair of the men is very dark, curled but not short, as among the negroes." (Costaz l. p. 156.) Still clearer proofs are found in that magnificent sepulchre opened at Thebes by Belzoni. In these the light and dark men are expressly distinguished and in such a manner that the former are represented as the victors or rulers and the latter as the conquered or prisoners. "I remarked," says Denon, "many decapitated figures; these were all dark, while those who had struck off their heads and still stood sword in hand were red." But in that of Belzoni not only the light and dark, but, in the case of the ambassadors, the three principal colors, white, brown and black are distinguished from each other with the nicest exactness. There appears no question in the mind of explorers as to whether or not the Egyptians wished to represent the proper color of the skin in their paintings, so far as their colors, or rather their knowledge of combining the colors to produce certain varieties of color, would allow. They appear not only to have endeavored to represent the color, but also the physiognomy of the different nations in the exactest manner possible. It has been asked: "Who can mistake the Jewish physiognomy among the captives in plate VII of Belzoni?" But these may have represented Arabs, Phoenicians, Syrians, Assyrians, or, etc., all of whom bore such a close similarity of features, dress, &c., to each other. Look at the human figures on the slabs from Nineveh in Layard, and Rawlinson and see if they do not bear a close resemblance to our typical Israelite. When Denon descended one of the openings which lead to the sepulchral chambers, he found his previous suspicions to be in a still more certain manner confirmed by nature. A number of mummies which whre not banded up, showed that the hair was long and lank and the shape of the head itself approximating to the beautiful. In relation to this I may say we have reason to believe that the kings of Egypt occasionally ex-

ercised their prerogative of selecting their wives from nations outside of the bounds of Africa. In my mind, therefore, it would not be a necessary conclusion that all those buried in the Egyptian royal tombs were of Egyptian or African race.

By way of illustration of the subject of the Egyptians proper we may refer to a matter of two documents, in the form of commercial contracts, of which the original of the one was at Paris, the fac-simile of the other at Berlin. These have been translated by Prof. Bockh and Mr. H. S. Martin. They are found to belong to the period of the Ptolemies, the names occurring in them being Egyptian. The men in both are described, according to their external appearance and, of course, their color. In the Berlin document the seller, Pamenthes, is said to be of a dark color, (μελαγχρως) which is the word used by Herodotus in describing the color of the Egyptians; and the buyer, Osarreres, is said to be honey colored or yellowish. The shape of the nose and face is also stated but give no idea of our ideal African physiognomy.

From all we have seen thus far, therefore two things are reasonably inferrable; one that among the ancient Egyptians themselves there was a difference of color, as individuals are expressly distinguished from each other as being of a darker or lighter complexion; the other is that the castes of warriors and priests, according to the representations on all the monuments executed in colors, belonged to the fairer class. Their color is dark-brown or in some cases swarthy. It cannot be maintained that the color was exactly the same as that applied to them upon the monuments; but it has become a fixed and settled type, in the same manner as the yellow or yellowish complexion became the standing type for women. The deities, on the contrary, both male and female, had in general distinctive coler, but the individuals amongst them differ.

It has by some investigators been concluded that although there was a standard dark colored race in Egypt this was not the only race there, but that there was also a tribe fairer though not completely white which had for a period spread themselves over not only Lower and Middle but also over Upper Egypt. "We may moreover conclude," says Heeren (Researches, etc.), "that this was the ruling tribe, to which the king, the priests and warriors belonged; and that the magnificent monuments of art in this district were erected by them. The case is very different, notwithstanding its connection with the foregoing subject, when we come to exam-

ine into the descent of the fairer race and to inquire whether it was of African origin or not. I have observed upon another occasion that this question cannot be determined from history. Can we, indeed, trace the origin of other nations, the Greeks, for example, or even our own from public records? Recourse, therefore, can only be had to such arguments as may be drawn from the nature of the people themselves, both as regards their external appearance and their civilization."

Since the obscurity which overhung the subject of Egyptian civilization has been so well cleared up by the investigations of the monuments this question has either assumed a different aspect or has been answered with greater satisfaction. The southern frontier of proper Egypt forms merely a political boundary; the whole strip of land from Meroë to the Mediterranean, along the course of the Nile's valley, appears somewhat like a world in itself. The same deities which were worshiped in Meroë were worshiped along the whole course of the valley. We recognize the same art in their building, their sculptures and their paintings. We recognize just the same writing, the same hieroglyphics, upon the monuments of Meroë as upon those of Thebes; and, if we knew that this writing was from the language spoken by the people, we might thence conclude that this language was spoken along the course of the whole valley. It is true we have no conclusive evidence respecting the ancient language of the Ethiopians in Meroë and its relation to the Egyptian; but it is considered that their close affinity is proved by a passage in Herodotus. In endeavoring to show that the Ammonians were a colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, he says: (*Φώνην μετάξυ αμφότερων νομιζόντες,*) that is literally enough "they used varieties of the same language;" for it is evident the passage would have no sense at all if the languages had been altogether different. To this may be added that the best informed and most accurate explorers recognize the same color, the same features, and, for the most part, the same fashions and weapons in the inhabitants of the upper part of the valley as they find portrayed on the Egyptian monuments. In reference to this says Heeren: "It was on this ground I was induced to express my opinion that it was the race of which we now discover the remains in the Nubian, though by loss of liberty and religion much degenerated, which once was the ruling race in Egypt." And still Prof. Heeren considers this race to have had a fairer complexion than the great body of the Egyptian people and were the founders of the

monuments and the originators of all works of art and of the civilization of the Nile's valley. There were indeed different races in Egypt from a very early period; and it is allowed the Hyksos dominated there for a long period of time. They, doubtless, had a perceptibly fairer complexion than the typical Nubian; although, after a few generations there, if dressed up like the Egyptian or Nubian, they might be taken by an ethnologist for the same or a variety of the very same race. G. A. Hoskins says, in reference to the Hyksos, "and these shepherd kings or nomad hordes, with the vitality of a hardy and uncorrupted race, reigned over the degenerated Egyptians at Memphis (the more remote districts probably tributary to them) from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty (a period as according to Lepsius of 500 years, according to Rouget of 1,900 years, and according to Bunsen of 922 years; while by Wilkinson's interpretation of the monuments it is only 340 years), leaving no records of their civilization or of deference for the religion of the conquered race." ("A Winter in Upper and Lower Egypt, 1863, p. 75.")

It is said that this race left no monuments there after them of their own erection, nothing to indicate their long residence or dominancy (but, according to the shortest period given above, that by Wilkinson, they were in Egypt for about eleven or twelve successive generations, long enough, it would reasonably appear, having the power in their own hands, for them to have at least partially stocked with their own race all the districts of Egypt); and that instead of introducing civilization and encouraging culture, they went in a fair way of obliterating all that was there before they entered. They must, indeed, according to this, have been savages, men who not only lacked all genius, but the elements of common sense and humanity. But, can we suppose that they did not make such an impression upon the country, during their long occupation of it, as not to leave a noticeable element of their own fairer-skinned race after them (if perchance by this time they had a fairer skin than the Nubian who is taken fairly to represent the typical ancient Egyptian) when a certain portion of them returned from the country, saber in hand, having been worsted by one opponent who proved to have a stronger force than they, and went up and built Jerusalem. In one place Prof. Heeren makes the dominant race, who introduced civilization, culture, erected the monuments, encouraged trade and religion, etc., to have been a fairer race distinctively than the general race of the Nile's valley, but still truly

African and of the priest-caste of Ethiopia. In another place he makes them to have been fairly represented by the Nubian on the monuments, which might, of course, be taken as indicating them to have been truly African, but would hardly account for the extra fairness of the skin which he attributes to them in another place.

It is alleged that there is no proof of any monuments having been erected prior to the 18th dynasty. If it be said the Great Pyramid was built by the fourth dynasty recent investigation makes this to mean that it was built by the 20th, which embraced the real fourth; and that the 18th dynasty, so called, embraced the first and was really Shepherd. If the implication in the allegation above referred to be true not only before the Shepherds appeared in that county, but until after they were expelled therefrom, there was no civilization nor ability to represent it in monuments or records in Egypt or in the Nile's valley. The shepherds then must have stirred up those old Africans to produce the most remarkable and astonishing works of art that have ever been produced upon the face of the earth! They must have set those people to thinking and acting, although, from the accounts of them, they would not appear to have thought or acted much themselves. Or, was it not possible for some of those shepherd races, along the course of the ages of their residence in the Nile's valley, to have become priests? It would seem that being kings for so long a period, some of them would have developed a genius for the priesthood and would have founded primitive monasteries and encouraged trade and civilization as was the wont of the priests. But, you will say that in such course they must have acted independently or have founded a caste themselves, they not being of the original priest-caste. If we rightly understand who those shepherds were, we have a type of their ancestors in the patriarch Abraham, who, as all the patriarchs of the Shepherd tribes, was both chief and priest of his clan. Melchizedek, of Salem, was both priest and king (Gen. xiv: 18). In the primitive institutions of the pastoral or shepherd races of Asia, the father of the family was priest as well as chief. "The system of patriarchal government," says Layard (Nineveh, etc., ii, 9), "faithfully described by Burkhardt, still exists as it has done for 4,000 years in the desert."

Now, with respect to the shepherd tribes, who, we are informed, were expelled from Egypt in 1542 B. C., and those who worsted and succeeded them, called of the eighteenth dynasty, it may be altogether unnecessary for me to remark here that it is no uncommon

thing in history to find brothers of the different shepherd or Scythic families to disagree. Without adducing any particular examples, which might, perhaps, be thought insipid, I may remark that the Irish and Scottish monarchical histories are but too full of such. If the monuments of the Nile's valley be thought too much for the ability and genius of the Scythic race, why not those of Persepolis, of Nineveh, Babylon, etc., be thought too much for the same race originally? This, however, is intended rather to be suggestive than affirmative of this subject; for, even if it were true that the Hyksos were a thoughtless, shiftless and unproductive race themselves, still we have a right to think concerning them in connection with the whole subject of the history of Egypt and of the Nile's valley and, while we make some suggestions not in their nature unreasonable, still leave the question an open one.

For, with respect to the originators of the civilization and culture of the Nile's valley, many investigators have for themselves concluded that, if they proceed to derive that civilization from outside of that valley, itself, then the Indians or some tribe of the Indians of Asia are the only nation whence the ancient Egyptians and their civilization could have originally descended. It would be unreasonable to assert that no political or religious shoot could have been transplanted in the very early ages from India to Ethiopia; and although only shoots in which every foreign trace would be lost in a greater or less number of successive generations by their being ingrafted into a foreign soil and climate — their mixture by blood with foreigners, so to speak — still, if they came there they should be not unlikely to have had descendants, whether or not these became civilizers or culture producers in the country.

That some people from India found their way thither in early times historical proofs are not wanting. Syncellus (p. 120, Venitian edition) informs us *Αἰθίοπες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνασάντες πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτου ᾤκησαν.* "Aethiopians, who had emigrated from the river Indus, dwelt near Egypt." Historians, however, say that the immigration here referred to did not take place before the reign of Amenophis or Memnon, belonging to the 18th dynasty; consequently in the flourishing period of the Kingdom of Thebes; and, if this be so, neither the origin of the nation nor its civilization can be derived from this source.

Moreover, Herodotus, VII., 70, in distinguishing the Ethiopians from the character of their hair, says: "The Eastern Aethiopians in Asia have straight hair, while the African Aethiopians have the

most curly hair of all men." But in regard to this statement many investigators have found reason to take issue with the father of history, as they claim to have found many African Aethiopians who, notwithstanding the color of their skin, have as straight and lank hair as the Aethiopians of Asia.

The typical African was and is called Aethiopian, as Africa was called Aethiopia. Now, the first root of the name Asia is Aes, as that of Aethiopia is Aeth; that is, the *th* in the one is turned into its equivalent, *s*, in the other. The letter *d*, or *dh*, is doubtless the root consonant, which would be dialectically turned into *s*, as in Sesosis for Sethosis and Sesostris for Sethostris. I think, moreover, the root, *Aedh*, makes it sufficiently plain that the Saethites, or Sethites, the "Sons of God" of Genesis vi: 1, 2, were considered by the ancient writers the aboriginal peoples of both Asia and Africa (Aes-fhir-ica), which would mean in either case the country of the children of God.

"Thus much I know" (says Herodotus, IV, 197), "four nations occupy Africa, and no more; two of these nations are aboriginal and two not. The Libyans and Aethiopians are aboriginal; the former lying northward and the latter southward in Libya; the foreign settlers are Phoenicians and Greeks." Herodotus, though he may not have been altogether correct, nor yet as full as to information on this subject as would now be thought to be requisite, gives us, as he says, so far as he knew and how the matter was understood among the literati of Greece in his time. He describes in a general way and does not distinguish the inhabitants of Africa geographiccally and tribally as do modern explorers. In his time the eastern districts of northern Africa, above Aegypt, from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, which we now comprise under the names of Nubia and Sennaar were occupied by two races; one aboriginal, which he included under the general name of Aethiopians, and the other an immigratory Arabian race, leading, for the most part a wandering life. In the army of Xerxes we find the Aethiopians and Arabians, above Aegpyt, associated under the same commander. According, however, to Pliny (vi, 34), the banks of the Nile, from Philae to Meroë, were occupied by Arabians, differing from the Ethiopians. But this was speaking without sufficient distinctiveness, for the Nubian tribes, who actually occupy that space, speak a language different from the Arabic, and it does not appear likely that Arabians, who pride themselves upon their language, should have relinquished it in order to adopt that of a barbarous or con-

quered people. As, in Africa, the Arabian descent and language are considered the most honorable, investigators and explorers into the races and affairs of that country consider themselves justified in classing all those nations as aboriginal who do not speak Arabic, or give evidence, in some way, of their being of foreign descent.

The Nubians are first mentioned by this name in the time of the Ptolemies by Eratosthenes in Strabo (p. 1135); but the name soon came into use, sometimes as a general name for the tribes dwelling on both sides of the Nile, from Egypt to Meroë, and sometimes in a more limited sense for the present Dongola. Their chief mark of distinction is that their dwellings are in the valley of the Nile. Burkhardt, in his explorations, appears to have made a specialty of this nation, and the accuracy of his accounts are shown by their having been honorably confirmed by the later explorers, Waddington and Hambury. The position of this nation in the Nile's valley, as lying intermediate between Egypt and Meroë, being geographically, at least, a connecting link, shows of what interest and importance it is for us, by all the knowledge we can become possessed of, to know whether the Nubians be really a connecting link, physiologically, ethnologically and linguistically, between the inhabitants of ancient Meroë and Egypt. The same result is, in effect, arrived at if we have become satisfied that they are of a common stock of those nations, whether or not they might be considered as a connecting link between these two.

The Nubians, then, live in a land of monuments, which are reasonably supposed to have been erected by their forefathers. Entirely different from the Arabic is their language, of which Burkhardt has given us specimens; and neither that nor their external appearance justifies that an Arabian origin be attributed to them. They are of a dark brown color, with hair either naturally curly or artificially arranged by the women, but not at all woolly; it often forms an elevated ornament, like those on the monuments. Their visage has nothing of the typical negro features; the men are well formed, strong and muscular with delicate features. They are something shorter than the Egyptians. They have only a little beard growing under the chin, as upon the Egyptian statues. They are very thinly clad, almost naked; but are all armed with a spear five feet long, a dagger and a large shield, formed of the skin of the hippopotamus. The women are well made, with pleasing features. The men buy them of their parents, but frequently, also, intermarry with the Arabs. (Burkhardt, p. 194.) According

to Hennicke (p. 164), the Nubian is thin and slender, but beautifully formed, and his beauty is as unchangeable as that of a statue. He has more courage and daring than the Arabian, etc. The Nubian language is now spoken in Dongola, where the Arabic is spoken, but imperfectly. "In passing along the Wadys of Nubia," continued Burkhardt, "it often occurred to me to remark that the size and figure of the inhabitants were generally proportionate to the breadth of their cultivable soil; wherever the plain is broad, and the peasants, from being able to carry on agriculture to a tolerable extent, are in comparatively easy circumstances, they are taller and more muscular and healthy; but in the rocky districts, where the plain is not more than twenty to thirty yards in breadth, they are poor, meagre figures, in some places appearing almost like walking skeletons." Speaking further of the women, he says: "I have even seen beauties among them Denon has certainly not done justice to them, but they are worn down from their earliest youth by continual labor, the whole business of the house being left to them, while the men are occupied exclusively in the culture of the soil. Of all the women of the East, those of Nubia are the most virtuous; and this is the more praiseworthy as their vicinity to Upper Egypt, where licentiousness knows no bounds, might be expected to have some influence upon them."

From the foregoing it appears evident that the manners and character and to some extent the physical condition of the peoples of the Nile's valley could not have everywhere been the same. Local circumstances rendered this impossible; for some districts only allowing this particular sort of life and no other, while others differed in these respects in allowing only a certain other sort of life; and the intercommunication between the peoples of the different sections of the valley being in general only very limited, these causes in the course of generations must needs have produced very different developments of character in the peoples. The inhabitants of the eastern mountainous regions necessarily followed a pastoral life, as did also the tribes in the fenny districts of the Delta; their soil being unfit for agriculture. Other tribes close to the Nile were fishermen and mariners, as the nature of their habitation made it more profitable than handicraft. But it is quite apparent that the civilized part of those peoples dwelling in the valley,* carried on all the principal branches of domestic business,

* Out of about 60,000 square miles Egypt is said to have only about eleven or twelve thousand of cultivable land, its valley to the southern frontier being about 550 miles in length.

in all of which they attained to great perfection, as is ascertained from the representations found in the caves so often met with, where they are seen portrayed. Agricultural occupations, — plowing, sowing, digging, harrowing, reaping, binding, treading out the corn by oxen and storing it; fishing with the hook as well as nets and salting the fish; hunting; the vintage and its various labors; cattle breeding and herds of kine, horses, asses, sheep; the navigation of the Nile as well with sails as oars; the weighing of live stock for sale, all this is here represented.

But the difference of manners of life, if not of descent, which would appear generally indicated in the representations given us upon the monuments, is thought by some investigators to shed a light upon that celebrated institution, which the Egyptians had in common with the Hindoos, namely, the division into castes or hereditary ranks, of which according to the most accurate authorities, there were seven in Egypt. The two most honorable were the priests and warriors; the next, merchants and shopkeepers and mariners; then two castes of herdsmen; to which may be added, but not till the later period of the Pharaos, the interpreters or brokers. Although the origin of castes among those nations transcends the period of written records and strict historical evidence cannot therefore be adduced, yet it is thought very probable that the difference of descent, connected with the different modes of life first laid the foundation of it in the Nile's valley and that the various castes at first were different tribes. It appears, however, that policy in the infancy of civil society expected to find this rigid separation of professions a security for their preservation and a means for their perpetuation as in the idea a desideratum; nor is there any doubt that accidental causes might and, in effect, did give rise to new castes, as, for example, that of the interpreters in Egypt in the time of Psammetichus; but the principal question here was, or is, from what cause did this institution originally arise? a question about which ere this the reader may or not be satisfied in his own mind from all the preceding. But it is a great and astonishing fact, as Bunsen observes (vol. 1, p. 358), that the empire of Meroë, on its first appearance in history possessed an established mythology, that is, a series of gods. And there is, according to some, reason to suppose that the Egyptian mythology, if not its institution of castes, is derived originally from Asia. Bunsen's comparison (Id. p. 355) of some of the names of the Egyptian gods and goddesses with those of the Syrian, Phoenician

and Baqylonian divinities is very striking and the names of the Asiatic deities do not appear to have been derived from the Egyptian.

"Although," says Baron Eckstein, "the Coptic is the antipodes of the Sanscrit, a thousand reasons seem to conspire to make us look in the basin of the Indus for the seat of primitive civilization, transported to the valley of the Nile, at an epoch preceding the time when Southern Asia was wrested from the Cushites by the Arian and Semitic races. If we find in the popular forms of worship of India, the contrast between which and the religious notions of the Vedas is so marked, a strong resemblance to the creeds of Egypt, is there any reason to feel surprised, when we discover some words in Coptic that have an equivalent in the Sanscrit? There is one thing which must never be lost sight of in any inquiry relative to those distant times. It is absurd to say: this is of Indian and that of Egyptian origin, for the influences that shaped them have followed the tide of immigration.

Thus, even while admitting the influence of the Arian and Semitic creeds upon the forms of Egyptian worship, we cannot avoid recognizing in certain portions of the Vedas a character common to the religion of Egypt. The cause of these coincidences must be sought in the primitive extension of the race of Cush and of Shem in the regions lying in the immediate vicinity of the Arian tribes." (Researches Concerning Primitive Humanity.)

Thebes.

It is said that Egyptian sculpture can never be thoroughly understood and appreciated without seeing it with the rich and harmonious coloring which always accompanies it. It is only by a visit to the excavations, especially to those recently made and which have not been defaced by the accidents of time or the hand of man that we can understand what must have been the effect of the temples when gorgeously decorated. "A first visit to Thebes," says Mr. Hoskins, in describing his second visit there in 1863, "must ever be one of the most impressive events in every man's life. The gigantic and imposing ruins surpass everything of the kind to be seen elsewhere; and the sculptures which adorn the walls of the temples and tombs are the only pages in which, as far as the knowledge of hieroglyphics extends, we can now with certainty read the principal events of the greatest Egyptian Kings, their wars, their triumphs and their gratitude to the gods, the cer-

emonies and mysteries of the most mysterious of religions, and the arts, occupations, trades and primitive life of the people."

It is extraordinary that Herodotus, who, according to his own account, was in Thebes, should have scarcely said a word about its monuments and but little more of its history. It is supposed by some that this conduct of his arose from Hecateus of Miletus having visited Thebes before him and that he may have thought it unnecessary to repeat. Let this have been as it may, all we have from Herodotus, as to its history, is a few particulars which he gathered in conversation with the priests there; for what he says elsewhere upon Egypt, from the accounts given to him by the priests, he seems to have obtained from the priests of Memphis and Heliopolis, cities which he had visited before he went to Thebes.

Diodorus of Sicily, who visited Thebes in about *anno* 60 B. C., is our principal early authority upon that city. He, in his descriptions, therefore, speaks as an eye-witness, and there is as yet found no good reason of accusing him of falsehood or exaggeration; he refers, also, to the agreements of his statements with those of other writers.

As to the accounts, oral and written, open to him and which he derived from the Egyptian priests, he thus expresses himself: "What is found in the writings of the Egyptian priests I shall note down after having carefully examined it." Herodotus he mentions only with disapprobation, on account, as he says, of the fables with which he had diversified his narratives. The authors he most used were the elder Hecateus, whose affair with the Theban priests is mentioned by Herodotus; the younger Hecateus, Cadmus and Hellanicus.

Two centuries prior to the time of Diodorus, Manetho, the Egyptian high priest of Heliopolis or On, drew up in the Greek language, from the archives of the Egyptian priests, a continuous history of Egypt. This history, upon which some slight doubt has been thrown by some expressions in the writings of Eusebius, who lived nearly six centuries after Manetho, has in modern times been corroborated by the deciphering of the royal names and titles on the monuments through the discovery of phonetic hieroglyphics; for a series of the names of the Pharaohs are here traced out, as they are found in the catalogue of Manetho, particularly in his eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties.

By comparing together these three great writers upon the Egyptian antiquities we arrive at the following conclusions: As Hero-

dotus made use of the priestly traditions at Memphis, Diodorus of those at Thebes, and Manetho of those at Heliopolis, together with all the others, it follows that we have in those three writers the priestly traditions (under which are comprised their written as well as oral accounts) as preserved by that body at the three principal seats of learning in Egypt.

Thebes was built upon both banks of the river Nile, without, as far as we know, being connected by a bridge. The greater part and more considerable of the monuments are now denominated from the villages, which are situated in the plain on both sides of the stream. Thus, on the western side, are the villages of Medinet Abou and Gornou; on the eastern, Luxor and Karnac; and, quite at the northeastern end of the valley, Med Armuth, which is the extreme point of the ruins that now remain. They are, however, so similar in extent and grandeur that it is difficult to decide whether those on the eastern or western side should have the precedence.

Monuments on the Western Side at Thebes.

These are, indeed, of various descriptions, forming an almost uninterrupted series, from south to north, all in the vicinity of the Libyan mountain ridge, so that a large plain extends between it and the river, which, doubtless, was once filled with private dwellings. In proceeding from south to north the first object that arrests the attention is the remains of an extensive race-course, at whose southern extremity stands a small temple; there is, however, fast by a gate of such large dimensions as to show that a much larger building must once have stood there. The area of this race-course, according to the estimate of the French, is seven times that of the Champ de Mars, near Paris, and consequently it afforded ample space for the review and exercise of such large armies as sometimes conquered on the Euphrates and subdued Asia Minor and Scythia. The whole was surrounded by an enclosure, which forms at present nothing more than a series of hills, among which the gates or inlets may yet be distinguished, of which there are reckoned thirty-nine, though their number are supposed to have amounted to fifty altogether. The principal entrance, where a large opening is left, looks eastward, and the general appearance of the enclosure shows that at one time it was embellished with stately edifices, composed of triumphal monuments. Probably this

spacious plain was located just without the city; a similar one of smaller dimensions is found on the eastern side, nearly opposite to this; and, if both were situated without the city, we may, with great probability, determine its southern boundary. These enclosures were, doubtless, used for exercising the troops, for chariot races, for prize contests, and, perhaps, when not in use, for the foregoing purposes, they may have been used for public pleasure parks.

Directly at the northern end of the race-course is a palace and temple. Connected with the palace is a pavilion of two stories, containing many saloons and apartments and numerous windows. The situation is so chosen as to command a view not only of all the monuments of Medinet Abou, but also of those on the other side of the Nile, and of the whole plain in which Thebes was built. Everything, even the decorations which cover the walls, seems to indicate that this was the usual residence of the king. The subjects represented differ from those in the temple, being intermingled with scenes of domestic life. This edifice is in general much injured, the upper part of it being the best preserved.

About 250 feet northwest of this pavilion is situated the great palace of Medinet Abou. Its entrance is formed by one of those mighty superstructures, which are comprised by the French under the name of pylons; the Greeks call them *προπυλαια*. They consist of two obtuse pyramids, in this instance sixty-six feet high, which enclose between them the principal gate, forming the grand entrance. This leads into a large court, which is surrounded by galleries, formed on one side by eight great pillars and on the other by pilasters, to which colossal statues of Osiris are fixed as caryatides, but not so as to give any support. The sight of those colossal pilaster-caryatides excites in the beholder, so we are assured by eye-witnesses, an indescribable feeling of awe and veneration.

Opposite to the principal entrance stands a second pylon, though on a somewhat smaller scale. It leads into a second court of pillars or a peristyle, whose galleries are likewise formed by pilasters with caryatides and columns. An eye-witness says of this: "Of all the parts of the building this peristyle is the most imposing by its tremendous massiveness and solemn grandeur. We are convinced that its founders wished to make it imperishable and that the Egyptian architects who were intrusted with its structure did their utmost to make it endure to the latest posterity. The pillars are colossal though not remarkably elegant; their diameter near the base is

nearly seven feet and a half and they are nearly twenty feet high, yet they do not seem too large to support the immense stone blocks which form the architraves and roof. Nothing is more wonderful than the beauty of those tall columns. The effect, however, of this peristyle is greatly increased by the pilaster-caryatides which add so greatly to its magnificence. When the Egyptian artists affixed the images of the gods to these pilasters, which support the splendid roof, covered with golden stars on blue ground, do they not seem to have intended to represent the deity himself under the arch of heaven, expanding in his ethereal space? For the people not to have been impressed with religious awe at the sight of this assemblage of their deities, who seemed to dictate the laws of wisdom and justice which were everywhere written on the walls, we conceive to have been impossible. And if we, unacquainted with the religion and manners of the Egyptians, could not enter these walls, in which every pillar is a deity, without emotion, what a powerful impression must the sight of them have produced upon those who saw a religious mystery in every part?'' This account from a present witness will be likely to inspire the reader with a juster appreciation of those once magnificent objects than a simple story about lifeless masses. The back part of the palace is chiefly in ruins; but many apartments are still to be seen, which seem to have served as habitations, the description of which here could not be rendered sufficiently intelligible without a plan.

The sculpture of this palace, both within and without, makes a still more interesting contemplation. On the outside are represented scenes of war, battles by land and sea. In several representations of land engagements the Egyptians are conspicuously victorious. The king always appears on his colossal war chariot, armed with a lance, bow and arrows, his missiles, of course, carrying consternation and destruction into the ranks of his enemies. The Egyptians are partly engaged in fighting and partly in marshaling their forces, two and four men deep. The same figure of the king again appears, now driving slowly along, now stopping and now forcing his way into the ranks of the enemy. Another piece represents a lion hunt. Standing in his chariot the king pursues two lions through the thicket; one of them is already killed; the other is fleeing, pierced by four arrows. The most remarkable of these pictures is the naval engagement. It represents the enemy repulsed in endeavoring to effect a landing and the victory seems decided for the Egyptians. The king is standing on the shore,

discharging missiles at the enemy, many of whom lie slain at his feet and others in front of him. Two squadrons are contending near the coast. The construction of the Egyptian war vessels is quite different from that of the Nile's boats, and they have always a lion's head at the prow; they are properly called long ships. Those of the enemy are nearly of the same general construction. Although apparently decided the battle still continues. The ships of the enemy appear in confusion; partly taken or sunk, and partly ready to strike colors. Even the traces of the naval tactics are observable. The hostile fleet is surrounded by the Egyptians and there appears no chance of a single craft escaping. In all these warlike subjects the several nations are most sharply distinguished by their costume, head-gear and accoutrements. In the land battles the soldiers of the hostile army are invariably portrayed with beards and long garments. In the naval engagements, on the contrary, their clothing is short and light; the head covering of one portion consists of a sort of round turban, ornamented at the top with a wreath of feathers; the others wear a helmet seemingly made of the skin of a wild beast. They are a people from a southern climate; the French artists at once recognized them as Indians. This difference of costume is also very accurately represented in the succeeding representations, so far as this can be observed in the present state of the structures.

Of a somewhat similar nature, though different, is the sculpture in the interior of the palace. The subjects represented are triumphs, but closely connected with religion, for the procession is not only directed to the gods, but the deities themselves take part in it. The most considerable of those reliefs are found in the peristyle above described. On one wall the victorious king, recognizable as such by the serpent on his head-dress, sits in his chariot. The horses adorned with splendid trappings are held and managed by his attendants. He himself is standing in a commanding attitude while the prisoners of war are brought before him. They advance four rows deep, every third or fourth being led by an Egyptian. They are dressed in blue and green cloaks, under which they wear a short covering round the middle. The Egyptians wear white garments with red stripes; all the colors are in good preservation. The prisoners are unarmed, their weapons tied above their heads. In the front of the conqueror's chariot are lying a heap of amputated hands, seemingly of the men killed in battle. As to the prisoners they do not appear mutilated.

On the northern wall of this same peristyle is portrayed a triumphal procession. The king, seated on his throne, is borne on a rich palanquin by eight soldiers. They are adorned with feathers, the emblem of victory. The throne is covered with splendid carpets; the feet of the conqueror rests on a cushion. He carries in his hand the cross and keys, the emblems of consecration; two genii stand behind and shade him with their wings. The lion, the sparrow-hawk, the serpent and the sphinx, emblems of greatness, are on his side. The procession consists partly of warriors, ornamented with palms and feathers, partly of priests who offer incense. Another seems to recite from a roll the deeds of the victor. The procession moves towards the temple of Osiris, whose statue is visible. Four priests come to meet and receive the hero, and to lead him into the temple, where he presents his offerings.

The train then proceeds and the god himself, leaving his holy habitation, accompanies the king, surrounded by every species of festive pomp; twenty-four priests bear him on a kind of carriage. They are enrobed in long stately cloaks. At the head is the conqueror in different habit and head-dress. The sparrow-hawk hovers over him; the sacred red bull follows in the train. Seventeen priests bearing the attributes of the deity march first in the procession, the whole of which is now evidently changed into a religious pageant. It is not here the warriors, but the priests who act the principal parts. The scene again changes; the king appears presenting an offering to the gods. It is noticeable that this scene appears to relate to agriculture. A priest presents a handful of corn to the king which he cuts through with a sickle; and afterwards he offers his gift to the god. This scene appears to represent the king as favoring the arts of peace and his gratitude to the overruling Providence for the products of agriculture; the former portrays him in the splendor of his martial achievements. The scenes are related to each other, though not closely; but if the pictures were in a perfect state of preservation all the designs would be more easily understood.

In one of the side rooms are sculptures which are equally deserving of attention. The complete piece represents in three divisions the initiation of the king into the priestly mysteries. He is first purified by one of the priests; others then take him by the hand and lead him into the sanctuary. All here is mysterious, the priests nearly all appearing in masks of beasts. The French literati were under the impression that this whole representation set forth,

in some way, the deeds of Sesostris; and some who think that they substantiated their belief by the result of their researches appear to me as wise as they were in this matter.

At some distance to the north of this place stands the temple of Medinet Abou. It faces the Nile and has propylaia in an unfinished state, which are also of later date than the chief temple. It now lies for the most part in ruins, its construction having been similar to that of the other temples.

North-west of this temple follows a plain, partly covered with a mimosa-wood, which may be called the field of collossi. Seventeen of these are counted upon this spot, some of which are still standing, while others are in part or altogether thrown down. Among them is the far-famed Colossus of Memnon, celebrated for the sounds which were wont to issue therefrom at the sun's rising.

The first objects that strike the attention here are two colossi, close together, and both facing the Nile; the northern one is called Damy, the southern Shamy. They are of sandstone, about fifty-two feet high or sixty with the pedestal. The weight of each when entire is estimated at something over 130 tons. The one to the south is formed of one piece; the upper half of the other is now composed of five pieces. As colossi were originally monoliths among the Egyptians, it can hardly be doubted but that this was originally the case here. This statue, as we learn from the many inscriptions with which it is covered, chiefly of the first two centuries, was regarded as that of Memnon, as these inscriptions testify that their authors had heard the voice of the statue. But against this doubts have been raised, originating partly from the quality and color of the stone, and partly from the circumstances mentioned by Strabo, that the colossus was broken through in the middle, as it is also described by Pausanias; and because the time of its restoration is unknown. But the French have shown these objections of no great weight, having proved the material to be sandstone, though now become black through the effect of the atmosphere; and though the restorer of the statue is unknown to us, nothing can be argued from that, because the fact itself shows that it has been restored. This restoration is supposed to have been effected by Septimius Severus, who restored and repaired various objects in Egypt and elsewhere.

At a moderate distance to the northwest of this colossus are found two immense stone blocks, covered with the most beautiful hieroglyphics, which probably were nothing more than the pedestals

of two other colossi. A little north of these close to a triple row of pillars, is a large fragment of a colossal statue, in a walking attitude above thirty feet high; and a little farther the trunk of another of black granite. Still farther and we come to the remnant of a colossus of yellow marble, represented as if walking, and a little in advance the remains of two sitting colossi of red granite; and still beyond two others forty feet high, in a walking position. And since it has been proved that the level of the earth has been raised, at least fifteen or twenty feet, since the beginning of our era, how many others may still lie thrown down or broken beneath the surface of the earth?

But what was the cause of this great number of colossi being thrown together in such seeming disorder. The nature of the spot, the various fragments of pillars, etc, lead some antiquarians to conclude that at some time an immense building stood here, which with its pylons and courts, its colonnades and saloons, must have been about eighteen hundred feet in length. The colossal statues may have stood before the pylons, in front of the entrances to the courts and portico, as is still the case in the palace of Osymandyas and others. It appears to have been contrary to the general custom of the Egyptians to place them anywhere except before or in the interior of their edifices. With regard to the colossal sphynxes, which formed avenues the case was different. This opinion, too, is supported by the fact that both Strabo and Pliny place the colossus of Memnon in a building, called by the former Memnonium, and by Pliny the Serapeum. Philostratus, also, in his life of Appollonius, compares the sanctuary of Memnon with a forum, decorated with pillars, walls, seats and statues, which remind us of the great colonnades and halls of columns of the temples. If, however, on the one hand, the enormous dimensions of an edifice that would contain such colossi impress us with wonder, it seems, on the other, not less surprising that so few remains of it are now left. This difficulty, however, disappears, if the building be supposed to have been erected of limestone; for the old materials of such have always been used for lime. The immense excavation in the limestone rocks very plainly show that the number of these buildings in Egypt must have been very great.

A discovery of Belzoni has confirmed this assertion. "I found," he says, "a great many fragments of colossal statues of granite, breccia and calcareous stones; and from the great number of fragments of smaller dimensions, and of standing and sitting lion-

headed statues, I can boldly state that these ruins appear to me to have belonged to the most magnificent temple of any on the western side of Thebes."

Still farther north of the field of Colossi is the palace and tomb of Osymandyas. The ruins of this building, facing the Nile, are the most picturesque of ancient Thebes. The building is composed of sand-stone. Many pylons, columns and pillars with caryatides are yet standing, whilst ruins of others as well as Colossi forms large heaps around. Having passed through a majestic quadrangle you meet with a quadrangle above one hundred and forty feet in length and one hundred and sixty-one in breadth. This is all in ruins except two pillars, but the area is so filled up with blocks of granite that a person might fancy himself in a stone quarry, nevertheless, on a closer inspection, these are found to be merely the ruins of one immense colossus. It has been destroyed by violence, but the head, foot and hand still remain. The forefinger is nearly four feet in length; the breadth from shoulder to shoulder, in a straight line, is twenty-one feet. The height of the whole could not have been less than fifty-four feet. The pedestal eighteen feet high is still standing close to the pylon opposite. Both pedestal and colossus were of the most beautiful rose colored granite of Syene. The pit whence it was dug out is shown near that city and thence it is supposed to have been transported one hundred and thirty-five miles, notwithstanding *it weighed nearly nine hundred tons* (887 tons). Inquiries made on the spot have proved that this building contained four such colossi, of which one of granite seems to have stood near the one described.

A second pylon not quite so lofty forms the entrance to a peristyle, which is also one hundred and forty feet in length and one hundred and sixty in breadth. It was surrounded by galleries, formed in the north and south by a double row of pillars, in the east by a single row of pilaster-caryatides, and in the west by one row of pillars and another of pilaster-caryatides. The southern part is decayed but the northern is sufficiently preserved to enable us to form a correct idea of the whole. This peristyle contained two colossal statues, each about twenty-three feet. One is entirely of black granite, the body of the other is also black, but the head of rose-colored granite. This head is well preserved. "It possesses that graceful calmness, that happy physiognomy which pleases more than beauty. It would be impossible to represent the deity with features which could make him more beloved and revered.

The execution is admirable and it might be taken for the production of the best age of Grecian art did it not bear so evidently the Egyptian character." (Description, 1, p. 129.)

Out of the peristyle three gates of black granite open into a spacious saloon, whose roof was supported by sixty pillars in ten rows, each six pillars deep; four of these rows are still standing. The saloon was divided into three compartments and we may form some idea of the awful extent of the whole by knowing, that the pillars of the middle division (the others are a little smaller), are thirty-five feet high and above six feet in diameter. Out of this large saloon there is an entrance into a second and afterwards into a third. In each are eight pillars of the same size still standing.

From the traces still remaining this huge building must have been even larger than as above indicated. But, however, it may excite our wonder, as a monument of architecture, it is not less admirable on account of the sculpture with which its walls are covered. These consist partly of sacred pictures with hieroglyphics, partly of historical reliefs. The former, as usual, represent deities, with sacrifices and offerings made to them; but the latter demand a more accurate description. It will be seen what reason we had to regret that such a small part of them as well as of the whole building should have been preserved.

The first of these reliefs is found on the inner side of the first of the two great pylons. It represents war and battles. The infantry, in close columns, advance with their leader, a man of large size, in his chariot at their head. The heat of the battle is next portrayed; the leaders in their chariots driving into the midst of the enemy; the slain, the wounded and the flying with their steeds. In the center of the battlefield is a river, into which those fleeing leap, whilst their party stand on the opposite bank ready to receive them.

On the left side of the pylon the chief hero sits on a beautifully decorated chair, his foot resting on a stool, on which prisoners are represented. The cushions of the seat and stool are covered with the finest material and dotted with stars. A column of twenty-one figures in long garments approach him supplicatingly and reverentially. These are closely followed by chariots and warriors with large shields. The army to which they belong is in the rear, consisting of infantry and chariots with one soldier in each. Next follows the baggage, which, though attacked by the enemy, is bravely defended.

On the walls of the peristyle scenes equally remarkable are displayed. Here is another battle scene. It seems like a hostile invasion which is repelled. A river with its many windings traverses the field; remains of the blue color with which it was painted are still seen in many places. It flows round a castle, the object of contention on both its banks. The possessors of the castle are crossing the river. They have long beards and garments and war chariots with three men in each. The Egyptians on the opposite side, partly on foot and partly in chariots, are led by their king; they are divided into different bodies, each with a separate commander, distinguishable by being taller, at their head. They beat down all before them and trample on the dead and wounded. Many of the enemy in their retreat are drowned in attempting to recross the river; they are pursued by the victors.

The storming and capture of a fortress is represented on the walls of that large hall. This is probably the continuation of the foregoing subject. At the foot of the wall is a kind of testudo, formed of large shields. Behind or under it are the warriors, of whom only the feet are visible. A scaling ladder is fixed up which soldiers are climbing. Of the four stories of the fort the first is already scaled. The struggle goes on hotly; the besieged hurl down stones and burning substances. The issue, now, is no longer doubtful; and the banner hoisted up, pierced through with arrows, is probably the sign of surrender. The action of one of the warriors here is very expressive, he himself breaking his arrow across his knees. If the remaining part of the palace were still standing it is most likely there would still be found the triumphal procession of the victor; and if this palace be really that of Osymandyas, described by Diodorus, the yet more interesting scene, the high court of justice of Egypt, with the chief judge presiding, having the symbol of truth upon his breast.

The French think they have recovered the monument in those buildings, which have by others, misled by a false reading of the text of Diodorus, been frequently taken for that of the Memnonium. This their view has the support of the statement of Diodorus that at ten stadia distant were the tombs of the virgins devoted to Ammon. Tombs are, indeed, found at this distance, which will agree with this statement, and have not the appearance of private buildings. Respecting those virgins or hierodules of Ammon, who in after ages were allowed to marry, the principal passage is found in Strabo.

No King Osymandyas is mentioned either by Herodotus or Manetho; nor has the name been yet discovered in any inscription; but the royal legend of Sesostris, or Rameses the great, is everywhere displayed on the monuments ascribed to him. The subjects, likewise, of all the reliefs, the battles, triumphs, etc., constantly refer to him. Even the lion, which is said to have attended him, is seen on his war chariot as an ornament, in this respect much as it appears in connection with the chariot of the Assyrian kings, on the slabs from Koyunjik and Nineveh. And to whom will the inscription, quoted by Diodorus, "I am Osymandyas, the King of Kings. He who wishes to know how great I was and where I rest, let him surpass my works," apply so well as to this very remarkable Egyptian character? It has been suggested that Osymandyas may have been a name of the great Rameses, as the name of Seostris was or that it might have been his name as a hero. It is considered as highly probable that his deeds are represented here, although a portion of the building may have belonged to a period prior to his. The proofs, however, which might arise from going into a minute comparison of the sculptures with the descriptions of Diodorus it is impossible to give here, as in the great work upon Egypt very few sculptures are engraved and there is nothing we have to avail us in the matter, excepting the accounts of the French and some more recent.

In the space between these immense edifices and the Libyan mountain chain stands the temple of Isis, which although smaller, is still highly deserving of attention from its fine preservation. In this may be seen in its fullest splendor the effects of the colors with which the reliefs are painted. Moreover, the narrower dimensions of the building enables the beholder to take in the whole at a glance by which he is better able to judge of the impressions made by these embellishments. All the reliefs here refer to religious subjects. The most remarkable among them is *a judgment upon the dead*, exactly as it is found painted upon the mummies. It seems probable that this temple served also as a sepulchre.

Going north from this monument the traveler finds himself in the midst of an alley of pedestals, occasionally interrupted, but immediately after resumed. A more accurate examination has shown that this was formerly an avenue of sphinxes two hundred in number and of a colossal size, the pedestals being six feet wide and twelve feet long. The breadth of the alley runs to forty feet; the distance of the statues from each other being seven feet.

What must the building have been to which such an alley led! Immense ruins of pylons, of walls and of steps are met with, but nothing entire. There is a remarkable stone vault in the form of an arch, without as has been shown by a closer examination being one. If the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with the proper arch, as I have no doubt they were, they did not use it in these kind of buildings.

The palace of Gornou or Kornou still remains upon this western side of the Nile pertaining to Thebes. It is not one of the largest or most splendid edifices of the royal city, but it is far too large to allow that an idea should be entertained that it was a private dwelling. It was no temple, but seems to have been of a middle or general character between those imperial palaces and private dwellings. Neither sphinxes nor obelisks nor stupendous pylons nor colonnades are here met with. The whole seems calculated for habitation. A portico, one hundred and fifty feet long, supported by ten columns, forms the principal entrance, and is still almost entire. From the portico three doors lead into the interior of the building. The principal and most central door opens into a vestibule, supported by six pillars, and from this passages run off into many chambers and offices. The door to the left in the portico leads likewise into a saloon, and this again into many chambers with courts and cabinets on the side. The same seems to have been the case in passing through the door to the right, but everything here is much dilapitated; so that the whole building appears to have consisted of three independent divisions, which were, nevertheless, connected by their opening into the great portico in front. The conclusion of explorers generally, who have been unable to detect any religious or historical scenes or hierogliphycal pictures on the walls is that if it were not a royal residence it must have been the private residence of some great official of the kingdom; but it is evident that those who hold this view differ from Dr. Richardson (Modern Traveler, vol. vi. p. 86) who, as far as I know, stands alone in saying that, "this building has by some travelers been called a palace, but it is ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics in the same manner as the other temples; and from the frequent occurrence of the ram's head upon the walls, both among the sculptures and the hieroglyphics, it would appear that Jupiter Ammon was the principal object of worship in this as well as in the great temples." So far as to the Theban monuments on the western side.

The Theban Monuments on the Eastern Side of the Nile.

If from the western side of the river we now pass over to the eastern side we shall find it equally rich in those stupendous monuments which we find to be so characteristic of Thebes. On this side, however, they are situated partly close to the river and partly at some distance from it, though less than that on the western side. Between the river and the eastern mountain-chain, a wide almost wholly uncultivated plain extends, nearly five miles square, which is supposed to have been once covered with private habitations and formed a part of the ancient city. The monuments still left are named after their villages, Luxor to the south, and Karnac to the north.

Beginning with those on the south we find the ruins of Luxor are situated upon an artificial elevation, fenced with brick-work, from nine to ten feet high, immediately upon the Nile; it is upwards of two thousand feet in length and above a thousand in breadth. The more northern portico is partly covered with the village of Luxor; the southern part is more open, but it is on the northern side that the great entrance to the principal building is found. Two of the most beautiful obelisks in the world adorned the front of this; they are of red granite and above eighty feet high. Their upper surface is not completely flat, but a little convex, doubtless so formed designedly and probably on account of the effect of light; for it is a principle in optics that a completely flat surface does not appear such. Other obelisks do not present this peculiarity and so it is thought that from this might be deduced their relative ages.

Behind the obelisks two sitting colossal statues present themselves, each upon a block of black and red granite of Syene. They are half buried and have been broken by violence. They are each forty feet high. Their head dress has many peculiarities, they have, also, collars. Hamilton conjectures them to represent male and female. There is reason to believe that two similar colossi stood in the interior, as the head of one has been discovered.

Close behind these two statues is one of those immense pylons with its two pyramidal masses, fifty-two feet in height, enclosing the principal gate. Both on account of its size and its ornamentation this pylon is highly deserving of attention. Representations of war scenes are sculptured on both wings; on the eastern is seen a number of warriors in their chariots, each drawn by two horses.

They rush over a river or canal in pursuit of a fleeing enemy. The king, mounted on his chariot, is at their head with a bow in his hand. Higher up is seen a camp and tents. Upon the left wing the king is seen in his car mustering the bound captives. Near to this is portrayed a triumphal procession with offerings and gifts presented to the gods.

Among all the great historical reliefs this is considered the most worthy of attention on account of the perfection of the execution and expression: "The moment chosen for the representation of the battle is that when the troops of the enemy are driven back upon the fortress and the Egyptians in the full career of victory will soon be masters of the citadel."

"The conqueror, behind whom is borne aloft the royal standard, is of a colossal size, that is, far larger than any of the other warriors, standing up in a car drawn by two horses. He is in the act of shooting an arrow from a bow, which is full stretched. There is a great deal of life and spirit in the form and attitude of the horses, which are in full gallop, feathers waving over their heads and the reins lashed round the body of the conqueror. Under the wheels of the car and under the horses hoofs and bellies are crowds of dying and slain; some stretched on the ground, others falling. On the enemy's side horses in full speed with empty cars; others heedless of the rein and all at last rushing headlong down a precipice into a broad and deep river, which washes the walls of the town. The expression is exceedingly good, and nowhere has the artist shown more skill than in two groups; in one of which the horses arrived at the brink of the precipice instantly fall down; and the driver clinging with one hand to the car, the reins and whip falling from the other, his body trembling with despair, is about to be hurled over the backs of the horses. In the other, the horses still find a footing on the side of the hill and are hurrying forward their drivers to inevitable destruction. Behind this scene of strife the two lines of the enemy join their forces and attack in a body the army of the Egyptians, which advances to meet them in a regular line. Besides, the peculiarities of the incidents recorded in this interesting piece of sculpture we evidently trace a distinction between the short dresses of the Egyptians and the long robes of their oriental enemies; the uncovered and covered heads; the different forms of the cars, of which the Egyptian carried two the others three warriors; and, above all, the difference of the arms, the Egyptian shield being square at one end and round at the

other, their arms a bow and arrows. The enemy's shield, on the contrary, is round; their infantry are armed with spears, their charioteers with short javelins."

"At one extremity of the west wing of the gateway the beginning of this engagement appears to be represented; the same monarch being seen at the head of his troops advancing against the double line of the enemy and first breaking their ranks. At the other extremity of the same wing the conqueror is seated on his throne after the victory, holding a sceptre in his left hand and enjoying the cruel spectacle of eleven of the principal chieftains among his captives, lashed together in a row with a rope about their necks; the foremost stretches out his arms for pity; close to him is the twelfth on his knees, just going to be put to death by the hand of two executioners. Among them is the captive sovereign tied, with his hands behind him, to a car, to which two horses are harnessed; these are checked by an attendant from rushing onward, until the monarch shall mount and drag behind him the unfortunate victims of his triumphs. There is then the conqueror's camp, round which is placed his treasures and where the servants are preparing a banquet to celebrate his victory." (Hamilton, p. 115, sqq.)

Through the grand entrance the explorer enters an immense colonnade surrounded with galleries. This is now occupied with the village of Luxor, and the earth is so risen that the columns and colossal statues do but jut out above it. A second pylon leads into a second colonnade and this into many saloons and apartments, which cannot be understood without a plan. Some idea of the magnitude of this edifice may be formed from the fact that each of the forty columns in the second colonnade is forty-five feet high. The great palace of Luxor is not built after a single plan. The whole of this immense pile is divided into three parts, which have different sites. The hinder part of the fabric (the great hall of granite and its surrounding buildings) was perhaps built first. At a later period the second colonnade was erected. A still more magnanimous or magnificent monarch added the first great colonnade, with the pylons, obelisks and colossal statues, that is, if these latter were not the work of a fourth. It is only remarkable that the site of these parts of the buildings should have been changed without necessity. It seems, however, to be explained by the situation of the buildings of Luxor opposite those of Karnac, with which they were placed in connection.

About 6,100 feet south of those ruins are discovered the traces of

the smaller race-course or that on the eastern side; but it is likely that both these race-courses were without the city limits, if perchance, as in modern cities, there were then a corporate limit.

At about a mile and a half or two miles north of Luxor and about a mile from the Nile lies the monuments of Karnac. These are considered by connoisseurs, the French literati among others, as the most remarkable monuments of ancient Thebes. They are built upon an artificial elevation, fenced by a wall of brick-work, being in those respects like the others. The walls of Karnac are in extent around somewhat over three miles. The monuments consist of numerous massive piles of various kinds; among which, on arriving from Luxor, the immense palace of Karnac first presents itself. The façade of this prodigious fabric faces the river, from which there is an avenue of the colossal Crio-Sphinxes, that is, Sphinxes with a lion's body and ram's head, leading to it. Some of these colossi still remain; they lie together, their fore legs stretched out before them. This magnificent avenue leads to the great pylon, with the principal entrance, which seems never to have been completed. The principal entrance was above sixty-five feet high, and had formerly bronze doors on each wing. This pylon forms one side of the great open colonnade into which the traveler enters through it. The columns which border this on the north and south sides are forty-two feet high; the series of the north consisting of eighteen of those columns, still remains. The southern series is broken by a temple, which leans as a subordinate building against the palace, whose principal entrance is out of this colonnade. This open colonnade is, however, only a kind of vestibule to the grand hall of columns or covered saloon, which of all that now remains of Egyptian construction is represented as the most stupendous and sublime A flight of twenty-seven steps leads into it through an ante-chamber and another pylon. Everything here is colossal. So spacious is this saloon that the largest church in Paris might stand whole within it, its area being fully forty-seven thousand square feet. The ceiling, consisting of unhewn blocks of stone, is supported by 134 columns. Each column of the two central rows, which are a little higher than the others, measures 65 feet in height, 10 feet in diameter and 30 feet in circumference. The whole, from top to bottom is ornamented with sculpture relating to religious subjects. The procession of the holy ark is many times repeated, particularly on the walls. So great, however, is the number of those sculptures that no one as yet has succeeded in reckoning them up, much less

in copying them. "No description," says an eye-witness, "can adequately express the sensations inspired by this astonishing sight, in which the magnificence and might of ancient rulers of Egypt are made perceptible to the eye. Of what deeds, of what events now lost to the history of the world, of what scenes have these columns formerly been the witnesses! Can it be doubted that this was the spot where these rulers of the nations of the east and of the west exhibited themselves in their glory and power; that this was the spot to which those nations brought their presents and their tribute?"

From this stupendous saloon a new pylon leads into a second open colonnade, with two magnificent obelisks; and behind this come the buildings which seem intended for the proper dwelling saloons and numerous apartments are here formed entirely of granite. Domestic scenes are sometimes displayed on the wall, as in the chambers of the dead, and certain religious representations, among which the initiations of the kings by the priests is not to be mistaken. In many of these reliefs the colors are still as fresh as ever.

This place is besides adorned with great historical reliefs, which it would be unjust to pass over in silence. They are found on the exterior of the palace walls and represent skirmishes, battles and military expeditions. They are divided into four compartments: in the first is the Egyptian hero when he kills the hostile leader; in the second is the retreat of the enemy toward the stronghold; in the third the triumph of the king with the prisoners before him; and in the fourth, the king when he again delivers up his weapons to Osiris and presents to him the captives. The interpretation of this there stated, namely, that it represents the deliverance of Egypt from the Hykshas, is likewise adopted by the French literati. As a great part of the building now lies in ruins some of the representations are, of course, disappeared, but sufficient are left to prove that they formed one series. The king is seen in his chariot in pursuit of the enemy, who, with their herds, flee to the woods and marshes. The river is depicted, as well as the fortress, which is captured. The conquered come out of the woods and surrender to the king. The latter is portrayed in many engagements, so that the whole history of the war was probably pictured and afterwards the triumph, the captives and the offering made to the gods. As, however, many of these are now decayed and many of them

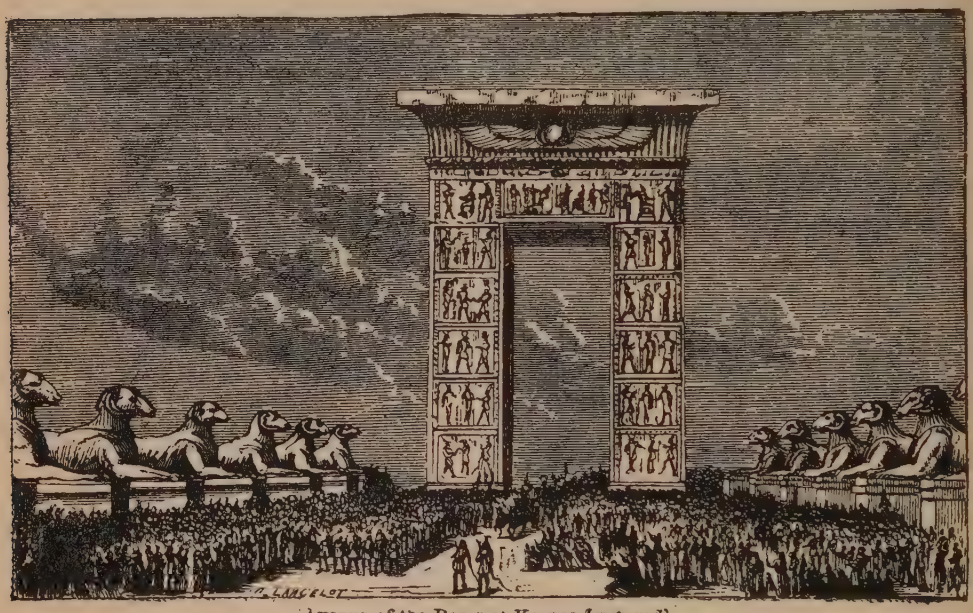
which still exist are not copied it would be a fruitless undertaking to attempt to arrange them. The particular figures are full of expression, yet the whole has a strange appearance and seems to indicate the infancy of the art. The drapery of the two armies is everywhere accurately distinguished. The opponents of the Egyptians are here uniformly represented with beards and long garments and with shields of different forms than that of the Egyptians. The costume of the enemy is here very different from that of the enemy at Medinet Abou; they must, therefore, have been of different nations.

Immediately connected with this palace is a temple, which though ranking among the smaller ones is yet remarkable from the place it occupies; for it is so built in the great colonnade of the palace that the forepart of it stands therein and its principal entrance is out of it. It is arranged in the same order and has much the same ornaments as the other temples, but all in a smaller proportion. It is, with some probability, thought to have been the household chapel of the monarch, who resided in the palace, in which he might perform his devotions and practice the ceremonies of his religion without leaving his dwelling.

Very different from this, as well as from the palace, is the great temple, lying in a direction southwardly from the latter. Egyptian constructive genius here did marvels in order to appear in its most sublime magnitude near the palace. Four of those often described pylons here form the entrance, which contains the same number of spacious colonnades. In these are still standing twelve colossal statues, each formed of one piece; and the number of these must have been far greater, as the remains of nineteen can still be traced. The great temple itself is one of the best preserved monuments at Karnac. Its principal entrance looks south, so that it almost exactly faces the entrance of the palace at Luxor. The southern gateway of this temple is one of the most lofty and magnificent; it is not, however, as is usually the case, attended by a propylon, but stands alone. The height of this gateway is somewhat over sixty-two feet. It is built of sandstone and adorned in the richest manner with sculpture. This gateway leads into a gallery of colossal rams, twenty-two in number, which indicated to the pilgrim that he was drawing nigh to the temple of Ammon, yet 130 feet distant. The gateway, completely isolated, was probably a later building, because the entrance

to the temple again forms one of those pylons, so often described, before which are seen the remains of colossal statues, and which again leads into an open colonnade and this again into a saloon of columns. The *Adytum* is immediately behind this and then other saloons and departments.

This temple is supposed to be one of the most ancient now existing in Egypt, and yet it affords a farther confirmation of the opinion, to which the examination of the palace gives rise, namely, that both were partly built of the materials of more ancient edifices, which were ornamented with the same hieroglyphics, the same col-



Avenue of the Rams at Karnac (restored).

ors and just as well finished sculptures as the present temples. To what interesting and varied contemplations on the antiquity of the arts and the civilization connected therewith in the Nile's valley do those observations lead!

Exactly opposite to this large temple of Karnac is another one still remaining, one of smaller dimensions, but whose sculptures are to be classed with the most highly finished. It seems to have been of later erection than the larger one.

The group of antiquities of Karnac are situated at somewhat over a mile and a quarter from those of Luxor, for this is about the distance measured from the northern entrance of the palace of

Luxor and the great gate of the large temple at Karnac. Egyptian art has, however, connected those groups with each other, by *an avenue of colossal sphinxes*, which leads from one to the other, and, as it approaches Karnac, again divides into numerous alleys. All these sphinxes are from twelve to eighteen feet long; they are partly lions couchant, with rams' heads, these being the largest; partly with women's heads, and partly with rams couchant. No alley, however, consists of more than one kind of sphinx. Many of them still remain entire; of others half and of many only the pedestals are left; but the nearer they are to Karnac the more perfect they become, while the fragments scattered about still prove sufficiently their whole magnitude. The largest and principal avenue must alone have contained more than six hundred of those colossal sphinxes; and the whole, it is thought, amounted to far more than double this number. Those which still remain are of superior workmanship. The stately repose expressed by their posture was well calculated to excite feelings of awe and veneration in the pilgrims, who proceeded through this vast avenue from one sanctuary to the other or took part in the grand processions of the priests as they are represented on the walls. They must also have tended to inspire such calm and holy meditation as every one must still feel who beholds the remains of those wonderful monuments.

Beyond these many more remains are traceable. The chain of them extends to Medamond, north of the ancient city, at the foot of the eastern mountain ridge, where are likewise found the remains of an ancient smaller temple or palace. "One is fatigued," says an eye-witness, "with writing, one is fatigued with reading, one is frightened at the idea of so vast a conception; and even after having seen it is difficult to believe in the existence of so many buildings united to one point."

Catacombs—Grottos—Tombs—or Sepulchres.

The burial places at Thebes, which I find called by all these different names, are like the monuments very remarkable besides, like them, being interesting and instructive. These are all on the western side of the river, and, consequently, in the Libyan chain and none of them being natural caverns they were all the work of human agency. Their position on the western side seems to be accounted for by the quality of the stone, that is, limestone, the stone on the eastern side being of a much harder consistence.

This mountain range is near 300 feet high and rises here so steep that there seems to be difficulty in ascending it. A grotto is generally understood as somewhat in the nature of a cave, and which may serve as a subterranean home for the living instead of being the resting place of the dead. The only place called a grotto of which ancient Thebes affords an example is situated at about 975 feet northeast of the palace of Osymandyas, not quite in the mountain range, but rather in a hill before it. Its front faces the Nile and before it is an open area hewn out of the rock, from which the explorer passes into a court likewise uncovered. All the rest of this is subterraneous. Within are found saloons and chambers of various dimensions upon three stories. A staircase of fifty-six steps leads from the top to the bottom. The walls are everywhere covered with sculpture, which must be ranked with the best and most highly finished, notwithstanding the light of day could never have penetrated to them. In the pits of this grotto, as well as in those of the catacombs, some remains of mummies are certainly to be found; but the arrangement of the whole building renders it extremely improbable that it should have been intended merely as a place of burial. Some Egyptian nobles seem to have had within their own dwellings an apartment intended for their own burial places, as is supposed to have been the case in the palace of Osymandyas. This grotto might also have served for the initiation of the kings into the mysteries. Situated in the way to the catacombs and royal sepulchres it would be difficult to find a place better adapted to conduce to a solemn and contemplative frame of mind, and so it is thought that it might have been used as a cool retreat from the summer heat.

The so-called catacombs are not peculiar to Thebes, every Egyptian city having had its own; those of Memphis are found at Saccara. But as the royal capital of Egypt did not exhibit a greater excellence in her temples and palaces above ground than she did in those subterranean caverns and tombs for her people and kings, in no other part of Egypt are they found so numerous nor executed with an equal degree of skill and attention. They bear witness as well as the architectural wonders to the fact that the ancient Thebaid was the country where civilization, such as they had in Egypt, was carried to the highest perfection.

Beginning in the Libyan mountain chain where it approaches the nearest to Medinet Abou and Gornou the catacombs extend about four or five miles in length. The steep ridge, near three hundred

feet high, affords ample room for those burial places, which rise in tiers one above the other. The lowest, in which the rich sought to find their long resting places, are the most spacious and beautiful; the higher we ascend the poorer they become. The more roomy and splendid have an open vestibule before the entrance, but the greater number have merely doors. The lower passages to which they lead run sometimes in a horizontal direction, at other times downwards, sometimes straight, at other times winding. They lead at one time into saloons and apartments of various characters, and at others into pits of which the explorer must be on his guard. Many are connected together and form a labyrinth from which it is often difficult for one to find one's way out. In the large caverns are found saloons twelve or fifteen feet high, supported by rows of pillars; and behind them is a smaller apartment, with a sort of platform up four steps. In the background is a human figure in a sitting posture, hewn in high relief and frequently accompanied by two females. Upon the side of the wall are galleries, in which are the mummy pits from nine to twelve feet wide and from forty to fifty deep. There has nowhere been discovered any trace of steps descending into them. Some of the catacombs are more regularly formed than others. The earth is strewed over with mummies and fragments of mummies, which have fallen or been turned out of their cases; so that the explorer has, as it were, to wade through them; and among them are found amulets, idols and other relics of antiquity. These catacombs are now the habitation of the bats and the Arabs, equally to be feared by the explorer; the former, because their wings may extinguish the light; the latter because of their thievish propensities. Another danger equally great menaces the industrious explorers, arising from the inflammability of the mummies. It is only with an artificial light of some kind that these gloomy abodes can be visited, and a spark might in a moment ignite a brand which would doom the explorer to a cruel death.

The Egyptians who are said to have been certainly ignorant of the principles of the arch are found to have often adopted this form in their vaults. The ceilings at the entrances and in the front corridors are usually arched; this is, as we shall presently see, particularly striking in the case of the royal sepulchres.

The catacombs are without pillars and generally bear but slight resemblance to the buildings above ground. The walls, however, are not less richly ornamented. These decorations are composed

partly of painted reliefs and partly of mere paintings in fresco. The representations on the walls are always pictures, bounded by straight lines, in which the reliefs are finished with great perfection. In many of them complete figures are only two inches high and the hieroglyphics which accompany them only four lines. The subjects consist of various affairs of common life; sometimes what we would call shop business, such as the weighing of goods; a feast at which appears the owner of the house, his wife and guests, with a richly furnished table; a dance; a hunting scene; the labors of the husbandman, the vintage; the navigation of the Nile; musical instruments, the harp, the lute, flutes; wild and domestic animals, etc. The ceilings have no ornaments in sculpture, but are merely painted in fresco; they are considered the more worthy of attention as the Egyptian artist here abandoned himself entirely to his fancy, as the moderns do in arabesque work. All this splendid workmanship must have been executed with an artificial light and could only have been seen again by the same means.

Those sepulchral chambers, besides the various pictorial representations referred to, contain, also, some remains of ancient literature. In the mummies have been found many rolls of papyrus, and especially one great roll, which measured twenty-eight feet in length. This relic contains upwards of 30,000 characters, in 515 columns, and is written partly in hieroglyphic and partly in alphabetic characters. This interesting relic has, therefore, offered an interesting field for the study of such enterprising geniuses, as were interested in Egyptian antiquities. Here as well as in Babylon have bricks with impressed inscriptions been found; the characters on them, however, are not letters but hieroglyphics, which seem to have been stamped with a wooden block.

The situation and disposition of the royal sepulchres are markedly different from those of the tombs of the people. Those are located in the interior of the Libyan Mountains, and in visiting them from Gornou the explorer has to go a distance of about three miles through a narrow mountain pass to the entrance of the valley containing them. The defile which leads to them had originally no outlet, and it is found to have been opened from the background by manual labor. A way hewn in the rocks conducts to a narrow pass, which forms the entrance to the valley containing these royal sepulchres. The valley here expands into two branches, one towards southeast and the other southwest. It must have been before the erection of these sepulchres altogether inaccessible.

There appears here no sign of vegetation; steep and rugged rocks enclose it on every side; all around is the image of death. The heat softened by no cooling breeze and intensified by the sun's scorching rays from the rocks and sand becomes so intense that no human being could endure it, were it not for the shelter offered by the catacombs. Two of the companions of Gen. Desaix were here suffocated.

In Strabo's time there were about forty of those tombs; but the entrances to many of them are now blocked up by fragments of rock, which have fallen down; and thus their contents may be preserved uninjured to future ages. Of those that have been opened the general appearance is similar, although they are not exactly alike; in their size and embellishments they differ. The depth varies from fifty to 360 feet. Some are entirely covered with ornaments and excellently finished; upon others the work had been scarcely begun.

Each of these sepulchral caverns forms a suit of corridors, chambers and apartments, in which there is generally one principal saloon. A kind of mound or elevation is usually found in this, upon which stands the sarcophagus, containing the remains of the king, or intended for that. Out of twelve tombs that had been opened six still possessed their sarcophagi or some portion of them; from others they had wholly disappeared. That found in the largest sepulchre, called by the French the *harp-tomb*, from two harpers having been represented therein, is twelve feet long and formed of red granite; upon being struck with a hammer it sounds like a bell. The principal apartment in this room is vaulted and supported by eight pillars. The explorer has to push through ten doors before he reaches the sarcophagus; but however securely the monarch who here rests may have imagined he had provided for the quiet repose of his remains, they have not escaped the human lust for plunder.

Several mummies are found in the chamber next the principal door, which has caused investigators to conclude that besides the king those who had been about his person while living again became so associated with him after death.

The sculpture and painting, which everywhere here covers the walls, owing to the nature of the stone, could not have been wrought, as in the palaces, upon the rock itself; but the walls are plastered over with a kind of mortar, upon which the sculpture and paintings are executed. Of the subjects of the embellishments in

this tomb many are religious offerings and sacrifices; and among the latter human beings are thought to appear. Those who appear to be sacrificed are all negroes; but it is not certain that their deaths were not merely in the way of the execution of criminals or prisoners, which in the case of the latter was but too common! But, besides religious rites there are found here, just where such would have been least expected to occur, representations of battles both on land and on water; the slaying of captives, etc. These scenes of blood and turmoil being portrayed in the stillness and sanctity of the tomb, prove to the antiquarian explorer that these sepulchres were intended for none but kings. There is, moreover, so much represented here pertaining to every-day life as cannot fail to give us some idea of the luxury of the nation and of the high degree of perfection to which the art had attained among them. Belzoni with much labor opened one of the tombs, which had remained closed till his time and discovered what far surpassed his expectations. What had been executed perhaps three thousand years ago appeared as fresh and uninjured as though it were just turned out of the hands of the artist. Corridor after corridor, chamber after chamber were found; and when, at last, the principal apartment was opened to the explorer he discovered that wonderful piece of art, nothing like which had been before found, namely, a sarcophagus of the purest oriental alabaster, nine feet nine inches in length and five feet seven inches broad. It is semi-transparent and covered both within and without with figures, which seem to relate to funeral rites. It is now in the British Museum. But even the few historical reliefs which have been copied from the walls contain much information both of a physiological and a historical nature. On these we see three different races of men represented, the black, the tawny and the white, who are distinguished by their color and their features. The scene represented is rather of a peaceful character than warlike. The King appears in regal grandeur; the ambassadors of different nations approach him to render him homage and tribute. In their national dress and in a dignified manner they appear as performing a stately ceremony, not as captives. The plates here are Belzoni's and in them is shown what the aid of the artist can avail in rendering these pictures understandable, a proper notion of them not being able to be conveyed by verbal description alone.

In the first we see the king on his throne with the regalia about him, the sceptre in his hand, a golden chain about his neck and a

votive tablet. In the two following plates and especially the third are given in two ovals his name and title, surrounded by guardian gods. Each of the embassies is made up of four men. First the tawny or brown-red appears, led by a priest with the sparrow-hawk's head. They are by some called Egyptians, because they have the color of that people, but their dress and hair indicate them to be Nubians. They are naked, except round the middle, where they have a fine white garment; the Nubians still frequently wear a similar one. They have the thick Nubian hair and the head-dress of that nation. We need not be surprised to see them introduced by an Egyptian priest, as the Egyptian religion prevailed in Nubia. Four white men next appear and at a glance the Jewish physiognomy is recognized in them. "Their national features," says Mintonli (Travels, p. 271), "are thrown together with so much comic humor that it would be difficult for a modern artist to do anything more perfectly." "They may," says Heeren (Researches, etc.), "be considered as representing the Syrians and Phoenicians in general; whose physiognomy probably differed but slightly from that of the Jews." He might have said distinctively the Arabians, Phoenicians, Assyrians and Syrians as like the Hebrews, with other peoples more or less approximating in physiognomy. Next come the black plenipotentiaries, who are likewise four in number. They also appear lightly clad but evidently for a stately occasion. A curiously-wrought ornament hangs over the right shoulder, which serves to keep up the fine white garment that surrounds the waist. Their thick woolly hair seems to be sprinkled with gold or silver dust. The magnificence of their dress and ornamentation makes the fourth embassy from a white nation most remarkable of all. They are distinguished by a head-dress of feathers, with a lock of hair hanging down; and by their long, white, embroidered garments of a very fine texture. If we here consider what Herodotus (1, 195) says of the dresses of the Babylonians, we may be induced to conclude those ambassadors as such; the more so as their physiognomy and beards are evidently Asiatic. The Pharaoh whose remains were deposited here had undoubtedly dominion over foreign nations and some give their reason for concluding him to have been Amenophis II.

"It is in the sepulchres," says G. A. Hoskins (in speaking of his visit to the tombs of Beni Hassan, in 1863) "that we see an epitome of ancient Egyptian life; there are displayed their knowledge, their tastes, their pursuits, their habits, their pleasures.

Elsewhere the tombs are often from their closeness and ruined state unpleasant to visit; but these tombs of Beni Hassan are open to the Nile's breezes and no drawback of any kind diminishes the pleasure of the excursion.

"Then it must not be forgotten that these tombs are far more ancient than any antiquities farther up the river; that some of them bear the name of Osirtasen I., who is supposed to have reigned 2,000 years B. C., and, as Wilkinson very correctly states, many of them are obviously in the architectural imitation of the then existing buildings. From the perfection of the architecture and the excellent execution, throughout the best, of some of the tombs and paintings, art was obviously then very far from being in its infancy; and we cannot, without wonder as well as pleasure, study those very early pages of the history of the civilization of the world. They do not, as in other tombs and temples, give us representations of the theocracy and mysterious rites which the learned can scarcely yet understand. All that time has spared here is interesting in the extreme, for it is a picture of the Egyptian people and their governors."

I will here give a passing review of the author's general description of the tombs of Beni Hassan, which will be found to be exceedingly interesting.

These tombs are situated at about a mile's distance from the boat landing on the Nile, at certain stages of the water's height. These tombs are very conspicuous from the river and the plain, are all excavated in the rock, and all nearly on the same level. Beginning his description from the southern end the author finds a group of tombs without sculpture; the second tomb, being connected by a doorway with the first, has an arch-shaped portico, decorated with two polygonal columns; it appeared also to have been decorated with two columns with circular bases.

Passing two or three others he came to what he called the third of the principal group, which contained an injured figure and a pit for mummies. In the fourth tomb he found representations of figures wrestling, an ox, gazelles, a sportsman, and a long tablet of hieroglyphics before the great man of the place. In the fifth tomb he found no paintings, but the architecture in good condition. Here two injured but elegant columns, formed, as it were, of four light stems of trees bound together, with lotus-bud shaped capitals, support a graceful pediment. The sixth contained a pit for mummies but the paintings were not distinguishable. The eighth

and ninth tombs are not worth investigating, but in the tenth a a pretty ornament of the blue and crimson lotus and some offerings still appear. The eleventh not worth entering; but in the twelfth are a few figures, drawing along a shrine, and others presenting offerings of geese, etc. Among the figures the great man of the place is usually traceable. How this tomb had formerly been decorated is shown by the fragments of columns still adhering to the roof.

Passing two very small tombs, he came to the fifteenth, which he found to possess very remarkable architecture; three rows of three columns each, with lotus-bud capitals supporting pediments and one extra column, on the right side, constituted its decorations. The sixteenth, called the wrestler's tomb, from the principal subject in it, was decorated with six columns, of which two only remained. On one of the shafts two of the green bands are seen, and on the right-hand corner agricultural scenes and boats. The arched roofed granaries with windows are curious; and there were white cattle with black spots, droves of other cattle now much injured and offerings of fish, fruits and flowers to the great man of the place. Wrestlers in every possible position appear upon the east side and a long inscription in hieroglyphics. The north side is conspicuous for its representations of trades — glass blowers, goldsmiths, blowing the fire for the process of gold-melting, washing, weighing and preparing the gold for the jewelers, who are manufacturing ornaments near the man blowing the furnace; but owing to the partial defacement, it was difficult to make out the whole meaning. There appeared also hunting scenes of various kinds of animals. There are white deer with brown spots; a man with two dogs in a leash; sportsmen killing wild oxen with bows and arrows; birds in a tree over a group of gazelles; men catching the wild ox with the lasso and gazelles with the noose. The great man of the place is seated with his wife under a canopy. Another sportsman is killing deer; and there is a long thin net with gazelles caught in it. A group of women jumping, tumbling, dancing and exhibiting their agility in throwing their bodies into the most extraordinary attitudes is quite spirited and interesting. Others playing at ball, throwing up sometimes three in succession, and one group playing the game mounted on the backs of others; all appear full of life. Then there are men dancing on one leg, making Egyptian pirouettes and other feats of gymnastics.

The general subject of this representation and the names of animals, birds, etc., are inscribed in hieroglyphics.

Then there are carpenters sawing, upholsterers veneering and making furniture; potters and other trades, very much defaced. Agricultural scenes and pictures of the papyrus plant occur on the west side. Over a little door on the southern side is a man receiving the bastinado. The punishment of males by means of the bastinado was not very different from what may now be seen in that country when the Katschef or Turkish revenue officer collects his payments; and it is said that the village Sheakhs are often willing to escape payment of a part of their dues by undergoing a punishment, which, under the present regime, they consider rather more of an honor than a disgrace to them. The old Egyptian sufferer is here represented lying on his belly, one man holding his two feet and another each arm, whilst the executioner, holding with his two hands a stick from two to three feet long, is on the point of striking his seat. A woman is represented seated on her heels, a fashion, it is said, still common in the East and Spain, with one hand to her breast, whilst a similar executioner is giving her blows on her back.

Nothing was found in the seventeenth tomb, but the eighteenth had been decorated with two columns of which fragments only remain. Here also are men receiving the bastinado, various trades appearing on the east side and lively wrestling. On the north side are women playing at ball and various trades and hunting scenes. In the nineteenth tomb nothing appears, but in the twentieth, or small tomb, there are hieroglyphics round the door. On the way to the northern group (some of which were found to have porticos, decorated with columns, the shafts and capitals of which appeared obviously the original of the Doric column and the friezes also in the Doric style) we passed several little tombs of no interest.

In this primitive Doric style is the portico to the twenty-first tomb, which has its door ornamented with well executed hieroglyphics. This leads into a tomb, which had once been possessed of four columns, and having a slightly arched roof. The great man of the place with his associates is amusing himself with the chase. In his boat, on the east side, he is netting wild fowl, chiefly geese. The Nile is represented by waving lines with fish and hippopotami in it. All round this sepulchre there is a long hieroglyphic inscription. On the north side, under two rows of animals, is the presentation of thirty-seven strangers of a race called Mes-Stem to Nefotph, the great man of the place. This was once believed to signify the presentation of Joseph's brethren to Pharaoh,

but is now so defaced as to be scarcely recognizable; but with close attention their Asiatic costume, light-yellow complexion, peculiar features and beards are believed to be distinguishable. The scribe presents the people to the great man. Two of the strangers present their offerings of a wild goat and a gazelle. These are followed by four men armed either with bows, clubs or spears; then follow two men, one with a spear, the other with a club, their two children apparently very comfortably packed in a gayly-decorated pannier, their heads only visible; then a boy with a spear. Following are four women in long dresses, and after them a donkey, with its head stooping, as though weary with its load, which, however, seems very light. A man follows having the seven-stringed lyre with the plectrum, which indicates that the ancient Egyptians were fond of music; and after him a sportsman with his bow, arrow, quiver and a club. The men have sandals and the women's boots present quite a modern appearance. In the lowest row the cattle are beautifully drawn.

"Under the group," says the author, "the nomen and praenomen of King Osirtasen, who reigned about 2,000 years B. C., may be seen in the inscription of hieroglyphics, which surrounds the sepulchre."

In the twenty-second tomb are portrayed hunting scenes, sportsmen with their bows, a long line of gazelles, some as if having only one horn; a lion is putting his paw on one. Below these subjects appear droves of cattle and men catching the wild ox with the lasso, agricultural scenes and trades much defaced. A better and clearer representation than that before mentioned is seen here of goldsmiths at work, blowing the fire, making a variety of vases and weighing them. Wrestlers appear on the east side and a boat carrying the mummy of the deceased. On this side, too, in the little sanctuary, traces of three sculptured figures appear. On the west side are agricultural subjects, potters, ropemakers, women playing on harps, and fishing scenes. On the south side are representations of rich gifts to the great man of the place and his wife. The portico of this sepulchre is somewhat of a counterpart of the last described; and the tomb was also decorated with that peculiar kind of column which has been called the origin of the Doric order, resting on a circular basis. A beautifully arched roof also is here which still retains its decorations. The admiration of the art lovers is always excited and interested by the contem-

plation of the simplicity of the architecture and the rich effect of the pictorial decorations here.

After these tombs the author next visited the Speos Artemidos, or Cave of Diana, situated at a short distance from the tombs. In this cave the first chamber is an open portico, which was divided by two rows of pillars, the front row only remaining. On the south side of this portico, which was originally left unfinished, there is some beautiful sculpture in the best style of Egyptian art, and still retaining, especially the hieroglyphics, much of their coloring, representing on the west side King Osiri making offerings of incense and ointments to Diana (Pasht) seated on her throne. Pasht, her head defaced, is standing in the next picture, and the god Thoth is addressing the king. On the eastern side of the doorway, leading into the interior, the sculpture is most injured; but King Osiri, whose praenomen can just be made out, is represented on his knees before Amun Ra, and behind him is Pasht and a tablet of hieroglyphics, in which the name Thothmes just appears. In the corner of this tablet are twelve divinities, each representing the cross of life, very much defaced now, but some of the names are readable: Mandoo, Atmoo, Tafne, in the first row; Isis, Neith and Seb, in the second; and Athor, Horus and Nepthys, in the third. The perfect execution originally of the hieroglyphics and the maintenance of their colors make these pictures very interesting.

By a deep doorway, ornamented with a long tablet of hieroglyphics and sculpture representing on both sides the king sacrificing to Pasht, the portico leads into the naos, which was never finished; but close under the roof is a circle, ornamented with the Egyptian cornice and some hieroglyphics, bearing the name of Osiri; and on one side of the doorway is a representation of Pasht standing with the crux ansata. "Few excursions on the Nile," says the author, "are more agreeable than the visit to this interesting little temple of the Diana of the Egyptians."

But now, in regard to the general subject of the monuments which we have been pursuing, it is confessed on all sides that no one as a skillful architect could so intelligently discuss their merits. Moreover, astronomical, mathematical, political and musical knowledge would be equally requisite. But as to the question: To what extent are we acquainted with the monuments of ancient Thebes after all the light that has been thrown upon them from various sources we will allow the French artists to answer somewhat

definitely on this head. "We have been," say they (Description de l'Egypt, p. 207), "thrice at Thebes and remained at our second and third visits full two months among its ruins. During that time no monument was left unexamined. When our plans and sketches were quite finished they were again compared with those of the architect Le Pere and his assistants, and what are contained in our publication are the result of these mutual communications. Future travelers may rest assured that, so far as architectural remains are concerned and drawings and copies of them, nothing is left to be done. A wide field, however, is still open to them if they will explore in detail the numerous sculptures with which the buildings are covered, particularly the historical bas-reliefs relative to the conquests of the ancient rulers of Egypt; or, if they chose, to examine the catacombs and copy the remarkable bas-reliefs descriptive of the manners and domestic habits of the ancient Egyptians." With the buildings, therefore, which remain of ancient Thebes we are tolerably well acquainted, but with the sculptures and paintings which decorate them only very partially. The testimony of a late explorer, who is reputed to have been an accurate observer, has rescued the French artists from a suspicion of having heightened the beauty of the originals. In his account of the temple of Denderah Minutoli says: "They may be charged with incorrectness and omissions, but we should be unjust in thinking their copies beautified. Justice, on the contrary, has not been done to the correctness of outline, to the elegance of the decorations, to the soft delicacy of the features, to the mildness of expression, nor to the lofty repose which seems to reign in every part, and in which Egyptian art seems to vie with the Grecian."

But, at the best, what a faint picture can we nowhave of living Thebes; that is, Thebes in the days of its splendor and glory! what a splendid scene we may conceive to have burst upon the eyes of the wanderer, who, emerging from the desert, after having toiled up the slopes of the Libyan mountain-chain, suddenly beholds the valley of the Nile teeming with fertility, with its numerous towns, and, in its center, Thebes, the seat of government and royal splendor with its temples, colossi, obelisks and palaces!

At a distance, as we are, both as to time and space, the first idea that presents itself from a view of those monuments, is that Thebes must once have been the capital of a mighty empire, whose boundaries extended far beyond Egypt and comprised a good part of Africa and Asia. Her kings are represented as conquerors and the

scene of their victories is not confined to Egypt, but often carried into remote regions.

By this idea a conviction is produced that a much closer connection with and a more accurate knowledge of some nations of the southern as well as of the north-eastern world must have existed in Egypt than is generally supposed. This must have been so as a natural consequence of the wars and conquests, especially as by these an extensive empire and a lasting dominion were soon formed.

"There is," says A. H. Layard, "no reason why we should not assign to Assyria the same remote antiquity we claim for Egypt. The monuments of Egypt prove that she did not stand alone in civilization and power. At the earliest period we find her contending with enemies nearly, if not fully, as powerful as herself; and amongst the spoils from Asia and the articles of tribute, brought by subdued nations from the north-east, are vases as elegant in shape, stuffs as rich in texture, and chariots as well adapted to war as her own. It is not improbable that she herself was indebted to the nations of western Asia for the introduction of arts in which they excelled and that many things in common use were brought from the banks of the Tigris. In fact to reject the notion of the existence of an independent kingdom in Assyria, at the very earliest period would be almost to question whether the country were inhabited; which would be in direct opposition to the united testimony of Scripture and tradition. A doubt may be entertained as to the dynasties and extent of the empire, but not as to its existence. That it was not peopled by mere wandering tribes appears to be proved by the frequent mention of expeditions against Naharaina (Mesapotamia) on the earliest monuments of Egypt and the nature of the spoil brought from that country. Fourteen hundred years before Christ Chushan-Rishathaim, a king of Mesopotamia, subdued the Israelites (Judges iii: 8). Other kings were established in the surrounding countries; all, perhaps, tributary to the Assyrians. But Naharania appears to have been the extent of the Egyptian conquests, the Egyptian kings being frequently declared to have put up the tablets of the boundaries of their empire in that country. That the Assyrian kingdom may not have been known much beyond its limits until the time of its greatest prosperity, when it had extended its rule over the greater part of Asia, is highly probable; and this would accouut for the silence of the Jewish writers, and for the absence of its name in most ancient Egyptian inscription." (Layard's Nineveh, etc., vol. II. 179–80 p.)

The foregoing idea is further proved also by the many examples which illustrate the refinement of domestic life and the degree of luxury to which the people had arrived. It is, at least, certain that the narrow valley of the Nile did not supply all the articles, which we find variously represented. If not an extensive foreign dominion yet at least an extensive commerce was necessary not only to obtain all this but also to produce that opulence and that interchange of ideas which constitutes its foundation. When we compare together the information derived from the monuments with what history says we find these two sources of our knowledge of Egypt, especially in its relation and intercourse with other countries to agree with each other remarkably well. In his Cyropaedia Xenophon speaks of the existence of such an intercourse between the nations and states from the Nile to the Axus, the Indus and the Ganges, information which could hardly be devoid of historical foundation. In the history of the Middle Ages and of modern times we find repeated proofs that conquering nations extended their dominion not only beyond those territories but even as far as China on the east and the Atlantic seaboard on the west. Why might not this have happened two or three thousand years before ? It may be safely concluded that ancient history, in speaking of the great conquering expeditions of the Egyptian rulers, Sesostris and others, contains in general no internal improbability ; although we leave to criticism full liberty to examine the testimonies upon which those historical statement are founded ; and do not intend to imply that our Sesostrises were either Tamerlanes or Genghis Khans.

A careful inspection of the monuments shows that all the public buildings of Egypt might in some sense be called temples, since they all, in their sculpture and ornamentations, bear traces of the close connection, which existed between politics and religion. But there is perceptible this difference that some were only temples, in the proper sense of that term, while others, although perhaps dedicated to divinities, as houses and streets are in some Christian countries called after the names of Saints, were originally and especially intended for other purposes. This difference is perceived partly in the disposition of the interior and partly in the style of the architecture.

In their interior arrangements the temples and palaces do, at first sight, bear a great resenblance to each other. Both have, as entrances the splendid pylons, open colonnades and saloons of columns ; pillar courts and pillar halls ; even rooms intended for

habitations, those in the temples probably for the priests.' But in the temples the situation of these is usually round the inner sactuary; in the palaces, where there was no such adytum, they occupy its place and usually consist of saloons and chambers, built of granite and not, like the rest, of sandstone.

In regard to the palaces it must not be forgotten that they were not merely the habitations of the Kings, but were also adapted to public use. In their splendid halls of columns, it is probable, that justice was administered, ambassadors received, tributes paid, etc.

These buildings are therefore distinguished by the name of imperial palaces as in contra-distinction to the smaller palatial buildings, the pavilion, for example, which seems to have served merely as a private dwelling for the King. As there are no monuments left at Memphis, Thebes alone contains buildings of this kind and is thereby distinguished as the residence of the monarchs.

In the decorations, moreover, is found another characteristic difference. The palaces and temples, it is true, resemble each other in one respect, namely, that the walls and pillars of both are covered with sculptures; but they differ in respect to the subjects represented, those on the walls of the temples relating always to religious subjects; but not so those on the palaces. It is true the latter are not entirely destitute of religious subjects; but those which are almost exclusively peculiar to them, are, first, the historical reliefs; those found in the palaces of Medinet Abou, Luxor and Karnac; and, secondly, the martial expeditions and triumphs above described. This explains why they are only, so far as we know, found in Thebes, out of whose vicinity there are temples but no palaces known.*

It is, moreover, remarkable that those warlike scenes are mostly found on the exterior walls, pylons, etc., on the side walls of the great open colonnades and halls of columns, which were intended for public use; assemblies of the people, triumphs, etc. And no where could representations of this kind have been more appropriately placed. Others, on the contrary, appear in the saloons and apartments, which must have served as habitations of the monarchs. The most part of the scenes here represented are of a peaceful and domestic nature, though among them there be interspersed occasionally religious rites, such as sacrifices, initiation into the mysteries, etc. This was consonant to the real state of the case, con-

* Historical reliefs are found upon the temples in Nubia, but only upon the exterior walls.

sidering how much the private life of the kings, according to the account of Diodorus, was regulated by a ritual, and that his attendants were youths of the priest-caste. As at Persepolis the subjects represented on the walls bear so close a relation to the uses for which the apartments were intended as to enable us to judge accurately thereof; but the Egyptians do not seem to have adhered so strictly to this rule as the Persians. But Persepolis, as Layard remarks, was not founded until after the Persian conquest of Egypt; and in the reproduction of the Egyptian models, both in the architecture, sculpture and general decoration of their temples and palaces they evidently failed to express the freedom, and perfection characteristic of the originals.

The third difference observable between the temples and palaces is to be found in the style of the architecture, the style of the palaces being most pleasing and simple throughout, yet retaining a character of grandeur and magnificence. In the pavilion, so called by the French, we have an example of a building two stories high, which is never the case with the temples.

Now, regarding the temple of Ammon at Thebes: According to Diodorus, Thebes had four principal temples, the largest of which was, at least, thirty stadia in circumference. As among all these that of Ammon was the most celebrated, the question naturally arises, which of the temples at Thebes was the old temple of Ammon? In the opinion of the most painstaking and competent explorers this is the great temple of Karnac, called by the French, the great Southern temple.

The reasons given for this are as follows: First, the old temple must have been on the eastern side of the Nile, because on this side according to Strabo, the old town was built, which derived its name from this very temple. If the decision be confined to the monuments of Luxor and Karnac, it is found that Luxor contains nothing which bears any reference to the temple of Ammon. The great building at Luxor is a palace and not a temple as has been shown by the description above. Secondly, at Karnac the case is quite different. Everything here refers to Jupiter Ammon and his service. To this refer the great avenues of colossal rams; ornaments taken from rams present themselves on every side. Osiris, the son and usual companion of Ammon appears frequently, and it is known that the tradition of the two usually ascribed to the priests, the foundation of the city. The holy ship with the attributes of Ammon appears, and once in a very remarkable represen-

tation, where it is represented as being towed along by a profane vessel upon the river, which is considered a clear proof that it is here not represented as borne in procession but as voyaging on the Nile. And, finally, according to the testimony of Diodorus, the temple of Ammon was the oldest, and at the same time, the largest of all the temples at Thebes; statements which the French have verified, that is, taking into consideration the whole plan of the buildings, as facts which would have been self-evident, even had he not mentioned it, as it was the chief temple of the city, and bore the name of the principal Deity. The temple of Karnac appears, in the opinion of the French visitors, both in its architecture and in its ornamentation and reliefs, as the oldest of the Theban temples; so much so as to present quite a contrast to the small temple near it, notwithstanding, it is partially built of the remains of a still more ancient temple, which had the same kind of ornaments. Thus, the present temple, or that of which we have contemplated the ruins, is only the successor of one which preceded it, and which stood here many thousand of years ago: "And who," says one writer, "can offer anything like a proof that even this had no predecessor?"

The great palace of Medinet Abou is called by the French the palace of Sesostris, because the historical reliefs upon it seem to represent the exploits and military expeditions of that hero, as they are described by Diodorus. In the lion chase we see the youthful exercise which he practiced in Arabia during his father's lifetime; in the naval engagement the operations of the fleet which he built on the Red Sea, etc. All this appears probable enough, but we could judge more understandingly did we possess copies of all the reliefs upon the temple. If, however, Sesostris was the veritable hero of the narratives of the Egyptian priests, which is not improbable, then it is reasonable that his exploits should, by pre-eminence, be the subjects of the historical pictures, which adorn the walls of the palace and temples.

Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo, all three agree without dissent that some of the ancient Kings of Egypt were great warriors and conquerors, who extended their expeditions in the East as far as Bactria and India; in the North and South as far as the Caucasus and Ethiopia; and in the West as far as Thrace, the Scythian country, and the Straits of Gibraltar. They further inform us that some of them built fleets on the Arabian and Indian Seas and were, in naval warfare, as powerful as they were on land. Now, as to how

far the reliefs confirm the statements of these writers, we find, in fact, that not only these writers but the traditions of the priests, which celebrated many of their old Kings as heroes and conquerors, are by them confirmed in so far as confirmation might be fairly expected in such a way. The inquiry also becomes more interesting and the conclusion satisfactory by our finding that the artists in their delineations and general representations have carefully and faithfully distinguished the different nations by their costumes, arms, color and some other tokens as far as this was possible. Without attending to these particular marks, it is also rendered easy to distinguish the Egyptians from their enemies, as the former are always represented as victors, the latter as conquered or as on the point of being so. These works of art are intended as memorials of the bravery and fame of the nation and its Kings, which shows it reasonable to conclude that they would not have perpetuated in such an expensive manner any events which did not redound to the glory of their nation.

These latter pieces are partly naval engagements and partly battles on land; representations of the former are found on the walls of Medinet Abou and on those of Karnac; those at Medinet Abou can here only come under our consideration as they alone have been copied and described.

In the naval engagement, which, by the way, took place at sea, not on the Nile, a part only could be copied. In their structure the ships are different from that of the vessels on the Nile. They have a long frame resembling galleys and are impelled by sails and oars. Although the Egyptian vessels and those of their enemies have the same form, yet the former are easily distinguished from the latter by the head of a lion or ram upon the prow, which do not appear upon the hostile vessels. The question is whether the engagement took place upon the coast of the Mediterranean or on that of the Arabian Gulf or the Red or Indian Seas? In the first case the enemy might be Phœnicians; in the other, some southern nation.

The first supposition is not supported by history, nor does it appear from the traditions or the monumental representations of the nations themselves. Neither does the costume of the enemy suit the Phoenicians, who, being of kin to the Hebrews and Arabians, would doubtless wear beards and long garments, as according to the Asiatic custom; but the opposite of this appears here.

But everything here seems to point to an engagement in the Red

Sea or Indian Ocean. The traditions of the Egyptian priests celebrated the expeditions of the old Pharaohs on this sea, as is recorded in Herodotus and Diodorus. "Sesostris," says Diodorus, "conquered first the Ethiopians of the south and made them tributary. He then sent a fleet of four hundred ships to the Indian sea and was the first in those countries who built long vessels. With this fleet he took possession of the islands and the coasts of the countries as far as India." "The priests," says Herodotus, "relate of Sesostris that he sailed out of the Arabian Gulf with long vessels and conquered the countries lying on the Indian Sea and continued to advance till he came to a sea which could not be navigated because of its shallows." The naval engagement represented on the walls of Medinet Abou would rather seem a successful repulse or defeat of an enemy attempting to land than an attack. But this seems only one scene of those naval expeditions of which there is left no particular history.

That the long ships were built for the sea, that their construction differed entirely from that of the vessels on the Nile, has been mentioned by the French and is seen in their appearance. The Egyptians and their allies, while wearing the same habit, have weapons different. The former are armed with bows and arrows, while the latter carry clubs, as Herodotus ascribes to the Ethiopians above Egypt. Of their enemies, among whom two different though it may be kindred nations are clearly perceived, the costume is entirely different. They have neither long garments nor beards, consequently are not Arabs, Phoenicians or Syrians. They both wear short clothes, which seem to be fastened with bands or girdles. They are armed with swords and round shields, but differ from each other in their head dress; one constantly wearing a kind of helmet, decorated with a bunch of upright feathers, the other a cap made of the skin of some beast, with its ears left prominent. The French at once recognized in the first of those two nations the inhabitants of India. Respecting the other nation of the *duo in uno* they have not ventured to express an opinion; but Herodotus seems to settle the matter as to who they were. He leaves us to conclude that if the first were Indians the second were their neighbors, the Asiatic Ethiopians, that is to say, the inhabitants of the coasts of Gedrosia and Caramania. "The Asiatic Ethiopians," says Herodotus, "were dressed much like the Indians; but they wore on their head the skin from the forehead of the horse, with the ears left on; the ears of the horse are left standing quite

upright; but as defensive armor they had crane's skins instead of shields."

Since the probabilities are so strong in favor of this opinion that the opponents of the Egyptians in this naval engagement were the old Asiatic nations on the Eastern borders of the Indian Ocean, we can scarcely any longer consider the traditions of the Egyptian priests, regarding the naval expeditions of their ancient Kings, Sesostris and others, as entirely fabulous. And, as to the tradition of a primeval connection between those lands, namely, between India on the one side and Ethiopia and Egypt on the other, we find it to obtain thereby a confirmation, which but for the light we receive in this case from the father of history, we could scarcely have been justified in expecting to attain to.

But the pictorial displays of the land battles give a more magnificent idea than do the naval of the extensive warlike expeditions and wide dominion of the ancient Pharaohs of Thebes. They are more frequent than the naval scenes, being found on all the imperial palaces, as well on those at Luxor and Karnac, as on those at Medinet Abou, on the palace of Osymandyas and in the tombs of the Kings. There is in every place a series of representations upon the walls, as we discover the departure of the King, the battle, the victory, the triumph, always ending in a religious procession. And it is also concluded that the scenes in the various palaces form a general mythological cycle; as, among the Egyptians, art availed itself of a series of traditions relative to the early heroic deeds of the nation and its rulers. More complete copies of these war scenes would make our information on this point more accurate; but, as it is, we must only make the best use we can of such descriptions in character and quantity as we possess:

And in the contemplation of this, everything suggests that Egyptian art and mythology sought their favorite subjects rather in Asiatic than in African history. Of the conquered nations the figure and dress are Asiatic. Although the Egyptians are depicted without beards, their enemies have them and usually long garments, the latter, however, being variously fashioned. They have, in general, the full tunics so common in the East; but in the triumphal pageant on the walls of Medinet Abou the prisoners wear a kind of overcoat of blue and green stripes, covering only the back, and under this another shorter garment. Not less characteristic than their dress are their accoutrements and weapons, in this respect the most striking difference being in the shields. Those of the Egyptians are

large and usually of a square form, rounded on the side; in the attack on a fortress, indeed, they used an immense shield, nearly covering the whole body, exactly such as Xenophon (Cyrop. I, VI.) describes as being in use in his time. The shields of the enemies, on the other hand, are sometimes round and sometimes square but usually of a small size. In the armature on the reliefs of Luxor, Hamilton (p. 125) recognizes the coats of mail which always were common in Middle Asia; and, in the head dress, occasionally, the Persian tiara. Of so many kinds are the weapons for attack that it is difficult to arrive at any precisely correct conclusion concerning them. Comparing, however, the various shaped swords of the Egyptians with those of their enemies, we find them sometimes long, sometimes short; now straight, now scimitar-shaped. The darts, missiles and arrows are also of various descriptions; the warriors sometimes appear with only a single javelin and at other times with several.

As to the war chariots which were in use among the Egyptians and their adversaries, a still more particular attention is due to them. They have in all cases two wheels, that is, one on each side. Those of the Egyptians in the most ancient times usually carried but one man, in later times often two; but among the Asiatics they usually carried two men and later three, as the driver, the bowman and the swordsman. In these may be recognized the ancient form of the war chariots as described by Homer, and which, according to Xenophon, were common among the Medes, Syrians and Arabians, until Cyrus made an improvement by introducing instead of them chariots with four wheels and with scythes. To attempt to point out more accurately than I have done by their arms and clothing the particular nations here concerned would appear to be a fruitless undertaking; and, therefore, to terminate the inquiry by a few general remarks may prove to us quite as profitable.

Egyptian history and tradition lay the scene of their wars and conquests chiefly in Assyria, which with other provinces included Chaldaea, in which stood the city of Babylon; in Bactria and India, consequently in the countries of Asia most famous for their commerce and for possessing that wealth, which usually incites a desire for conquest. Besides, those countries are situated on the great rivers, the Euphrates, on which stood Babylon, the Tigris, on which was Nineveh, the Oxus, Jaxartes, Indus, Ganges, etc.; and it is worthy or remark that the scenes of the battles and the victories on the reliefs is usually near the river, which is clearly por-

trayed. Which of the streams is meant on each occasion it may be difficult to decide; but it can hardly be doubted that it is one of those mentioned, perhaps, more often the Euphrates or the Tigris.

The storming of a fortress is one representation which frequently occurs. This also transports us into Asia, but where it took place at each time we need not attempt to decide. From the history of Alexander's expeditions we know how much Bactria as well as India abounded in such mountain fortresses.

In representing those scenes of war Egyptian art seems to have paid much attention to variety. From the accounts of the French and those of Hamilton we learn that there scarcely remains any great warlike scene which is not here represented. Sometimes it is the commencement of the contest in an open plain, sometimes the near approach of the contestants to each other; sometimes the victory obtained on one side and flight on the other; now the struggle of the armies; now of the leaders in single combat, and of these, sometimes in their chariots and sometimes on foot. Now, the scene changes to the storming of a fortress, then the taking of a town by assault, with a representation of all the horrors which usually accompany it; sometimes the chariots alone are engaged, and at others on foot. All this presupposes history either written or traditional in abundance; and doubtless, also, poetry to which those traditious furnished material; if not epic yet balladic.

The Egyptians, therefore, read the early history of their nations and its heroes on the walls of the imperial palaces. With a success surpassing all expectation they are the only nation known to us that have ventured to represent such historical subjects in sculptures. We learn from an eye-witness that although unacquainted with the rules of perspective they make up for this deficiency by the strength of their drawings and the force of the expression. Of the above-mentioned representation of the surprise and capture of a town on the walls of the palace of Osymandyas Hamilton speaks in tones of rapture: Here some of the women rush forward and beg for quarter, while others try to escape with their property. The father of a family raises his hands to petition for the lives of his wives and children, but in vain! the eldest son has already succumbed to a blood-thirsty soldier! How different our estimation of ancient Egyptian art now from what it was when we founded our judgment thereof upon the idea conveyed by a few idols! They seem, indeed, to be enlarged almost in the same proportion as our notions of the ancient Kings of Egypt and the extent of their dominions.

Of the sculptures on the main walls the historical reliefs comprise, however, only a small part; most of them relate to religious rites, all, for example, in the temples and many in the palaces and catacombs. I shall only notice here such of those as relate to the immediate object of our attention. Of the close and indissoluble connection between religion and politics abundant proofs might be found here, if further such were required. The interior and exterior walls are covered with sculptures, which represent processions or the offering of gifts and sacrifices. There is a complete confirmation of the conjecture that the circle of divinities in the Thebaid was of less extent than it afterwards became in Middle and Lower Egypt. This circle is composed of Ammon, Osiris, Isis and Florus. The first two concluded to have been identical in their origin, and only separated by the further development of the religion of the priests, are the ruling divinities; although some others occur in the paintings they only appear as subordinate deities. Osiris seems, at the same time, to be the prototype of the king; the same emblems which decorate the God are not unfrequently bestowed upon the monarch; not only the same head dress with the serpent, but also the same attributes, the rod and what is called the key, the sign of initiation into the mysteries which must have been its original meaning, and even the royal banner. The priests pay to the king the same honors as the latter pays to the gods. This is not the case with any other deity.

The dependence in which the king stood to the priests is clearly enough shown in every part of these representations. There appears no doubt that at the time these temples were erected the caste of the priests was esteemed higher than that of the warriors, which nevertheless forms so distinguished a feature in these pictures. The priest-caste consider the king as it were their property; he is initiated into their mysteries, which is a scene oft-repeated. In it he receives the priestly head-dress, the high cap wherewith Osiris himself is decorated and appears in solemn processions. Whenever the king appears in public, martial expeditions and battles excepted, he is constantly accompanied by priests. By their shaven heads and long robes they are recognized. Among them, however, different grades existed, which are mostly indicated by the head-dress and the shape of their garments. Both of these are peculiar. The head-dresses not only show the rank, but some seem peculiar to certain ceremonies and change accordingly. Among the head-gears must be reckoned the animal masks in which the priests appear on

certain occasions, particularly at initiations. They are masks taken from the sacred animals. The manner of dressing the hair is equally various, and, in some cases, there can be no doubt but that false hair or wigs are seen here, as well as in the most ancient Indian monuments at Elephantis, but much more artificial, complicated and elegant.

A wide field opens here also for theologians who would like to compare the religious notions of ancient Thebes with the descriptions given of the Jewish sanctuary, the tabernacle, the temple and the sacred utensils and paraphernalia. For a comparison of such kind this is hardly the place; but in those monumental representations how many things we do find which are described in the Scriptures! — the ark of the covenant (here carried in procession), the cherubim with their extended wings, the holy candlesticks, the shewbread and many parts of the sacrifices. Although among the Jews everything was upon a smaller scale, yet in the architecture itself a certain similarity is instantly recognizable. Besides the disparity in size between the Jewish and Theban temples we are to remember that the temple at Jerusalem was as much of wood as stone. But, although Egypt had no Lebanon with cedars, we know that wood was used to some extent in Egyptian temples, at least for ornaments, as is proved by the masts with their pennants flying before them on the great pylons, and by the account in Herodotus of the wooden statues of the chief priests in the temple at Thebes. But what works of art in brass must have decorated those colossal temples of the Egyptians, beginning with the tremendous gates and pylons and extending to the innermost sanctuary, if we estimate them in proportion to what was contained in the smaller temple of the Jews! If the monarch Time and the avarice of crowned and uncrowned robbers had not left it to be supplied by the imagination what a wealth of new wonders contained in old objects we should here now have to contemplate.

Now, with regard to the origin of the Egyptian nation I do not, in this connection, speak so particularly as of the origin of Thebes as a colony of Meroë. This colonization was celebrated by an annual procession of the priests with the statue of Ammon. "Every year," says Diodorus, (i. p. 110) "the sanctuary of Amun is taken over the river to the Libyan side" (consequently from the temple of Karnac) "whence it is brought back after a few days, as though the god returned from Ethiopia." This tour is supposed to be represented upon one of the reliefs in the temple of Karnac; the

holy ark of Ammon is here seen on the river fully equipped and being towed along by another boat, and thus performing its voyage. Of this festival there must have been a remarkable celebration, as even Homer alluded to it when he mentions the voyage of of Zeus to the Ethiopians and his absence for twelve days That it was usual for the colonial deities to pay such visits to those of the parent states is known from antiquity in general. The forms of these visits, however, varied as they were sometimes paid in such processions as these and sometimes by solemn embassies.

Although of its high antiquity there is abundant evidence the time of the founding of Thebes cannot be stated with certainty. If in the time of Abraham the cultivation of Egypt had spread into the Delta, that of Upper Egypt must have long previously been well advanced. According to Diodorus the foundation of the temple of Ammon took place before that of the city ; and according to the French explorers similar but older materials are discovered to have been used in raising the walls of the very ancient temple of Karnac. This may reasonably be thought to put the foundation of this state many centuries prior to the time of Abraham, and this is thought to be confirmed by the many royal Sepulchres at Thebes. The empire of Menes I find to have commenced about 2150 B. C. The Biblical chronology puts Abraham's mid life about 1910 B. C., so that his time would synchronise with that of the contemporaneous first two kings of Manetho's 2nd and 3rd dynasties ; but some Chronologers put Abraham's time much earlier than did Usher. We may safely reckon the new Temple of Amun to have been built at Thebes in the time of the 1st dynasty ; and some supposed the date of the foundation of the old temple to have been as early as 2900—2800 B. C., which they do not consider too early a date to assume for it. The eighteenth dynasty of Manetho comprised, according to Eusebius (p. 215) fourteen kings as follows: Amosis, twenty-five years; Chebron thirteen years; Amenophis, twenty-one years; Memphres, twelve years ; Misphatumosis, twenty-five years ; Thuthmosis, nine years ; Amenophis II.,* thirty-one years ; Orus, twenty-eight years ; Ach-

* This was the same with the Memnon of the Greeks, from whose statue a sound is said to have issued every morning at sun-rising. As to this statement itself it is confirmed by such respectable evidence that its truth cannot be doubted. "The Thebans maintain," says Pausanias, (p. 101) "that the colossus does not represent Memnon but Phamenophis, one of their native kings." This is further corroborated by an inscription upon the statue: "I, Publius Balbinus, have heard the divine voice of Memnon or Phamenoph." Ph or Pha or Pa is the Egyptian or Coptic definite article *the*. Pha-ra-oh *the* son of the sun." Ph-amen-oph, the son of Amun.

encheres, sixteen years. Under this one is placed the departure of Moses. Acherres, eight years; Cherres, fifteen years; Aramais (Danaus) five years; Rameses (Ægyptus) sixty-eight years; Amenophis III., forty years.

The nineteenth dynasty comprised eight kings, as follows: Sethos* (Sesostris) fifty-five years; this I understand to be same root name as Rameses with Ram prefixed; form aes, as in Asia for Aeth as in Aethiopia, and this with the proper consonant S prefixed, is Saes as in Ses-ostris, or Seth for Saeth, as in Sethosis, Sethos or Sethis. Ses-ostris means the same as Rameses, in one sense, the great King; in another form, Rameset, born of the sun. We learn from Diodorus that the traditions concerning him were adorned and exaggerated by verse; and, although he was certainly a great and actual hero, we must consider much that is stated concerning him as political history, highly embellished by the traditions of the priests. Says an able writer on this subject: "Sesostris or Rameses, the great, (as we may very properly call him to distinguish him from his namesakes) is not to be considered as a mere creature of the imagination; that he is not to be considered a symbolical being, but historically a monarch of Egypt is so obvious as to render it almost unnecessary to mention it"); Rampses, sixty-six years; Amen-eptes, eight years; Amnemenes, twenty-six years; Thuoris (Homer's Polybus) seven years; under this one the destruction of Troy, soon after *anno* 1200 B. C. Of the twentieth dynasty, which included twelve Kings and lasted one hundred and seventy-two years, the fragments of Manetho, as according to Eusebius, do not give the names: and for the twenty-first dynasty, he gives for the reigns of five Kings, as they come before me, one hundred and fifteen years, but, according to Herodotus, one hundred and thirty.

Sesonchosis, the first King of the twenty-second dynasty, becomes more interesting to us as Champollion (p. 232) recognizes in him the Shishak of the Jewish annals. His name, Sheshonk, together with his title, "the confirmed of Amun," is found on one of the first great courts of columns in the palace of Karnak; and the correctness of this reading is confirmed, according to Manetho, by the name of his son and successor, Osorthon, being found close to it.

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* This is the most celebrated of all the Pharaohs. He is called Sethosis, Sesorsis or Sesostris, and the pages of Manetho, Herodotus and Diodorus bear testimony of his fame. On the mnouments, however, he is not mentioned by either of these forms of name, but by the form Rameses; but that he was called by both those forms of name, Manetho, himself tells us (Joseph, Autiq., p. 1043 and 1057; Champollion, p. 227; Cf. Tacit, Annal ii, 61; Chaeremon Hist. of Egypt.

The identity of the name forms Sheshonk and Sheshak is very important, enabling us, as it does, to determine the chronology. Shishak was the contemporary of Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon. In the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, about *anno* 970 B. C. (2 Chron. xii:2.) he made war upon Palestine, took and sacked Jerusalem and pillaged the temple. At this time, according to the Jewish accounts, the Egyptian nation must have been very powerful; for it is said of Shishak that he came up with twelve hundred chariots of war, sixty thousand horsemen and an innumerable body of infantry, consisting of Egyptians, Libyans, Troglodytes and Ethiopians. His empire, therefore, must have extended over all those countries, far beyond the limits of Egypt. In the century after him this greatness must have declined, and the power of the rulers of Meroë, under the dynasty of Sabaco, the Ethiopian (who reigned between 800 and 700 B. C., both over Ethiopia and Thebes) must have prevailed. The Pharaoh Bochoris, who, according to Manetho, alone occupies the twenty-fourth dynasty, was defeated, taken prisoner and burnt to death by Sabaco.

About this time, therefore, say *anno* 800 B. C., begins to decline the Theban might and grandeur. Notwithstanding the extent of the expeditions of Sesostris, there is no proof that the dominion of the Pharaohs in Asia was at any time of long duration. That it may have occasionally embraced Syria, the coasts of Southern Arabia and, perhaps also Babylonia, is more than probable. Had there been, however, any permanent dominion over the interior of Asia, some account of it would have been likely to have been preserved in the Jewish annals. Arabia Petrea, doubtless, did belong to Egypt, for this was proven to the satisfaction of Niebuhr by certain monuments covered with hieroglyphics which he found here and copied. These monuments Niebuhr considered to have been tombs; but they may possibly have been remnants of a temple. Any lasting conquests in Europe have never been claimed by Egypt.

That Egypt was, in all its parts, subject to the Kings of Thebes cannot be doubted. "There was once a time," says Herodotus, (11, 15), "when the whole of Egypt was called Thebes; not only the fruitful valley of the Nile, but also the eastern and western borders." The eastern side, usually spoken of under the name of Arabia, was subdued by Sesostris, without which, indeed, he could not have built a fleet on the Arabian Gulf; but how far toward the west the dominion of the Pharaohs extended is uncertain. That it comprised the two oases the monuments prove; it must have ex-

tended into proper Africa, for Libyans are enumerated among their subjects. That the inhabitants of Marea and Apis were still Egyptians was formerly decided by a sentence of the oracle of Ammon: — "All that is watered by the Nile is Egypt; and all who from Elephantis downwards, drink its waters are Egyptians;" this was on occasion when they desired to be classed as Libyans. In what political relation Ammonium or Siwah stood to Thebes cannot be here exactly stated; but as it was a colony of Thebes and the worship of Ammon prevailed there it may at least be assumed that the relation which commonly subsisted between parent states and their colonies, when they held to the same religion, was in effect here, although it might not amount to a complete dependence. Amonium, so far as our information goes, is the western limit of the Theban monuments and therefore most likely to have been recognized as of the Egyptian dominions. In this possession they were neighbors to the Carthaginians. A peaceable commercial intercourse was long carried on between them; but we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (xii, 4,) that hostilities occasionally broke out. From this source we also learn that a little before the Persian invasion (supposed 600 — 550 B. C.) a Carthaginian army had surprised and sacked Thebes, a shock from which this city had scarcely recovered at the time of its invasion by Cambyses.

In the direction of Ethiopia the dominion of the Pharoahs extended, doubtless, for some ages to the northern boundary of the empire of Meroë, and, notwithstanding that this empire was once overrun by Sesostris, its subjection could not have been of long duration as is proved both by history and the monuments. Thus we see on the banks of the Nile, from its sources to the Mediterranean the two empires of Thebes and Meroë, existing contemporarily during so many ages, under mutual relations, various and changeable. The extent of the empire of the Pharaohs, therefore, exclusive of mere transitory conquests, was nearly that of present Egypt; but how different was the state of Egypt in those ages to what it is now!

That Thebes was the usual seat of government for a series of ages is shown as plainly by the ruins of its palaces as by the testimony of historians. Religious notions were so connected with the residence of the monarch that neither subjectively nor objectively could this be left unnoticed, although some change afterwards took place. Their religious notions were closely connected with the idea they entertained of a life after death. The Pharaohs

lived near their tombs, for there, according to the belief of the Egytians, were the proper habitations; hence the construction and decoration of these engrossed the attention of their kings quite as much as the construction and decoration of their palaces, of which we have proof in the tomb of Osymandyas, situated near his palace and in the sepulchres and caverns near Thebes. With them it was not a matter of indifference where they were buried. Certain spots were preferred to all others and held sacred; because, according to the tradition of the priests, they were the spots in which Osiris, the ruler both of the upper and lower world was buried. They all, of course, wished to rest near him! These places were numerous. In the Thebaid, besides Thebes itself, there was a small island near Philae and Elephantis, and also Abydos, formerly called This. In Middle Egypt there was Memphis, and, in the Delta, Busiris. Mr. Creuzer, therefore, has fairly enough proved that those burial places of Osiris were the seats of the Egyptian monarchs. This is supposed by some to show that those places were the earliest states of Egypt before it became consolidated into one empire; which, if it have such meaning as is supposed to be implied, might throw a new light upon the dynasties of Manetho.

At a comparatively late period Memphis became the capital of Egypt, for Manetho tells us of a King Athotis and Diodorus of a King Urchoreus, who built a palace there, which, however, did not equal in magnificence those at Thebes. The particular date of its foundation is uncertain, but Diodorus adds that it was the removal of the successors of its builder to Memphis which caused Thebes to decline. It was, however, a common thing for the monarchs of the Eastern countries to have more than one residence and, although the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties might for some time, have made Memphis their capital after its evacuation by the Hykshasu, yet their names upon the monuments of Thebes as well as the general circumstances of the case sufficiently evince that the latter place was their proper seat of government. This was, also, the place of the inauguration into the government, and would not easily have lost its right to be considered the capital of the nation.

With regard to this government there is no doubt but that it always remained a hierarchy, but the relation of the king, the head of this hierarchy, to the general body of the priesthood may require some further elucidation. As to whether the monarchy was

hereditary or elective, it may be remarked that as we read so often of the son succeeding to the father we may fairly conclude it implied that it was hereditary, although Synesius, a comparatively late writer, describes the election of a king to the throne. It is not known from what ancient writer Synesius borrowed his relation, which there has been no reason assigned for supposing fictitious; but we know that hereditary succession in the same family or clan may be not incompatible with election, when a peculiar combination of circumstances may necessitate it, and as we see instances of in some modern monarchies. It is not probable that the king was taken from the priest-caste; for if such had been the case we cannot conceive the necessity of his initiation into it after his inauguration, a ceremony in connection with coronation, which repeatedly appears upon the walls of Karnac and Medinet Abou.

In the case of an election of a monarch we may conceive that the person nominated and elected by the priests, if his personal character did not otherwise order him, would be much under their control; hence it happened that nothing of such importance could be done till the oracle had been first consulted. In many of the processions of the oracle ship, pictured on the walls of the temples and palaces, we see the king coming to meet the holy ark, as it is borne by the priests in such attitudes as to show clearly that he seeks a favorable decision from the oracle.

But the strict routine by which his every-day life was regulated, was another circumstance which held the monarch in such dependence on the priests. An example of this is also found in the power exercised in a similar manner over the king of Persia by the Magi. Early in the morning (as was natural in so hot a climate) Diodorus tells us, the affairs of state were settled. The sacred ceremonies next followed. The king went to sacrifice and prayer; he then listened while he was instructed from the sacred writings of his duties in which the greatest possible moderation in all enjoyments was strictly inculcated. The scenes so often recurring upon the walls of the temples and palaces leave us no room to doubt but that the most powerful of the monarchs were accustomed to conform to these prescriptions; but with all this we know, for reason as well as common sense assures us, that the degree of their subjection to the priests depended largely upon their own personal character. The constitution and regulation of the court of the Pharaohs very much assisted the priests in the maintenance of their

influence over the king; the court was mainly composed of the sons of the high priests. These were they who served the king, whom no slave might approach. The custom which was in use long before the Ptolemies that the kings should marry their sisters doubtless arose in order to prevent strangers from succeeding to the throne.

With regard to the divisions of Egypt, Herodotus ascribes this division to Sesostris.

Ten nomes are enumerated in Upper Egypt, sixteen in Middle Egypt and ten in Lower Egypt. Strabo speaks of the Egyptian nomarchi and toparchi — the former the officers intrusted with the government of the separate nomes and the latter with that of the districts and villages. The Egyptian word for nome a district is Ptosch, doubtless Pa-tosch, *the* district or division by way of pre-eminence.

The reveuues of the Pharaohs were derived from various sources of which the lands were the most important. The lands which belonged to the kings and priests were cultivated by the persons who paid rent for their use. And Diodorus informs us that the lands of the priests and soldiers were free from taxes or rent as regards any claim of the government, which was not the case with the rest. But in speaking of the land rent we must keep in mind that this was rather in the nature of a tax, which in Egypt, was regulated according to the produce of the soil, arising from the overflowing of the river. It was determined by the measurement of the Nile, and from this we may conclude that the same method was followed in ancient as in modern times, namely, the ground or produce rent fixed annually. In the present age they wait till the flood has reached its highest point, and according to the height the taxes or rents are graduated and immediately imposed. That it was the same method that was followed in ancient times we are informed by Diodorus (I. p. 44). "The kings, to prevent any inconvenience which might arise from the rising of the flood have constructed at Memphis a Nilometer. Those who manage it can measure exactly in yards and inches the rising and falling of the river of which they send immediately advice to the several towns. The people by this are enabled to judge beforehand of the produce they may expect. Accounts of the rise and fall of the river have been preserved among the Egyptians from the earliest times." As it is almost impossible that individuals should have private landed property on account of the annual overflowings which obliterate the boundaries, so a whole township possesses the land in common,

every one whose name is inscribed in the township book being a partner and sharing the produce. Thus the rents or taxes are not imposed upon individuals but upon whole towns and villages, which are obliged to answer for them. Even now each village has a coptus or secretary and these secretaries are closely united, forming a kind of caste, distinct from the inhabitants, and, it may possibly be, are descended from the old caste of priests?

Now, this institution of common possession may have existed in the antiquity, as the natural constitution of the Nile's Valley seems to determine its propriety therein; and when Herodotus ascribes the origin of geometry to those mensurations it can hardly be understood otherwise than of the measurement of whole townships, although he might derive his conjecture from private possessions. For the construction of the canal system considerable mathematical knowledge was required, and upon the good condition in which these were kept the fruitfulness of their land largely depended. The government, therefore, had control both of the land and of the canal system, which was its particular interest and care.

A second source of the revenue of the Pharaohs were the gold mines of Nubia, which were reckoned among the most productive in the world, and account for the abundance of gold spoken of in Egyptian history. Agatharchides, who visited them during the reign of Ptolemy IV., has given a scientific and, as it proves, an accurate description of them. They were, according to him, situated near the present Mount Alaka, 22° north latitude, 51° east longitude, not far from the ancient Berenice Panchrysos, as it was called in the time of the Ptolemies. They were worked by a great number of prisoners, men, women and children, among whom the labor was divided according to their strength and ability. This writer describes quite minutely the manner in which the labor was performed. "These mines," says he, "have already been worked for a very long time and were discovered by the first Kings of these countries. The working of them, however, was interrupted, when the Ethiopians, who are said to have founded Memnonium, overran Egypt, and kept possession for a long period of its towns, and again under the dominion of the Medes and Persians. In the shafts made at that time brass instruments are still found, the use of iron being then unknown. Bones also are found in great quantities of people who were smothered in them by the caving in of the earth. The extent of these mines was such that the subterranean passages reached to the sea."

From the accounts of the Arabian writers we learn that these mines are situated in the country of the Bedjahs, the ancient Blemmies, between Eidub and Suakin; that they abound in silver, copper, iron and precious stones; but that gold is chiefly sought for. It was to possess these mines that the Pharaohs made war against this country, a war which the Greek dynasty in Egypt also prosecuted in their time. These mines appear to have lain unworked from the end of the fourteenth century till Belzoni again discovered them; there are four species of emeralds found in them, which attract a good sale in India and China.

Another source of revenue to the Pharaohs were the fisheries, in so far as they belonged to the crown. As fish formed a principal article of food among the Egyptians, fishing was found to be a lucrative employment, for the Nile contained an abundance of fish especially at the time of the flood. Of what importance the fisheries were may partially be gathered from the words of the prophet (Isa. xix), when he threatens Egypt with approaching famine: "The waters shall fail from the sea and the river shall be wasted and dried up; the fishes also shall mourn and all they that cast angle in the brook shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the water shall languish."

The fishery of the Nile itself was left to the people untaxed as well it might have been; but of the canals and the lake Moeris the fishery pertained to the crown. Herodotus tells us that this fishery supplied a talent daily to the royal treasury, during the six months in which the waters flowed through the canal into the lake; and during the six months in which it ebbed, twenty minae a day; which income of twenty minea a day for the six months of the ebb, (as I understand it to mean), was, according to Diodorus, turned over to the queen. The fish of which there were twenty-two different kinds were salted and preserved; and the quantity was so great that the persons whose business it was to preserve them could seldom complete their labor. "With a considerable part of this people," says Herodotus, "fish continues the principal article of food; they dry it in the sun and eat it without further preparation. Those fishes which are gregarious seldom multiply in the Nile; they usually propagate in the lakes. At the season of spawning they move in vast multitudes towards the sea; the male leads the way and emits the engendering principle in their passage; this the females absorb as they follow, and, in consequence, conceive. As soon as the seminal matter has had its proper operation, they

leave the sea, return up the river and endeavor to regain their accustomed haunts. The mode, however, of their passage is reversed, the females lead the way while the males follow. The females do now what the males did before, they drop their spawn, resembling small grains of millet, which the males eagerly devour. Every particle of this contains a small fish and each which escapes the male regularly increases till it becomes a fish. Of these fish such as are taken in their passage toward the sea are observed to have the left side of their heads depressed, which, on their return, is observed of their right. The cause of this is obvious; as they pass toward the sea they rub themselves against the banks on the left side; as they return they keep closely to the same bank, and, in both instances, press against it that they may not be obliged to deviate from their course by the current of the stream. As the Nile gradually rises, the water first fills those cavities of the land which are nearest the river. As soon as they are saturated an abundance of small fry may be discovered. The cause of their increase may perhaps be thus explained: When the Nile ebbs, the fish, which in the preceding season had deposited their spawn in the mud, retreat reluctantly with the stream; but at the proper season when the stream flows this spawn is matured into fish."

There were also other sources of revenue to the Pharaohs which I do not think it necessary here to enumerate; but the question will occur: How were thoses taxes paid? was it in coined money or in produce? That the precious metals were used as representatives of value in Egypt there is no doubt; but no coins of the Pharaohs has yet been discovered, nor has there been anything yet found on the monuments relating to money. But, notwithstanding all this, we might suspect from the transactions of Joseph and his brethern that accounts in Egypt were reckoned in money, whether or not our suspicion were well grounded. "And he commanded the steward to put every man's money in his sack's mouth; to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver." (Gen. ch. xliv and xlv.) Against coining there was a particular law as well as against usury. But may not Phoenician and afterwards Cyrenean money have been current in Egypt? The Hykshas, during their long occupancy, might have had some such circulating medium as representative of produce values. It is most probable that payments were made by weight of the precious metals, as scales very often appear on the reliefs, and as this corresponds with the ancient way of reckoning among the Hebrews, Greeks, Assyrians and other ancient nations.

It is clear from the accounts of Diodorus that the Egyptians had a written body of laws in eight books, of which he has preserved specimens. These laws which the Egyptians ascribe to their early kings, Mnevis, Asychis, Sesostris, and Bochoris, relate to crimes and matters of police (with which the legislation of all nations is found to begin) and they betray their early origin by their severe punishments. Other laws, however, present to us a people who had already made considerable progress in civilization. Security of person and property (the creditor could only attach the property not the person); the sanctity of oaths (which was considered as the foundation of the state); and of marriages (among the priests monogamy was ordained;* but not among the other classes and the father gave his rank to his children, even though their mothers were slaves); the permission and yet the limitation of usury (the capital could only be doubled by the interest); the punishment for treachery and cowardice in a soldier; for coining base metals; using false measures, weights, seals, and forming legal documents, are proof of this assertion. The single law which ordained the same punishment for the murder of a slave and a freeman indicates an advance in real civilization which is seldom met with among the nations of antiquity.

This same impartiality appears still further in their legal institutions, respecting which Diodorus has preserved many particulars. The kings did not sit as judges but the administration of justice was left to its proper tribunals, whose sentences were strictly limited by the laws. Every one pleaded his own cause, no counsel being permitted. The accounts of Diodorus, however, are confined to the regulations of the highest courts of justice; of the lower courts of which many must needs have existed, we have no knowledge. This highest national tribunal consisted of thirty judges, who were chosen from the principal inhabitants of the three cities of Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis, and were paid by the king. These thirty elected from among themselves a president, whose place was filled by another from the city to which he belonged. The proceedings in this high court of justice were all transacted in writing, as their great object was to avoid everything which could excite the passions. The prosecutor first sent a copy of his accusation and at the same time specified the damage he demanded; to which the defendant

* When Herodotus (*temps.* 445 B. C.) mentions that the Egyptians practice monogamy as the Greeks he does not make any distinction between the priests and people. Time of Diodorus *circa* 50 B. C.

responded in a similar manner. The prosecutor was at liberty to reply to this in writing and the defendant might again answer; and after this the court was obliged to pronounce sentence. This likewise was given in writing and sealed by the president. He, as an emblem of his dignity, wore round his neck a golden chain, to which was attached an image set in precious stones with a hieroglyphic; it was called Truth. At the beginning of every session he was obliged to hang this about him. This image, as we are informed by Diodorus, was the seal which was affixed to the sentence. A golden chain was given to Joseph as a sign of honor, and it is often found sculptured on the monuments with some ornaments attached to it.

As to the military art of the Egyptians we find it to have been similar in many respects to that of the Greeks, as described by Homer. Neither nation in the very early ages, at least, made use of cavalry. Their armaments consisted of war-chariots and infantry. The war chariots seem to have borne by far the largest proportion, even to judge from Homer, as whole battles are described, in which only the chariots are mentioned as engaged. The size of the man must have been taken into account in the appointment of a leader. The king elevated above all is sometimes designated by the hawk hovering over him; at others by the serpent in his helmet, and sometimes by both. He is also known by having a standard carried behind him, which represents the leaf of the Theban palm. The splendor of the horses as well as of their harness and trappings is surprising; as is also that of their beautifully formed chariots, seemingly all of metal. In these last respects the Egyptians were not, what we may call, so barbaric in their splendor as the Assyrians. They appear to have had, in everything, more of an eye to actual business than to show. Not less remarkable are the close columns and skillful positions and evolutions of the infantry, just as Xenophon describes them in his Cyropaedea. These exhibitions presuppose long and accurate training and could be supposed to be common among the Egyptians only to the warrior caste. The manner of attack, of outflanking and surrounding, give evident proof of advanced skill in tactics. The same skill also appears in the naval engagements, which show that at least some of the Pharaohs were well prepared for naval operations.

"In that day there shall be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria; and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt and the Egyptian into Assyria" (Isa, xix: 23–25). A contemplation of the picture given us of the manner of life, arts, agriculture, manufactures, commerce,

etc., of the ancient Egyptians is of such great interest that we will here pursue it a little further, and this with reference to the whole of Egypt, in the hope that we may find it interesting as well as profitable and tending to more completely round out our idea of the ancient Egyptian cosmopolity.

On account of the representations found therein the tombs of Eilethyia are among the most interesting discoveries made in Egypt by the French. The painted reliefs found on the walls of that called the Sultan's tomb represent the occupations of daily life, the various branches of industry, of fishing, hunting, navigation and of the business of their markets. In the plates given in "Description de l'Egypte" we have made visible to our eyes what we could before but very imperfectly conceive from mere verbal descriptions. We must not, of course, conclude that they were ignorant of such domestic scenes and occupations as we do not happen to find among them, for we need not expect to find all such represented nor the extremest detail in the representations that are. The industries of so civilized a nation were distributed over too many different objects for them all to be represented here. But however various the occupations of the people may have been there is no doubt that the cultivation of the earth held the highest rank, for agriculture was considered the foundation of civilization.

From the nature of that country their agriculture exhibits many peculiarities. It depended upon irrigation and was, therefore, not only confined to certain tracts, but its labors limited to certain portions of the year. They could not be proceeded with till after the flood, because previous to that the soil is everywhere parched and full of chinks and clefts from the heat of the sun. When the overflowing of the Nile takes place the water soaks into the ground and renders it level and cultivable. When the water has run off sowing must immediately follow, because the soil, which is now similar to a drained marsh, soon becomes hardened. The seed sown on the moist earth, no manure being requisite, either sinks into it of itself or is trodden in by cattle being driven over it. Neither the spade, plough nor harrow is made use of excepting where the soil is too hard. In the representations the plough often appears of the most simple construction, drawn by oxen and occasionally by men. It seems to have answered the purpose of what we would call a cultivator or a very simply constructed drag than what we understand as a plough, which throws the soil clear over. Between the times of sowing and reaping no labor is re-

quired. There are very few weeds in Egypt. Having sown in November the farmer begins to harvest in April. The corn is cut with a sickle, often merely the ears, the straw being put to little use and estimated accordingly. The corn is carried from the field in baskets, trodden out by oxen and the chaff separated from the grain on the floor by sifting and winnowing. This done the husbandman is at leisure till the next flood. By enabling them to devote so long a time to their improvement and religious feasts this relief from labor must have produced in a few years an incalculable influence on the character of the inhabitants.

Before the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt we are told of the various kinds of corn that were cultivated, when these were destroyed by a hail storm, "And the flax and the barley were smitten; for the barley was in the ear and the flax was bolled; but the wheat and the rye were not smitten because they were not grown up." (Exodus, ix: 31–32.) The wheat and barley harvests are met with on the monuments; that of rye is not easily distinguishable. As to flax we have not only its harvest, but the further process it underwent represented.

Pliny informs us that the cultivation of cotton had become quite naturalized in Upper Egypt; though when it was first introduced we cannot exactly determine. Since, however, we find that the dress of the mummies was chiefly composed of cotton we are justified in assigning a very early date to its cultivation in Egypt.

Owing to the situation of the valley of the Nile and especially the Delta, the cultivation of aquatic plants constituted an important part of agriculture, especially in Lower Egypt. The passage referring to this in Herodotus is, however, the ground of most that is now known on the subject. "Those," says he, "who live in the marshes have the same customs as the rest of the Egyptians; but, to procure themselves easily the means of subsistence, they have devised the following inventions: when the river is full and the plains are become as a sea there springs up in the water a quantity of lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus. After they have gathered these they dry them in the sun, and then squeezing out what is contained within the lotus, resembling the poppy, they make it into loaves which they bake with the fire; the root also of this lotus, which is round and of the size of an apple, is edible and imparts a sweet flavor. There are also other lilies, similar to roses, likewise produced in the river; the fruit of which grows on a separate stem, arising from the side of the root, in shape very

like a wasp's comb; in this are found many kernels of the size of an olive stone; these are eaten green and dried. Of the byblus, which is an annual plant, after they have plucked it from the marshes, they cut off the top part and employ it for various purposes; the lower part that remains, about a cubit in length, they eat and offer it for sale; but such as wish to make a very delicate mess of the byblus, stew it in a hot pan and so eat it."

Of the two κρινεα or lilies, in this case lotus, which Herodotus here distinguishes, the former is yet found in abundance in the neighborhood of Damietta; its stalk grows about five feet above the water and is still used, as we are informed by Savary, as an article of food by the inhabitants. The other plant, equally celebrated in India was also found in Egypt. Its fruit cannot be more clearly defined than this has been done by Herodotus. The kernels, similar to those of the olive, lie in the calyx, each in a cavity or cell. Both plants had religious allusion, among others to the realm of the dead and, therefore, we find them portrayed in the catacombs.

In the royal vault opened by Belzoni, a beautiful representation of them is found, both in their natural colors and their stalks and fruits. In this tomb they often occur and are alwags represented with two stalks of each hanging down, doubtless, having some signification. Their leaves and calyxes are to be seen in every part as ornaments; and the assertion of Herodotus, that the fruit grows upon a separate stem or stalk, is also verified, as two stalks always grow together, one of which bears the fruit. The byblus is the third plant Herodotus mentions. It was from this papyrus was made and it also served for food. The byblus is a water plant, though, according to Theophrastus, it does not grow in deep water. That it was manufactured at a very early age in Egypt into papyrus is certain, since many papyrus rolls have been found in the catacombs of Thebes. These rolls prove beyond a doubt that the literature of Egypt was much richer and more abundant than otherwise could have been supposed. Besides the religious writings the custom so often represented of drawing up documents of all public transactions must have given rise to the formation of archives; and it follows as a matter of course that in the imperial palaces there must have been a library or apartment for the storing of the public records, both religious and political. The byblus plant grows in great abundance in one place in Europe, namely at the rivulet Cyane, near Syracuse. The Chevalier Landoline used the pith or pulp of this shrub for the

preparation of papyrus and succeeded admirably in his undertaking. By the researches and experiments of this gentleman, all the statements of Herodotus with respect to the papyrus, have been confirmed.

The wine-press was, according to Herodotus, unknown in Egypt, though the priests used wine; and the people used it at certain festivals, but ordinarily they used a kind of beer made out of barley. The grape vine was not, however, altogether unknown in Egypt; representations of its branches with ripe grapes growing thereon are found among the architectural adornments. Both the vintage and process of pressing the grapes are represented in the paintings of Eilethyia. At all events the vine could only have been cultivated in a few high-lying districts. Belzoni found it in abundance in the Fayoume about the lake Moeris. While the climate of Egypt did not suit for the growth of the olive it allowed the cultivation of a kind of *sesamum*, which Herodotus calls *sylli-cyprium*, and the Egyptian Kiki, from which they extracted an oil.

Excepting the date-palm and the sycamore, of which the cases of the mummies were made, and perhaps that sacred tree, the persea, which sometimes occurs on the monuments, Egypt was destitute of woods, forests and tall trees.

The tending of cattle constituted a principal branch of Egyptian industry, but it was closely connected with religion and depended some on the situation of the lands. Where animal idolatry became so essential a part of the religion of the people the influence of religion on the breeding of cattle seems to have been less than might be expected. Of the larger domestic animals the cow only was considered sacred (to Isis and never sacrificed); the worship of the bull Apis applied only to a single beast characterized by certain marks. The bull when adjudged clean was a common sacrifice and is often represented as such on the reliefs. Of the smaller domestic animals the sheep was sacred in some nomes and the goat in others. Swine were esteemed unclean, though at one festival they were offered to Osiris.

Of the cattle breeding black cattle formed a principal branch, a whole caste having been named from it. They were kept in herds and appear in this manner upon the monuments. The ox was used for agricultural labor, the ploughs, such as they were, being represented as drawn by oxen.

The breeding of horses was also common in Egypt. The monuments afford no proof that the horse was made use of in hus-

bandry; he was for carriages both in peace and war, never for riding. To judge from the representations on the monuments the ancient Egyptian horse was a fine animal, as he is now in the Nile's valley, above Egypt in Dongola. A considerable trade in horses was carried on with foreign countries. Solomon (2 Chron ix: 28) obtained horses from Egypt. In the harness and trappings of the Egyptians there was quite a tasteful splendor as is evident from the reliefs.

Of asses and mules the breeding was always common in Egypt; and from the fragments of the work of Mago we learn that the Carthaginians also bred them; so that those useful animals were found all over northern Africa. It has been asserted that the camel does not occur upon the monuments and hence it was hastily concluded that it was not a native of Egypt or Africa till after the conquest of the Arabs. But on the obelisks of Luxor the long necks of camels frequently occur, a fact which has been often asserted and was satisfactorily confirmed by Minutoli and others. The Nile's valley continually exposed to overflooding was but little adapted to the rearing of camels; and, therefore, we need not be surprised at not finding the camel on the reliefs, which represented the husbandry of that valley. Few are ignorant of the fact that the adjacent tribes, the Arabians, the Midianites and others made the breeding of camels their chief occupation; that even in the time of Joseph their merchants traveled with their camels into Egypt. In Africa itself, moreover, the camel was bred from the earliest times. Camel-breeding is now the chief employment of the Ababdes, in the eastern mountain chain. Thence they are brought to the Egyptian markets (particularly to Esneh), and, doubtless, this was much the same in antiquity. The Arabian tribes south of Egypt bred them in great numbers, for they sent their cavalry of camels to the army of Xerses, as Herodotus assures us. If then the camel was not to any large extent bred in Egypt, it was very numerous in the adjacent countries.

Although the nature of the country did not allow the breeding of sheep to any great extent yet some were bred there. At a very early period Jacob drove his flocks into Egypt (the Delta: Gen. xlvii: 1, 17). On the monuments, both single sheep and flocks appear. But if Egypt did not herself produce all the wool required for her manufactures she had on her borders nations of shepherds, more especially in Arabia and Syria who produced it in great abundance and of the finest quality.

That all kinds of poultry were plenty in Egypt the frequent representations on the monuments show. The catching of water-birds with nets is also often portrayed.

The Egyptian monuments are, if anything, richer in information regarding the manufactures than the productions of agriculture. Previously to our obtaining copies of the pictures taken by the French and others, nobody would have been likely to suppose that the nation had carried them to such a high degree of perfection. The mechanic, by accurate inspection, will here find an entensive field which may put him in the way to new discoveries. It will be sufficient here if we enumerate and describe the principal branches of their industries. The raw material for many of them Egypt herself produced; but not for all nor in sufficient quantity. A large amount of the material must have been imported.

Of the different branches of manufacture, weaving claims our first attention as it undoubtedly employed a good proportion of the population. When the prophet (Isaiah xix:9, 10.) sets forth the miseries that were to befall Egypt and the laboring classes of the people, he mentions the weavers next to the fisherman: "Moreover they that work in fine flax and they that weave networks shall be confounded; and they shall be broken in the purposes thereof, all that make sluices and ponds for fish." According to Herodotus, weaving was the business of men, and, therefore, not merely a domestic affair, but carried on in large manufactories. The most beautiful specimen of a representation of the manufactures is given by Minutoli from the tombs of Beni Hassan. "The weaver's loom," says he, "is fastened to four pegs, rammed into the ground; and the workman sits upon that part of the web already finished, which is a small chequered pattern of yellow and green. It is observable in many colors of the early Egyptian clothes, that the bysus was dyed in the wool before being weaved." Even in the time of Moses these manufactures had attained a wonderful perfection in Egypt, of which, among many others, the covers and carpets of the tabernacle afford a striking example. They were sometimes made a hundred yards long, and many of them were embroidered with colored thread or gold wire by way of ornament. The most honorable presents in the time of Joseph were costly garments. Not to speak of Jacob's present to Joseph of a coat of many colors, see the presents which Joseph makes to his brethren (Gen. xlv: 22.). But here the monuments also speak. In the Description de l' Egypt, the Royal Tombs of Belzoni and in the work of Minu-

toli we see those garments in their splendid colors as fresh as ever. They are so different and varied that a distinction in the stuffs is clearly perceived. Many of them are so fine that the limbs are said to shine through! Others, on the contrary, are coarser. The finer seem to be rather of cotton than of linen fabrication, though in regard to this, a positive decision seems impossible from a mere engraving. For the same reason it cannot be positively asserted that silk is found amongst them. The King and the soldiers are usually dressed in short tunics; but the latter form an exception in the processions; husbandmen and laborers wear merely a white apron; the priests wear long garments, often thrown round the neck in a fantastical manner. Of these many are white and many striped white and red; others are starred or flowered; and many exhibit the most splendid colors of the East. The fine garments call up in our mind the Indian muslins; in the dazzling glitter, silk-stuffs seem to be resplendant. As verbal descriptions, however, can at best convey but a very imperfect idea of them, the readers may be referred to the last ten plates of the second part of the great French work upon Egypt, and to the first five of the Atlas of Belzoni, where garments of the Kings and others afford the best specimens.

That the art of dyeing had made as great progress as that of weaving, is clear from what has been said. The various colors, white, yellow, red, blue, green and black, are met with in remarkable perfection, but without mixture. As to the materials used for dyeing, whether found in Egypt itself, or imported from Phœnicia, Babylon or India, it is difficult to decide. It is probable that the Tyrians had much of this trade, as they had a large and active establishment at Memphis. But even from what has been said, it appears certain that three or four thousand years ago, the arts of weaving and dyeing had been brought to an equally high degree of perfection in the East as they are to-day; and from this it naturally follows that the intercourse and commerce, in a certain way, of those nations must have been equally great as it is to-day. It is hardly to be supposed that the arts should have advanced so far among an isolated people. Or does any one suppose that Egypt itself produced all the raw materials and dyes which were necessary to the existence of those productions? Must there not have been a great international intercourse or commerce here?

Next to weaving the works in metal rank. They carry us back to an age when the use of iron was yet unknown in Egypt; for, in so far as we can judge from the color, which is always green, all im-

plements, not of gold or silver, were made of bronze. As already remarked, the war chariots seem to have been entirely made of bronze. Their green color, their form, the neatness and lightness of the wheels and their beautiful ornaments all tend to prove this satisfactorily. A great portion of their weapons were likewise of bronze; not only the swords, but also the bows and quivers. Both these and the cutlery, represented among the hieroglyphics, are always green. Whence did Egypt procure this great quantity of bronze? We find no trace of mines in proper Egypt, from which the metal could be obtained. Was it supplied from the Nubian gold mines? Diodorus, at least, informs us that all the instruments used in them were made of metal.

Not only these but all other instruments and furniture, whether of wood or of metal, were formed with so much elegance and such variety that the Egyptians, in this respect, rivaled every other nation of antiquity, not excepting the Greeks. Their beds and couches in those distant times may even now be taken as models. The silver tripods and basins, the neat spindles and baskets of the ladies, as now appears on the monuments, were celebrated by Homer. Their musical instruments, especially their harps, surpass in the elegance of shape and gracefulness of finish our modern ones. The richness and variety, which prevail in all these matters, cannot fail to give an exalted idea of the refinement of common and domestic life.

Lastly, their earthenware composed an important branch of their manufactures. Egypt is reputed as having an excellent clay, which possesses the peculiar quality of imparting an agreeable coolness to the water kept in vessels made of it; but it doubtless has at the most, only the peculiarity of being able to keep the water cool, that is, of keeping out the heat. This earthenware was not only in common use but was also kept in the tombs for the preservation of the mummies of the sacred animals, such as the ibis and others. The variety and beauty of the shapes into which it was moulded may be compared with the Grecian; they are also found painted of the most exquisite colors. So far as to the agriculture and manufactures of the ancient Egyptians. A few words now as to their commerce.

From the natural advantages, which it possesses, in the way of productiveness and geographical position, it would seem reasonable that Egypt should be one of the most important commercial countries of the world. Neither the despotism under which it groaned

for centries and still groans nor the continual sanguinary struggles of which it was the scene have been able to deprive it altogether of the benefit of those advantages. What we call natural ordinations or determinations may be partially impeded, as regards their execution, but, it does seem, cannot be totally frustrated.

It is on the banks of large rivers running through countries rich in natural productions that an extensive and lively commerce would most easily be expected to be formed. Such streams facilitate the intercourse of the inhabitants of the countries through which they run; and a lively trade at home, which promotes national industry, is always a certain step towards the acquisition of a foreign trade and a sure foundation of home wealth. The course of foreign trade depends in a great measure upon external circumstances and relations which cannot always be controlled; but internal commerce, being a sole home work, only declines with the nation itself. The Egyptians dwelt on a river such as here described, which afforded them all these advantages and history proves that they profited by them. Even during the dry season it is navigable from Elephantis, without interruption, to the Mediterranean; and the navigation against the stream is facilitated by the north winds which prevail during certain periods of the year.

The ships or boats, which they used on the Nile and which they called Baris, were entirely constructed of native materials. They cut boards, three feet in extent, from the root of the papyrus, a low tree, of the same wood was the mast, and the ropes of the bark of the byblus. Herodotus describes the structure of those vessels and informs us that there were some of them of many thousand talents burden. We have a clearer idea of them now from the pictures of them preserved in the tombs of Elithyia, wherein it is seen they were impelled both by sails and oars.

Even in the age of Moses the boats of the Nile were known and common. But when afterwards, the country became everywhere, especially on its western side, intersected by canals, navigation remained almost the only convenient way for natural intercourse and was in fact, the only way during the floods. The establishment of canals was not, according to Diodorus, designed merely for the extension of the inundation, but for the promotion of the national trade and intercouse, and thus at an early day the Egyptians profited by the advantages their country afforded them, and sailors formed quite a numerous caste.

It is during the hot months, when the coolness of the water makes

a residence on it agreeable that the inundation takes place. The Egyptians, according to Herodotus, celebrate every year six national festivals, all in the cities of Lower Egypt; and it appears that at least one of them, that of Diana or Artemis at Bubastis, fell in this season. The people, on this occasion, sailed from city to city; and the inhabitants of each successively joining the throng their number at last increased to the average of 700,000. It could hardly be otherwise than that these festivals, in which the people indulged in Bacchanalian luxury (for in this single festival of Artemis, according to Herodotus, more wine was consumed than in all the year beside), should become so many fairs and markets; and these must have much promoted the internal commerce of Egypt, as has been found to be the case among other nations.

The internal trade intercourse to which the government, according to Diodorus, gave particular attention, partly by prescribing the forms for the security of loans, partly by regulating the rate of interest, and partly by allowing the creditor to indemnify himself by the property, not the person, of the debtor; this internal trade, I say, became the parent of foreign commerce by increasing the wealth of the nation. An opinion has, indeed, been largely entertained that the Egyptians were an isolated nation; that carefully avoiding all communication with foreigners and confining themselves within their own country they were to themselves alone indebted for their civilization. This notion, in which there may possibly have been a grain of truth, has doubtless been modified and corrected in various ways by the foregoing investigations.

But the notion seems to have primarily arisen from the contempt which the Egyptians, in common with other nations, who observed a certain diet and dress and mode of life prescribed by religion, had for foreigners; and, in addition to this, because they not only had no maritime navigation themselves, but had sought previously to the time of Psammetichus, to prevent all foreigners from coming by sea to their country. Before getting through, and in view of what has gone before, we may be able to account for those peculiarities without having recourse to religious principles.

The timber material for building sea vessels is neither produced in Egypt nor in any contiguous country of northern Africa. The early Pharaohs built their warships upon the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea. The later Pharoahs who succeeded Psammetichus, as well as the Ptolemies, could not fit out fleets until they had control of the Phoenician forests; and history shows what bloody wars

were carried on between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae for the possession of those countries. But it is easily seen that the Tyrians and Sidonians were little inclined to make the Egyptians a maritime people, however the latter might have desired it.

One reason why the ancient Egyptians prohibited all access to their country by sea may be found in the state of maritime commerce in ancient times. Most if not all of the nations who traded on the Mediterranean were addicted to piracy and made it their business to kidnap men from the coasts and use them as their slaves or sell them elsewhere. It was, therefore, natural that a people who had no maritime force to oppose to them should allow them under no pretense to land on their coasts.

Some facts, however, do appear, which although they come to us with an air of romance about them, would still lead us to suppose that there were occasional deviations from this rule. According to Homer and the story of the Egyptian priests to Herodotus both Paris and Menelaus sailed into Egypt; and Diodorus mentions a seaport, Thonis, to which he assigns a high antiquity. Even the colonies which emigrated from Egypt into Greece, such as those of of Danaus and Cecrops, for example, presuppose an acquaintance with navigation; but we must allow that these may have been carried over in Phoenician vessels.

It is known, however, that among the ancient nations the amount of trade a nation possessed could not be estimated from the amount of its navigation and tonnage, as land trade was the most important; and the geographical situation of Egypt afforded it great advantages, as soon as a connection between Africa and Asia, or between Ethiopia and Northern Africa became established. Egypt was so placed as to make it a central point for the caravan trade; and such she has become and continued to be till our time, notwithstanding navigation has so much diminished the great extent of the overland trade.

All Egypt, it is true, shared in these advantages, which were more peculiar to Upper Egypt or Thebaid. This country was so situated as to form, at a very early period, one of the most considerable staples for general trade. Placed at the northern extremity of the Nubian desert it became the mart for the produce of the interior of Africa and the countries beyond the desert. The situation of Upper Egypt, in relation to rich commercial countries, leads us as Denon (ii, p. 195) truly and elegantly remarks to imagine them all as it were close together: "When we reckon," says he, "the num-

ber of days required for each journey, when we see the means before us of accomplishing those journeys, the distance no longer appears so great, the length of the way seems to vanish. Gidda and Mecca, on the Red Sea," continues he, "were neighboring towns to that in which he resided. India seemed to unite with them. On the other side the oases were but three days journey from us; they were no longer as unknown lands. From oasis to oasis, which were two days journey distant from each other, we approached Sennaar, the capital of Nubia; and Darfour which lies on the road and trades with Timbuctoo. After a forty days' journey to Darfour it requires but another one hundred to Timbuctoo." These remarks from an explorer, experienced in what he is speaking about as to those southeastern countries, throws a much clearer light upon the facility of intercourse among those nations than the most learned commentarian, not acquainted as he with the subject, could be expected to do.

Thus was had by Egypt the advantage of possessing the commodities most in request and the greatest facilities of disposing of them. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that those countries in which agriculture and commerce flourished for so many centuries should have become the most opulent and powerful in the world; that here should have been erected those magnificent temples under whose protection the trade was carried on; and that here should have been erected the hundred-gated Thebes, the great storehouse and staple of the world, and which Homer (Illiad ix, 381) mentions as celebrated in his day.

The great importance of this southern commerce to those countries by which it was carried on, when favored by exterior circumstances, as well as its great extent and liability to local fluctuations from various causes, is shown by Makrizi, an Arabian writer of the Middle Ages. "For two centuries, from 1074 to 1280," says he (Memoirs sur l'Egypte, ii., p. 162), "the road from Egypt and Asia to Mecca passed through the desert of Eidab. From another quarter came the merchants of India, Yemen and Abyssinia by sea to the port of Eidab, on the Arabian Gulf (22° 30′ N. Lat.), and thence traversed the desert to Egypt. The desert was, at this time, always covered with caravans of pilgrims and merchants, journeying to and fro; whole loads of pepper and other spices were often left by the wayside until the return of their owners; and although so many were continually passing none thought of removing or injuring them. The harbor of Eidab was, at that time, the most fre-

quented in the world, as well by the vessels of India and Yemen as by the barks which ferried over the pilgrims. Its inhabitants derived immense sums from these sources; they imposed a duty upon every load of meal and let vessels to the pilgrims, which carried them to Gidda and back again; but after the time above mentioned its commerce declined and was finally shifted to Aden and Ormus. Eidab became again a desert, but Ormus, although situated on a *waterless island*, became one of the richest, most splendid and luxurious towns in the world."

By the preceding inquiries we have become somewhat acquainted with the countries with which Egypt was commercially connected, and the roads by which that connection was kept up. By this, Egypt obtained a vast quantity of the most valuable foreign commodities; from Ethiopia she obtained gold, ivory, etc.; from Arabia, incense, and from India, spices; Greece and Phoenicia supplied her with wine, and from the African deserts she procured fine salt in abundance. In exchange for these Egypt had to offer the first and most indispensable necessaries of life; her fertility made her the oldest granary for corn; and in the weaving both of linen and cotton she had attained very early to a high degree of excellence.

The frequent mention of Egyptian products both by Hebrew and Greek writers show that they had a very extensive sale. In the age of Herodotus Egyptian linen was greatly esteemed by the Greeks; and, according to Scylax, it was one of the articles of the Carthaginian trade on the distant coasts of western Africa. The Tyrian dyes, it is probable, first procured the full estimation for those articles (see Ezek. xxvii: 7); and proofs are found that carpets and garments were the principal goods imported by the Syrians from Egypt.

The Tyrians had, as already observed, a settlement at Memphis in Middle Egyyt. Herodotus places it near the sanctuary (τέμενος) of Proteus, within which stood a temple dedicated to "Venus, the friend of strangers." It was called the camp of the Tyrians and was an establishment for trade under the protection of a sanctuary, similar to the one, which we shall speak of, presently formed by the Greeks at Naucratis.

Of no less importance to Egypt than her manufactures was her corn trade. This country, even in her youth, was the granary of adjacent countries, which, by the nature of their soil, were not so well adapted for agriculture as she. In Jacob's time an unproduc-

tive harvest in Egypt seems to have caused a slight famine in Syria; and as soon as it became known that the Egyptians had corn in abundance stored up from previous harvests caravans were sent thither without delay in order to supply the deficiency by importation (Gen. xlii:5). Arabia, also, imported considerable corn from Egypt, and on this account it was that the Egyptian government endeavored to connect the Nile by means of a canal with the Arabian Gulf; now the Red Sea.

When Egypt had secured its great fruitfulness by the digging of the lake Moeris this trade must have become more extensive and regular; a failure, at least in Lower Egypt, being rendered thereby physically impossible. That less notice is taken of this in the early ages than in the times of the Ptolemies and Romans ought not to create surprise. The exportation in the early ages was by land and it is in the nature of land trade to be less conspicuous than that by sea; and the less noticeable the less liable to competition and the more regular in its course for long periods.

Our knowledge of the African caravan trade, for example, may be considered a discovery of modern times and yet the fact is incontrovertible that it has continued with few interruptions for many centuries. An example, quoted by Aristotle (De Re Famil. op. ii, 395), in which an attempt to interdict the exportation of corn rendered impossible the payment of the public taxes shows how important and necessary this trade must have been for Egypt. There is no other country in the eastern hemisphere, perhaps in the world, where the fruitfulness of the soil, the little labor required, the certainty of produce, and the profit derived from exportation concur in so great a degree to stimulate the inhabitants to agriculture; and where its fostering and protection were so evidently the best policy of the ruling classes.

Local circumstances were the cause that, notwithstanding their extensive commerce the Egyptians themselves never engaged in the exporting trade. The geographical position of Egypt rendered it the great thoroughfare of commerce, as *the great trading routes from South Africa and Asia ran through it;* and its own native productions, moreover, were of such a kind and always in such demand that they were not compelled to carry them to a foreign market; but could, like a storekeeper, quietly wait until necessity or an idea of profit induced purchasers to come and fetch them. As remarked before the African caravans were chiefly composed of nomadic shepherds, who were employed as carriers, and not to any great

extent of the inhabitants of cities or of people who had fixed habi tations. Egypt still remains a principal seat of the caravan trade; yet but few of its inhabitants form part of those traveling communities, which are chiefly composed of the nomad tribes of interior Africa.

So far as we can discover, such was the state of Egyptian trade during the flourishing period, and that in which it continued without any remarkable change down to the time of Psammetichus. He, however, inaugurated some changes even during the dodecarchy and while he resided at Sais, by opening Lower Egypt to the Greek and Phoenician merchants; the products of the Delta were now advantageously exchanged for the manufactures of Phoenicia and Greece, whereby he did not fail to make for himself friends in those foreign countries. Although history be silent concerning the effect on Egypt which their conquests produced and their almost uninterrupted wars with the Phoenican cities, still we know it must in the issue have been rather disadvantageous, although in the progress somewhat profitable to Egypt.

In the reign of Amasis, however, the whole internal commerce of Egypt underwent a remarkable change. This prince who greatly admired the Greeks and was much given to luxury and licentiousness, opened at last to foreign merchants the mouths of the Nile, which had so long been barred against them; a concession which led to important changes in the normal and political character of the nation.

Naucratis, a city of the Delta, situated on the Canopian arm of the Nile, near whose mouth Alexandria, the seat, for a time, of the Ptolemaic dynasty, was afterwards erected, was assigned to such Greek merchants as desired to settle in Egypt. The commercial states of Greece were at the same time permitted to build temples in certain places for the accommodation of their traveling merchants, and which might also serve as marts for the merchandise, which they should send into Egypt.

The rivalry of the Greeks, especially those of Asia Minor, in their endeavor to profit by this privilege, is the surest proof of its importance. The principal and largest of those temples, which was called Hellenium, was founded by nine Greek colonial cities of Asia Minor, namely, by the Ionian colonies of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae; by the Doric colonies of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus and Phaselis; and by the Aeolian colony of Mitylene. Although afterwards many other towns claimed credit for

having taken a share in it, Herodotus assures us that those claims were without foundation. The Aegintae erected besides a particular temple for themselves, which they dedicated to Jupiter; the Samians another consecrated to Juno, and those of Miletus anotherconsecrated to Apollo.

Under such restrictions as prudence seemed to him to dictate Amasis at first granted this permission to the Greeks. Their vessels were only allowed to enter the Canopian arm and they were obliged to land at Naucratis. If a ship happened to enter another mouth it was detained, and the captain was deprived of his liberty unless he swore that he was forced through necessity to do so. This done he was obliged to sail to Naucratis, or, if continual north winds prevented this, he had to send his freight in small Egyptian vessels round the Delta to Naucratis.

However strictly those rules were primarily enforced they must soon have fallen into disuse; as, after the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, the mouths of the Nile were made open to all nations.

The Egyptains, however, soon experienced the good effects of the liberality of Amasis; every part of Egypt enjoyed more prosperity than it ever had before, and the reign of this king was regarded as one of the happiest that the country had experienced. The dead capital, which had accumulated by a long trade with the gold countries, was now put into circulation; the new wares, imported by the Greeks, gave rise to new wants; and, as such an extensive novel market now opened, new branches of industry naturally sprung up.

This general movement of trade had the most noticeable effect in the extension and improvement of agriculture. "The Egyptians," says Herodotus, "had never before turned to so good account the produce of their fields," a natural consequence of the ready sale which they now found for their agricultural products in Europe and Asia. By the enactment of certain regulations one of which obliged every citizen under a heavy penalty to give annually an account to the chief of his district of the means by which he obtained his livelihood Amasis exerted himself to promote industry and commercial activity.

But, as the event proved, Egypt, in some measure, purchased this prosperity by sacrifice of her national character. The Greek merchants and their agents who now formed a separate and influential caste, under the name of interpreters now spread over all Egypt; and introduced with their Greek wares Greek manners and ideas.

Such a change as this must, however, have come sooner or later, even without the intervention of Amasis; the Egyptians could scarcely have preserved their former government and customs, after they had begun by conquests and treaties to come into close political contact with foreign nations. But, though the comparison of Egyptian and Greek deities might cause some slight change in religious notions, the deeply rooted institution of castes was a strong barrier against the introduction of novelties.

Upon the Egyptian commerce, especially that carried on by land, the Persian invasion must at first have had an unfavorable influence. Cambyses directed his armaments exactly against those places, which happened to be the principal seats of the caravan trade; against Ammonium and the principal places in Ethiopia; and though his bad success rendered this interruption only temporary, yet the re-establishment of the ancient course became difficult, in proportion as it had been regular before.

After, however, the first storms had subsided Egypt appears to have revived, especially under the mild government of Darius. The annual tribute which he imposed upon the country, and towards whose payment the neighboring Libya, Barca and Cyrene contributed, amounted to only seven hundred talents. To this, however, is to be added the corn required for the maintenance of the Persian garrison at Memphis (in which it is said 120,000 men were for a time quartered); all of which together would seem to have made a tax sufficiently large for Egypt. Of Darius the Egyptians always bore a grateful rememberance, notwithstanding the frequent revolts against the Persians.

When, in about thirty years after the death of Darius, Herodotus visited Egypt, the trade with Ethiopia and the interior of Africa had again revived. At this time any one could acquaint him with the general state of trade and with the chief routes leading to Meroë and Libya. He, moreover, enumerates the chief articles of trade which were imported at this period from the southern countries as well as the productions of Ethiopia (iii. 114). Any loss, which Egypt sustained in the land trade, was, at this time, fully made good by her maritime trade with the Greeks, which was less exposed to interruption and must have increased in activity in proportion as the hatred felt by both nations for the Persians brought them more frequently into contact and strengthened their connection.

Though it did occasion some few deviations from its course in

Asia, the Persian dominion taken altogether did not prove hurtful to commerce. Under its sway the Phoenician towns lost nothing of their splendor, it made the peoples of Asia better acquainted with each other; and the lively intercourse to which it gave rise must in consequence of the continual intercourse between Egypt and Asia have benefited the trade of the Nile's valley. But Egypt was affected far beyond this by the downfall of the Persian empire, an event which in its time gave rise to a new order of things, and which, in its place, succeeding pages may through some light upon.

The end of the splendid period of the Pharoahs is placed between the years 800 and 700 B. C. It was probably about the year 750 B. C. that Sabacus, the Ethiopian, conquered Thebes and all Upper Egypt; but it appears that the two dynasties of Tanis and Bubastis continued in Lower Egypt as contemporaries, if not as tributaries to this Ethiopic-Egyptian dynasty. The predictions of Isaiah concerning Egypt, which occupy about the whole of the 19th chapter of his book, were delivered perhaps a little before this time, and indicate the affairs of Egypt to have been in that period in an unsettled, if not in a stormy condition. Powerful convulsions must have distracted the country at this time of which the history in Herodotus only mentions the result, namely, that the Egyptians shook off the yoke of Sethos, the priest king* and instituted a government of twelve princes, to each of whom a particular district of Egypt was allotted. It may possibly have been that this division was made according to the then division of the land into nomes, for De Pauw (*Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. ii, p. 324), says that this was the exact number of nomes which existed at this time in Egypt. It would seem from the accounts given by Herodotus from the priests that those dodecarchi were taken from the warrior caste and that it was intended that they should be subservient to the authority of the sacerdotal college and the chief priest, its head. If this were the intention the plan was soon after frustrated by Psammetichus, to whom the government over Sais, in Lower Egypt, was entrusted; for, by the actual help of Greek mercenaries, he expelled the other eleven rulers and took upon himself the sole dominion of Egypt.

Thus, according to the account in Herodotus (a differentiation of

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* Says Rawlinson, Herodotus, Bk. ii, p. 219, note: Sethos, whom Herodotus calls a contemporary of Sennacherib, is unnoticed in Manetho's lists; and as Tirhaka was king of the whole country from Nepata, in Ethiopia, to the frontier of Syria, no other Pharaoh could have ruled at that time in Egypt. We, may therefore conclude that Herodotus has given to a *priest* of Ptah the title of *king*."

the same is shown farther on), Psammetichus re-established the rule of the Pharaohs and his reign forms an epoch in Egyptian history. From the time of his attaining to the sole dominion down to the time of the Persian invasion, under Cambyses, Herodotus reckons it at one hundred and thirty years, viz.: Psammetichus, he reigned after the fifteen years of the dodecarchy thirty-nine years (617 B. C.); Necho, seventeen years; Psammis, six years; Apries, twenty-five years; Amasis, forty-four years; Psammenett, a year and a half.* During the whole of this period Egypt continued as one government and kept up a constant communication with foreign nations, both Greek and Asiatic. It numbered among its rulers some princes who were men of considerable parts and with happy results to that country made it, in effect, a maritime power. The obscurity, therefore, which surrounds the early history of Egypt, becomes gradually dispelled, and the narrative of Herodotus, which says or implies that the Egyptian history here begins to have a higher degree of probability, becomes the more authentic; and we can also compare this history with that of the Jews, who, in their books, frequently refer to Egypt, with which country that people were in various ways historically connected.

In his interesting work, "The Pharaohs and their People," Mr. E. Berkeley appears to understand the Assyrian empire to have mixed a good deal in Egyptian affairs for a century or two prior to the time of Psammetichus; and as the Assyrian empire, both first and second, as so-called, has made such a considerable figure in history, involving in its somewhat transient conquests not only Egypt but the Jewish and other surrounding nations, it will be found eminently fitting for me to fill in here whatever may tend to throw light upon this subject, still keeping within my intended limits.

Mr. Berkeley, after tracing the history of the Israelites and showing that they had existed in the tribal state, in effect without an organized national government until the time of Solomon, expresses himself as of the opinion that the Egyptian influence is traceable in the Jewish court after the marriage of Solomon with the daughter of a Pharaoh, who reigned somewhere in the Delta, but that the alliance which this brought about between Egypt and Israel was of only short duration. Solomon having passed away a contention arose between Rehoboam, his son, and Jeroboam, a leader of the

* Necho and Apries are mentioned in the chronicles and prophets as Pharaoh Necho and Pharaoh Hophra.

people, as to certain questions of dominion; and when Sheshonk (Shishak) the first king of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty (which dynasty Mr. Berkley as well as Brugsch Bey appears to think of Assyrian origin, and which appears to me to have been such in a female but not in the male line) when this Shsehonk, I say, was on the throne and the fugitive Jeroboam arrived in Egypt, it was not with the son of Solomon but with Jeroboam that the world came to know Sheshonk was in alliance.

Soon after this Sheshonk invaded Judaea, sacked Jerusalem and carried off not only the treasures he found in the temple, but in the newly erected and furnished palace. He also despoiled many of the cities of the Levites, who had remained faithful to the house of David and the service of the temple. The names of the towns subdued by Sheshonk in this campaign both in the kingdom of Judah and of Israel are found inscribed on the walls of the temple at Karnak. They are about 100 in number as entered in vol. II. pp. 208–9, of Brugsch Bey's work, "Egypt under the Pharaohs."

When we reflect that Jeroboam had set up at Bethel and Dan a rival worship to that of the temple at Jerusalem it will not be difficult for us to understand the cause of the hostility of the Levites to the government which had instituted it. The forms of the worship set up by Jeroboam were, doubtless, after the pattern, which he had seen in Egypt and adopted, perhaps partially out of deference to the opinions of Sheshonk and as a pledge of his firm alliance to him. It was under the dynasty of which Sheshonk was the first king that the worship of Apis was carried to such a remarkably extravagant height in Egypt. In the Serapeum, the burial place of the sacred bulls, there are still preserved, if not destroyed very recently, the tablets which record their installation, death and interment. It was the living animal which in Egypt was worshiped, but an image of this, a golden calf, was set up by Jeraboam in Bethel and Dan. This dynasty consisted of nine successive kings, and it is the successive deaths and interments of the Apis bulls which we find to form nearly all the events recorded during their successive reigns. From the conspicuity given to the winged, human-headed bulls and lions among the monuments discovered by Layard at Nineveh, Koyunjik, etc., I would think that not only the bull but the lion, or representations in which the ideas of these were thus compounded, were objects of worship among the ancient Assyrians.

Tiglath-Pileser II. (744–726 B. C.) was the founder of the second

Assyrian empire,* which was destined to be for more than a century the scourge of every neighboring nation. The smaller states which had risen to power on the fall of the first Assyrian empire, instead of mutually combining against a foreign foe, continued their wonted rivalry and bitter antagonism, thus preparing the way for their easy conquest by the common enemy. The two dominions into which the kingdom of Solomon had divided were at enmity with each other and both were constantly at feud with the king of Syria. Ahaz, on his accession to the throne of Judah, being hard pressed by the assaults of the Edomites and Philistines and frightened by the news of a coalition formed by the kings of Syria and Israel to dethrone him and set up a man of their own choice in his stead, in an evil hour, declared himself the vassal of Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, and sent the treasures of the temple as an offering to his new master. The Assyrian king, upon this, quickly advanced from Nineveh, took Damascus, the capital of Syria, carried its people away captive and destroyed the power of Syria. He also attacked the Israelitish territory east of the Jordan and carried its inhabitants into captivity. His successor, Shalmaneser, crossed the Jordan, and, marching upon Samaria, reduced Hoshea, king of Israel, to vassalage. Hoshea did not, however, remain long under this yoke, but ceasing to pay tribute to Shalmaneser, sought the aid of Sabacho (the So of 2 Kings, xvii: 4), the now king of Egypt and Ethiopia. We learn that the forces sent from Egypt to assist the king of Israel at this time were routed and Hoshea was carried captive to Assyria. During the three years' siege of Samaria (2 Kings, xvii: 5) Shalmaneser died, but his immediate successor, Sargon, after defeating the Egyptian forces and capturing Ashdod, brought the siege of Samaria to a close in 721 B. C., and carried the people of the land into captivity to Assyria "and placed them in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes." Seemingly unable to afford any efficient help Egypt became an asylum for some of the outcasts of Israel.

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* According to Ctesias, the Assyrian empire commenced in the 22d century B. C., with Ninus, and Nineveh, the capital, founded by that monarch, was destroyed by the joint power of the Medes and Babylonians in about 875 B. C. Rawlinson, however, in the inscriptions understands it thus: While the Assyrian monarchs claim generally for their empire a remote antiquity, still the Assyrian empire in its full sense commenced, according to Sennacherib, in or about the year 1303 B. C. Twenty-three names of successive kings are given from the time of the conqueror, *circa* 1303, to Sennacherib, "all guaranteed by contemporary or nearly contemporary records," which Rawlinson considers to be confirmatory of the date given by Sennacherib and approximating to that of Herodotus, the latter having its commencement *circa* 1270 B. C.

To the end of his days Ahaz, king of Judah, appears to have remained tributary to Assyria; but his son, Hezekiah, adopting a different policy, cast off the Assyrian yoke and sought the alliance of Taharak (Tirhakah) the king of Egypt and Ethiopia. This Tirhakah had spent many years in endeavoring to assure his own sovereignty over the land he claimed to rule. Upon Egypt the Assyrian King had cast longing eyes; and the Delta, during this

ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS GOING INTO EGYPT.

dynasty, being always in a state of disaffection, arising from the pretensions of rival princes, it was a risky business for the Ethiopian King of Egypt to undertake military enterprises beyond the borders.

Over Palestine meantime Assyrian invasion had swept. Sargon had taken Ashdod; Sennacherib marched upon Lachish; both of these places lay on the road to Egypt, towards which country the Assyrian had been gradually advancing over the ruins of the conquered states. Forty-six fenced cities of Judah, besides smaller towns were taken and pillaged by the invaders and Hezekiah was besieged in Jerusalem. In this condition he sends his humble submission and arrears of tribute to Sennacherib, encamped before Lachish. At the same time he dispatches messengers through the desert, their camels and asses laden with gifts, to implore present

aid from the King of Egypt, who seems then to have been at Zoan in the Delta, making preparations to march against the common enemy.

The Assyrian King seems not to have been left unaware of the double-dealing and secret hope of Hezekiah; having heard that the Ethiopian-Egyptian king had crossed the frontier at the head of his army to attack him, he postponed his own attack upon Libnah, and demanded of Hezekiah nothing short of an unconditional surrender, taunting him with his vain reliance upon that 'broken reed,' the King of Egypt. Here the curtain falls upon this scene; but the silence is broken by the exulting cry of the Hebrew prophet (2 Kings xix) and by Byron's Epic "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold," etc. A fair inference would be that the Assyrian king was in a state of anxiety as to the condition of his home government, fearing the movement of some pretender to the throne in case of his possible defeat by the Egyptians and that this hastened his return.

Thus did Egypt and Judah breathe freely again though not for a long time. Although Sennacherib was much engaged in war during his after life yet he left to his son, Esar-haddon (680–668 B. C.) the prosecution of the war against Egypt. At this time Judah took no part in the terrible struggle which ensued and remained itself unmolested.

Tirhakah, the Egyptian King, had entered into an alliance with the King of Tyre against the common enemy. Esar-haddon laid siege to Tyre, and then, advancing along the military road, trodden of old by the armies of Tuthmoses, and of Ramesses, in the opposite direction, entered Egypt. (Vide Rawlinson's 4 Great Monarchies, iii, p. 25). Tirhakah was defeated and retreated towards the south. Esar-haddon annexed to his dominions the whole country, portioning it out into twenty districts, over which he placed his viceroys. Then concluding a treaty with Tirhakah, he returned to Nineveh. Soon after this, having fallen sick, he associated with himself, as regent in the government, his son, Assur-bani-Pal. It is from the records which purport to have been left by the latter that we learn the proceedings both of his father and himself in Egypt. It is probable that it was, on having heard of the illness of Esar-haddon, that Tirhakah went North and, regardless of his treaty, occupied Memphis and expelled the Assyrian garrisons and governors. These having returned to Nineveh, reported what had happened; and without delay the regent assembled a large force

and marched into Egypt. "When," says he in his narrative, "Tirhakah had heard in the city of Memphis of the approach of my army, he numbered his hosts and drew them up in battle array. In a fierce battle he was put to flight. Fear seized upon him and he escaped from Memphis, the city of his honor, and fled away in ships to save himself alive. He came to Nia, to the great city. I sent my servants after him, a journey of one month and ten days. Then he left Thebes, the city of his empire, and went up the river. My soldiers made slaughter in that city. Assur-bani-Pal, having reinstated the governors in their respective districts, returned to Nineveh with great spoil. But Tirhakah, undaunted by defeat, came forth again from the Nubian hills and the vassal governors found it convenient to enter into an agreement with him. Many of these being by birth Egyptians and unwilling subjects of the Assyrian King rather sought than avoided such an alliance; and, besides, they had all for the moment more reason to fear Tirhakah, who was near than the Assyrian King, who was at such a distance. Of this change, however, the news soon reached Nineveh. Letters had been intercepted by 'judges' and the insurgent vassals were sent in chains to the feet of the Assyrian monarch.

Assur-bani-Pal once more put himself at the head of his army, determining now to make a final settlement of matters in regard to the government of Egypt. In coming on the ground he found it, however, politic to restore Necho, prince of Memphis, the chief of the rebellious governors, and to uphold him against Tirhakah. But the hand of the Assyrian was still heavy upon the land. "Memphis, Sais, Mendes and Zoan," says he, "and all the cities they had led away with them, I took by storm, putting to death both small and great." Tirhakah, soon after this died and his successor, Urdamaneh, following in his steps, occupied Thebes and once more endeavored to wrest Egypt from the invader. Assur-bani-Pal again takes the field, and, compelling him to retire to the far South, takes dire vengeance upon Thebes. "My warriors," says he, "attacked the city and razed it to the ground like a thunderbolt. Gold and silver, the treasures of the land, precious stones, horses, men and women, huge apes from the mountains, my soldiers took out of the midst of the city as spoil. They brought it to Nineveh, the city of my dominion, and they kissed my feet."

This appears to read like a romance and the statement that "Thebes was razed to the ground," which we know was not literally done, might render the narrative in the judgment of a critic

incredible as representing real events. But there may, nevertheless, have been some ground for this relation, as the prophet (Nahum iii: 8-10) in his indignant denunciation uttered against Nineveh, and her King thus addressed that magnificent and cruel city, the translation here being mainly according to the rendering of Ewald and Stanley: "Art thou greater than No-Amun (the city of Amun, which is referred to Thebes) that was enthroned among the streams and the floods were round about her; her rampart was upon the river and the waters her defense. Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were her helpers. Yet she was carried away and went into captivity; her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of the streets; they cast lots for her honorable men and her great men were bound with chains."

Supposing, which is not at all improbable, that this prophecy points to a destruction of Thebes by the Assyrians, which took place in its time, yet we find it was only a little over half a century later that Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, was itself destroyed at the hands of the Babylonians; and in not a long time after (538 B. C.) Babylon was taken possession of by the Persians.

After the sack of Thebes the successors of Tirhakah, in that dynasty, made no further attempt at regaining the supremacy. The princes who ruled in Lower and Middle Egypt, more or less as the vassals of Assyria, were much engaged in mutual strife, and the twenty satrapies established by Esar-haddon had dwindled down to twelve, the dodecarchy of the Greek writers. But the time had finally come, even while Assur-bani-Pal was still reigning that Assyria had no soldiers to spare either to achieve or to maintain foreign conquests; and, consequently, Psammetichus, the son of that Necho, who had been imprisoned and restored to his government by Assur-bani-Pal, encountered and, by the aid of foreign mercenaries, defeated the Assyrian forces at Momemphis in the Delta, when they left Egypt to return no more.

Psammetichus, having obtained the sole dominion by the aid of Phoenician, Greek and Carian mercenaries, was naturally considered a usurper by the bulk of the nation; he had consequently to struggle with a powerful party and was obliged to keep those foreigners under pay in order to maintain the authority he had by their assistance acquired; but, as might have been expected and as the event proved the very elements which should have constituted the strength of the throne, they had assisted to establish, brought on

its infirmity and overthrow. The Greek soldiers were given lands in Egypt and formed a colony near Burbastis, in one of the districts in which a portion of the Egyptian warrior caste had resided. This Greek settlement was one of the principal causes of the remarkable change, which now took place in Egypt. The Egyptian warrior caste, who had been most injured by those foreigners, became their bitterest enemies; their lands had already, according to Herodotus, been taken from them; and they were now exasperated at seeing foreigners preferred to or placed on an equal footing with themselves.

To subjugation, therefore, they preferred emigration, and although Psammetichus, in an eminently patriarchal spirit, endeavored to dissuade them from leaving their country, yet the greater part evaded him, expatriated themselves, and, as before explained settled in Ethiopia in the district at the sources of the Nile, named in my map Gojam, that is the land of the strangers. It may not be necessary to remark that this must have greatly diminished the strength of the nation, whose whole armed force originally consisted of one caste alone; so that although the throne was re-established, and the unity of the empire restored it no longer possessed its former power.

From this time on the Greek auxiliaries were considered as the sinews of the Egyptian armies; and they formed even the body guard of the King. They retained their settlement at Bubastis (where the remains of their dwellings existed in the time of Herodotus) until the time of Amasis, who, for the protection of his person, removed them to Memphis. As they constituted the principal support of the royal power, it is probable that they came to have a very marked influence in the affairs of Egypt.

At Sais was the usual residence of Psammetichus as well as of his immediate successor, probably, for security as the Greek mercenaries were not far distant. The successors of these moved their residence nearer the sea, as this better suited their political views.

Memphis was, however, even at this time, considered the real capital of Egypt and appears in that character at the time of the Persian conquest and even under the Ptolemies, who, themselves, at least for a time, resided at Alexandria, as is shown by the inscription on the stone at Rosetta. After the emigration of the warrior-caste Psammetichus seems to have cultivated the friendship of the priesthood, and testified his own to them on many occasions, espec-

ially by his erection at Memphis of the temple of Vulcan and opposite to this a splendid portico to the temple of Apis.

The ambition of conquest evinced by the Egyptian kings throughout the period of the dynasty begun with Psammetichus is truly remarkable; in former times this did not very remarkably belong to the character of the nation, but now it seems to have been called forth by the spirit and valor of the Greek mercenaries, and the success which usually attended their arms. From Herodotus and the Jewish annals we gather that one leading object which was, as it were, hereditary in the Pharaohs of this dynasty, was the conquest of Phoenicia and Syria. The rich commercial cities of these countries, where for centuries immense wealth had been accumulating, proved a powerful temptation to those now haughty Egyptians. They effected their object only in a limited measure; but their mania for conquest was punished in the usual manner by other enemies equally ambitious and more powerful than themselves. The representations of the expeditions and victories of the ancient Pharaohs, which they were accustomed to see on the walls of their temples and palaces, doubtless incited them to those undertakings; but the times were changed, the conditions of affairs being no longer the same. When the former undertook their expeditions there was no powerful empire in western Asia; but victorious nations now dwelt there ready to repel any invader.

Psammetichus himself began those aggressive movements by besieging Azotus, a town on the frontier of Syria. He took it at last, but not till after many unsuccessful attempts, which occupied altogether twenty-nine years; for we cannot well imagine one siege, though turned to a blockade, to have lasted so long. "I know not," says Herodotus, "that any town ever sustained so long and obstinate a siege."

His son and successor, Necho, made a more rapid and successful progress. He defeated the Syrians at Magdolum, captured Jerusalem (supposed the Cadytis of Herodotus), and overran Syria as far as the Euphrates (2 Kings, xxiii: 33). "The vest which he wore," on the occasion of his victory at Magdolum, "he consecrated to Apollo and sent to the Milesian Branchidae," which might indicate his sense of gratitude to the Greek mercenaries for the result of the battle.

After this overthrow of the Syrian power a new conquering empire, that of the Babylonians, or Chaldaeans, arose in Central

Asia, and under its king Nebuchadnezzar * arrived at a high though transitory pitch of greatness. The Egyptian and Babylonian heroes met at Carchemish or Circesium, where a single battle not only deprived the Egyptians of all their conquests in this direction, but laid open their country to the danger of a hostile invasion (see Jer. xlvi.); some authors suppose that this prophecy of Jeremiah led to the invasion of Egypt by the victors!

The establishment of a navy for themselves by the Egyptians was one most important consequence of those foreign wars. The Egyptians, however, must have understood from the start that they could make no headway against the the Phoenician commercial cities without their possessing a strong navy. Necho, therefore, resolved to have one; and the vigor with which he prosecuted its formation would naturally lead people to think that great results were to be expected from it. One fleet he built in the Mediterranean and another in the Red Sea and these he intended to combine by means of a canal from sea to sea by way of the Nile, the water entering the canal from that river a little above the city Bubastis; this undertaking, however, which at the first glance, would be supposed to alter the general course of trade, was by Necho only half executed; but seventy years later it was continued by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the immediate successor of Cambyses. Some assert, while others deny that Darius finished this canal; the expression of Heredotus is that he "continued" it; those who deny the completion of it by Darius say it was finished by Ptolemy II. This was not an original "Suez canal," which last goes direct from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf, now Red Sea, without at all touching on the Nile.

This canal was made sufficiently broad for two triremes to sail

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* Nebopallassar, the immediate predecessor of Nebuchadnezzar, was the conqueror of the kingdom of Chaldaea or Babylon out of the power of Assyria. "But," says Rawlinson, "Nebuchadnezzar is the great monarch of the Babylonian empire, which lasting only 88 years, — from B. C. 625 to B. C. 538 — was for nearly half the time under his sway." Rawlinson's 4 Great Monarchies iii, 489.

On the other hand he says: "Babylonia preceded Assyria as an important power in Western Asia, but became a secondary state about B. C. 1200, and only recovered its independence about B. C. 700." Id. vol. 1, 452. He considers the chronological scheme of Berosus, which he much prefers to that of Ctesias, and which assigns to the primitive Chaldaean empire a space extending from about the middle of the 23d to the end of the 16th century B. C. to be remarkably supported and confirmed by the inscriptions. This is probably the same as that indicated by Philo Biblius, who assigned to Babylon an antiquity 1002 years before Semiramis, who some say was contemporary with the siege of Troy, 1200 B. C.

As to the descent of the Babylonians Rawlinson says: "They were also, it is probable, of a darker complexion than the Assyrians, being to some extent Ethiopians by descent. The Cha' ab Arabs, the present possessors of the southern parts of Babylonia, are nearly black; and the black Syrians of whom Strabo speaks were intended to represent the Babylonians." Id. iii, p. 328.

abreast or to pass each other on it. It connected, as I have said, with the Nile, a little above the town of Bubastis and winding southward till beyond Memphis took its course thence, near the great stone quarries, and joined the Red Sea. Natural obstacles, particularly the danger of navigating the upper part of the Red Sea, were, doubtless, the chief reasons why it never had much influence upon commerce; for even in the period of the Ptolemies, when it must have been navigable, a caravan road was made a little more to the right, from Coptos to the Red sea, and the vessels coming from the Indian ocean went no farther than Myos Hormos.

With their possessions in Asia the maritime expeditions of the Egyptians ceased. In his war against the Phoenicians Apries employed a fleet with which he conquered Sidon; but it afterwards was allowed to fall into decay and in the time of Herodotus only some remnants of the vessels were left.

That the extravagant projects of their kings were little in unison with the desires of the people the rebellion of the Egyptians against Apries, after his unsuccessful expedition against Cyrene, which had the effect of raising Amasis to the throne, sufficiently evinces. A war between the Egyptians and the mercenaries, in which the latter were defeated and Apries soon after lost his life, was the immediate consequence of this rebellion. Amasis, apparently a man of the people, under whom Egypt is said to have enjoyed its greatest happiness, preferred the blessings of peace to the risks of war or the splendors of conquests, and died just in time to avoid being a witness to the conquest of his country by Cambyses, the Persian.

From what has been said, therefore, the causes which led to the downfall of the Pharaohs will be immediately apprehended. After the Ethiopian conquest and then the emigration of the warriors, their throne which had been founded on the unanimity of the priest and warrior-castes, never recovered its former stability. Upon the defection and emigration of the latter the nation was in effect left in the possession of foreigners. These strangers the monarchs employed in the prosecution of foreign wars which the nation itself disliked; and these wars and conquests, eventually miscarrying, proved destructive to the nation. The people's dislike broke out into open rebellion; the ruling dynasty being overthrown a military adventurer seized the crown. He favored foreigners and foreign intercourse and in a manner enriched Egypt thereby; but, at the same time, excited the rapacity of designing

foreign conquerors. With whom could Egypt oppose these but with a spiritless, undisciplined native mob, and the foreigners engaged in her service?

For the Persian invasion many causes have been assigned, but whatever the pretext urged the true cause seems to have been a desire to possess Egypt with all its wealth. The fate of the country was decided by a single battle and a ten days siege of the capital, Memphis.

The destruction of the temples and cruelty to the priests are notoriously imputed to Cambyses. The difference of the religious worship of the Persians and Egyptians may perhaps be considered as the cause of these proceedings, and of the national hatred of the Egyptians for the Persians and their frequent revolts against their authority, which hardly do accord with their general character, if this may be judged by their conduct towards the Ptolemies. "There is," says G. A. Hoskins, in his work of 1863, "no reason to believe that the Persian dynasty was so very hostile to the religion of Egypt. In my (a) 'Visit to the Great Oasis' I have given drawings of a large temple built there by Darius."

We may perhaps form a more correct notion of this by considering the whole conduct of the Persians in Egypt as a struggle not so immediately directed against religious opinions and usages as against the exclusive caste of the Egyptian priests; but the ideas of religion and priest are so closely connected with each other in the mind of the common people that in the Persians proceeding against the latter they would have been most likely understood as waging war against the national religion.

Under the reign of the later Pharaohs the Egyptian priest-caste was no longer what it had been, but its political influence, though weakened was not destroyed. The priesthood still formed what was understood as the noble class of the nation and continued to possess the bulk of the nation's learning and the same high offices of state as formerly. The interest, therefore, of the ruling caste and that of the foreign conquerors must necessarily have often clashed, and the profanation of the temples and objects of religion, as for example by Cambyses and Ochus, was a consequence of the political competition and animosity. But as all we know of the characters of those two men is drawn entirely from the statements of the Egyptian priests, who were naturally enough their enemies, the accounts respecting this are probably exaggerated. With the

history of the succeeding revolts of the Egyptians against the Persians we are but imperfectly acquainted; and of their origin and the means by which the people were stirred up we have no information whatever. But that the priests were the principal instigators seems evident from the fact that after the re-establishment of the Persian power in Egypt they were punished for it. For, according to Diodorus, when Artaxerses had driven away Nectonebus, and brought Egypt again under his authority the persecution of the priests began. Their temples were pillaged and even their sacred books taken from them; but these they afterwards, through the good offices of Bagoas, got permission to redeem, by the payment of a large sum of money. Cambyses (B. C. 527), and his seven successors are set down as the 27th Egyptian dynasty, Egypt being under them a Persian province, governed by a satrap. Although the conduct of Darius towards the Egyptians was throughout remarkably mild and conciliatory, still they, being impatient of foreign rule, revolted from the Persians in the year before the death of Darius and succeeded in expelling them from the country; but Xerses, in his second year, again reduced them to subjection and appointed Achaemenes, his brother, governor of the country.

Again, in the fifth year of Artaxerses (*circa anno* 458 B. C.), the Egpytians revolted, and assisted by the Athenians they opposed the force of 400,000 men and 200 ships sent against them by that monarch. Led on by Inarus, the Libyan, the son of one Psammetichus and by Amyrtaeus of Sais, they routed the Persiâns with a loss of 100,000 men and Achaemenes received his death wound at the hand of Inarus. But about four years after this, Artaxerses, still determining to subdue Egypt, adding 200,000 men and 300 ships to the remnant of the former army, dispatched them into that country under the command of Magabazus and Artabazus, when after an obstinate conflict, Inarus being wounded by Megabazus, the Egyptians were put to flight. Inarus having fled with a body of Greeks to Byblus, a then strongly fortified place, obtained for himself and his companions a promise of pardon, but was afterwards treacherously crucified by Artaxerses in order to satisfy his mother Amytis in revenge for the death of her son and his brother, Achaemenes. Amyrtaeus, however, more fortunate, escaped to the Isle of Elbo and in the fifteenth year of Artaxerses (*circa* 449–8 B. C.), the Athenians having sent a fleet to the aid of the Egyptions once more a hope was entertained of restoring him

to the throne. Egypt, however, remained undisturbed, the project having been abandoned. It was probably about this time that Pausiris, the son of Amyrtaeus, was made viceroy of Egypt by the Persians, his father being still concealed in the marshes, and the post being a nominal one, surrounded as he was by the Persians, it was a favor that involved no risk to them. But it failed to reconcile the Egyptians to the presence of their conquerors.

The aversion to Persian rule once more led the Egyptians to revolt and in the tenth year of Darius Nothus (*circa* 411 B. C.), they succeeded in completely freeing their country from the Persians, when Amyrtaeus became independent master of Egypt. His reign of six years constituted the 28th Egyptian dynasty. Having made a treaty with the Arabians he rendered his frontier secure from aggression in that quarter; so that the government passed without interruption into the hands of his successors, the Mendesian kings of the 29th dynasty. Of these the first was Nepherites, who reigned according to Manetho, six years (although Diodorus has a Psammetichus to precede him); but in his reign Egypt enjoyed tranquility and was able to send aid to the Lacedemonians against the Persians; his fleet, however, of 100 ships, laden with corn for their armies, having put into Rhodes was captured by the common enemy, who had lately, unknown to the Egyptians, obtained possession of that island.

The reign of Acoris, his successor, is set down at thirteen years (Circa 399–386 B. C). He, having made a treaty with the king of Cyprus, and secured the friendship of the Lacedemonians, and of Gaus, the son of Tamus, an Egyptian, who commanded the Persian fleet, remained in peace and undisturbed by the Persians; and this season of tranquility he employed in adding to the temples of Thebes and elsewhere, but especially to the sculptures of a temple at Eilethyias, which had been left unfinished by Rameses ii. Of Psammuthis and Muthis, who reigned each one year and of Nepherites II., who reigned four months, little is known from historians or the monuments; the only one of them mentioned on the latter, indeed, being the first, whose name Pse-mant (the son of Mant) is found at Thebes.

The thirtieth dynasty of three Sebenytic kings continued, according to some thirty-eight years, according to Eusebius 20; and its accession is put variously at 387 and 381 B. C. The dates, therefore, concerning it are uncertain. During the reign of the first king, Nectanebo, the Persians sent a large force under Phar-

nabazus and Iphicrates to recover Egypt; but owing to the dissensions of the two generals (Nectanebo, meantime employing well the time in securing the defenses of his country) the Persians were unable to re-establish their authority, and entangled in the Delta, amid the channels of the rising Nile, they were compelled to retreat. The leisure, which ensued on this, Nectanebo employed in adorning the temples of Egypt, in many of which his name may still be seen; and he is supposed to have been the last of the Pharaohs who erected an obelisk, which Pliny says was without hieroglyphics.

After 13 years, or ten as variously stated (*Circa* 369 B. C.) Nectanebo was succeeded by Teos or Tachos, who, profiting by the unsettled state of the Persian dominions, and wishing still further to weaken that empire, entered into a league with the Lacedemonians, the determination being to attack it in Asia. To this enterprise, the Lacedemonians furnished a strong force, led by their king Agesilaus; and the Athenians, a fleet under Chabrias; to all which Tachos joined his main force, assuming himself the supreme direction of the expedition. But, in the course of the campaign, his nephew, Nectanebo, being assisted by his father, also named Nectanebo, whom Tachos had made Governor of Egypt during his absence, made a party against him, and openly revolted. Agesilaus conceiving himself affronted by the treatment he had already received from Tachos, willingly joined the usurper; and Chabrias who had remained true to Tachos, happening to be recalled by the government at Athens, Tachos was unable to maintain his authority, and having fled to Sidon and thence into Persia, his nephew, Nectanebo II., was declared king (*Circa*, 361 B. C.) A rival Mendessian chief having put himself at the head of the people, and being favored by the incapacity of the young Nectanebo, would have succeeded in wresting the sceptre from him, had not the power and talents of Agesilaus been on his side and secured him on the throne.

Artaxerses, although he had made preparations to recover Egypt, died without putting forward any expedition, and was succeeded by Ochus, or Artaxerses III. in 363 B. C., in whose reign some unsuccessful attempts were made to reconquer the country, the consequence of which was a confederacy was entered into between Nectanebo and the Phoenicians, who were thus encouraged to throw off the Persian yoke. To aid them in this enterprise Nectanebo sent them a force of 4,000 Greeks; but Ochus soon

after having put himself at the head of a large army, advanced and overran Phoenicia, and Mentor the leader of the forces sent to aid the Phoenicians, having deserted to the enemy, Nectanebo hastened to set his own country in a state of defense. Pelusium he garrisoned with 5,000 Greeks; and with an army of 100,000 men, of whom 10,000 were Greeks, he prepared to repel the invader. The chief attack of the Persians on Pelusium was foiled and much confusion and terror created in their ranks; but here Nectanebo evinced his incapacity; for, seeing the Persians succeed in occupying an important point, and fearing lest his retreat should be cut off he became panic stricken and fled to Memphis. Pelusium upon this surrendered and the Persians, accompanied by Mentor, the traitor general, having taken all the fortified places of Lower Egypt, Nectanebo retired into Ethiopia and Egypt became once more a Persian province.

The reign of Ochus the first king of Manetho's 31st dynasty, is represented as having been most cruel and oppressive. He distinguished himself, not only by his persecution of the people, but by the insults he heaped upon their religion, and in his progress he ordered the sacred bull, Apis, to be roasted and eaten, so that according to Plutarch the Egyptians represent him in their catalogue of kings by a sword. It was in his 20th year that he recovered the country, which he then ruled for two years; and being followed successively by Arses and Darius, these three complete Manetho's 31st dynasty, which was terminated by the conquest of the Persians and of Egypt by Alexander, in 332 B. C., and was succeeded by the Macedonians or Ptolemaic dynasty. This dynasty, in its turn, succumbed to Rome in 302 years later or in *anno* 30 B. C.

Though Egypt had long ceased to be a dominant State before its conquest by the Romans, yet the duration of its real and independent power was far greater than what we find has fallen to the lot of most other nations. When we compare with it the brief glory of the Persian empire to its overthrow by the Macedonian; the transitory greatness of the Babylonian of Nebopalassar and Nebuachadnezzar; or even the whole period of Assyrian domination, we find that Egypt continued to be a prosperous State, extending its arms beyond its own borders and practicing the sciences and the the arts at home for a much longer period than any of those countries.

But in the unity and self-dependance of an enterprising people, local conditions being to them not, on the whole, unfavorable, is great and effectual strength. The unanimity of the priestly and warrior-castes for a very long course of ages before the defection and emigration of the latter, consequent upon the introduction and preferment of foreign mercenaries, gave to ancient Egypt its world-renowned prestige of intelligence and power. When the authority and respect for the priesthood declines and the military organization withholds its obedience a theocracy evidently contains in itself the seeds of its own destruction. When in ancient Egypt such a state of affairs came to have place, neither the enthusiasm of an undisciplined native people nor the swords of the foreign mercenaries availed to uphold the throne of the Pharaohs.

This "Coat of Arms" represents the male line of the ancestry of Robert Shaw, M. A., namely, Shaw Macduff, the only change made for him being that the Lamb is substituted for a dagger, *et sol oriens superpositus*.

The above plate, added here with the author's consent, serves, first, to embellish; and, second, to answer an inquiry which naturally arises in the reader's mind as to what is the line of descent of the author among the human families. The reader, being informed that it has no further object here, need not give further attention to it.

"A good man, out of the good treasure of the heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things." Matt. XII. 35.

CRITICAL REVIEW

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE SCOTTS OR GAELS.

BY

ROBERT SHAW, M. A.

AUTHOR OF

CREATOR AND COSMOS; OF COSMOTHEOLOGIES AND INDICATIONS OF JUDGMENT; OF A CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT; OF THE CHALDAEAN AND HEBREW AND THE CHINESE AND HINDOO ORIGINES; OF THE PHŒNICIAN COSMOGONIES, ETC.

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INTRODUCTION.

(Critique of Scottic or Gaelic History.)

I trust the few preliminary remarks I here think it expedient to make to this Treatise will not be taken as in the nature of an elaborate, well rounded and exquisitely finished Introduction, such as we sometimes find prefixed to books that are replete with fiction and falsehood; and, further, that it will not be taken as in the nature of an apology for the issuance of the treatise to which it is prefixed. For I here confess that I have no apology whatever to make for the publication of my "Critical Review of the History of the Scotts or Gaels of the British Isles." For, firstly, it is a critique of the ancient history of such a race of men as deserve, even for the good of mankind, to have their history properly written; a race of men who in their peculiar circumstances and conditions, in all the historic ages, have proved themselves to be of a superior order of mind, and among the best organizers and managers in human society. And, secondly, it is a critique of a history which has been much mystified and perverted by historians, so called, who wrote rather in the interest of class or of certain preconceived systems of ideas of their own, by which they supposed it would conduce more to the good order and good manners of their people in after times, though, of course, not to their intelligence, if they should be given their ancient history served up in a fictitious way rather than in plain, consecutive facts. Thus, the intelligence of the people was sacrificed to the conceit of class.

The subject of this Treatise being eminently an ethnological one necessitates that it be largely genealogical in substance as well as in the manner of treatment; and the author's genealogy or rather

that of his family, extending back through the line of men of that race best known to the history of North Britain and Erin, being given, the ethnological bearing of the subject leaves no apology here necessary on account of its insertion; But, *per contra*, the sensible and intelligent reader will in it perceive a certain guarantee of the proper treatment of the subject; for, who, I ask, would consent to have inserted in the list given of his ancestors the name of a man, who he had fair reason to suppose was not an ancestor of his, a thought which implies great care in the treatment here. And, besides, the genealogical way of treatment, where this is possibly attainable, as it happens to be in this case, is well known to be by far the most true and exact way of treatment of an ethnological subject. If it be not the only way it is certainly the true way and enables the historical critic after he has passed back beyond the chronologically certain period to determine the chronology with comparative exactness. This genealogical line of the Gaels, connecting, as it does, with that of the Shepherd kings of the race of Menes, enables the chronology to be determined for a vast period of time. This treatise is of such a nature and has such an object as my "Critique of the History of Ancient Egypt."

St. Louis, 1888.

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CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE SCOTTIC OR GAELIC HISTORY.

AN EXTENDED AND CRITICAL REVIEW OF SCOTTIC HISTORY, TRACING WHENCE AND IN WHAT PRE-CHRISTIAN AGE THE PEOPLE CALLED SCOTS FIRST ARRIVED IN THE BRITISH ISLES AND MADE CONQUEST OF ERIN AND OF NORTH BRITAIN:

FIRST, IN CONNECTION WITH THE GENEALOGIES OF THE ROYAL LINE OF NORTH BRITAIN, CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME IN THE MALE LINE OF A FAMILY NOW EXISTING:

AND SECONDLY, IN CONNECTION WITH THE GENEALOGIES OF THE ROYAL LINE OF ERIN WHICH WAS CONTINUED IN THAT OF NORTH BRITAIN.

AND THIRDLY, THE HISTORY CONTINUED BACK THROUGH THE VARIOUS WINDINGS OF THE SCOTTIC OR SCYTHIC MIGRATIONS, IN WHICH THE LINE OF DESCENT IS FOUND TO PASS THROUGH SOME REMARKABLE ANCIENT MONARCHIES, NOTABLY THAT OF ANCIENT EGYPT, TO ITS HOME IN ASIA, THE PROGRESS SHOWING THE SCOTS AND GOTHS TO BE SPRUNG FROM THE SAME STOCK.

The history of those countries, whose form of government from time immemorial has been an hereditary monarchy, being taken up largely with the accounts of the successive monarchs; and there being no certainty, chronologically speaking, about the dates given in those records after the investigator has past back in his course beyond the chronologically certain period; then the thing one has first to do, who intends to go far back in an investigation of the history of any country is to take the genealogy of its line of kings step by step or (if he cannot take such genealogy, at first sight, arising from the fact that there may be extant somewhat differing versions of the same genealogy in different histories), proceed to an investigation and by a patient study, by comparison and otherwise of the whole subject, arrive at the genealogy and from this determine the chronology.

In the following critique most of our work is of the genealogical kind, arising from the fact that our subject is primarily of an ethnological character, coming within the circle of the subject of the Cosmos of Man: and, secondly, to show who and from what primitive race were the kings called Gaelic of the British Isles.

The main genealogy, here given, is that of the regular line of Gaelic kings of Erin and North Britain, continued eleven steps farther down

than the last one of the line given that was king, so as to begin with the son of the first cousin of the author, who is in male line from No. 4, the author's father's father. From No. 4, therefore, it is the author's genealogy and is given in connection with the Review of the History of the Gaels of North Britain and Erin.

Before each name in this continued list of 75 places I will put its number and at the end of the list, referring to the numbers again, will give such explanation with historic reference and authoritative proof as I may consider expedient or necessary or that may serve to answer the historico-didactic general object my critique hath in view:

1. William, son of
2. James, son of
3. John, son of
4. Harry, son of
5. John, son of
6. William, son of
7. Robert, son of
8. Aengus, son of
9. Benjamin, son of
10. Robert, son of
11. Adam, son of
12. Seagh *i.e.*, James III., son of
13. Seagh *i.e.*, James II., son of
14. Gilchrist, *i. e.*, Seagh, *i. e.*, James I., son of
15. John, *i. e.*, Seaghan, *i. e.*, Robert III., son of
16. Aengus, *i.e.*, Robert Bruce, son of
17. Ferchadh, *i.e.*, Fearchard, *i.e.*, Alexander III, son of
18. Edachard, *i. e.*, Cathard, *i. e.*, Alexander II., son of
19. William, *i.e.*, Gillechallum, *i.e.*, Malcolm IV, son of
20. Cathanard, *i. e.*, Cathard, *i. e.*, Henry or Harry, son of
21. Dunchadh, *i.e.*, Aengus, *i.e.*, David I, son of
22. Edachard, *i. e.*, (Saxon) Edgar, *i. e.*, Alexander I., son of
23. Malcolm III mic., *i.e.*, Morgand, *i.e.* Ceannmhor, *i.e.*, MacDuff
24. Dunchadh mic, *i.e.*, "Culi."
25. Malcolm II mic., *i.e.*, "Hundi."

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26. Malbrighdi mic., *i.e.*, Kenneth III, *i.e.*, Culi.
27. Ruidhri mic., *i.e.*, Mael, *i.e.*, Malcolm I.
28. Domhnald mic.,
29. Morgand mic., *i.e.*, Constantine,
30. Domhnald mic., *i.e.*, MacConnall or Connall.
31. Cathmhail mic., *i.e.*, Connall, *i.e.*, Eoghan, *i.e.*, Kenneth II.

32. Ruidhri mic., *i.e.*, Dungal, *i.e.*, Alpin, *i.e.*, Muredhach.
33. Aincealach mic., *i.e.*, Sealbhach, *i.e.*, Eochaidh, *i.e.*, Achaius.
34. Ferchard III mic., *i.e.*, Fergus III, *i.e.*, Eochaidh, *i.e.*, Ewan.
35. Feredhach mic., *i.e.*, Aedh Finn, *i.e.*, Eochaidh, *i.e.*, Ewan.
36. Fergus mic., *i.e.*, Domhangart, *i.e.*, Ferchard II.
37. Sneachthain mic., *i.e.*, Domhnald (Breac), *i.e.*, MacEthaich, *i.e.*, Eochain, *i.e.*, Kenneth I (Ciar).
38. Colman mic., *i.e.*, Eochaidh (Buidh).
39. Baedhan mic. *i.e.*, Aedhan.
40. Eochaidh mic., *i.e.*, Gabhran.
41. Muredhach mic., *i.e.*, Domhangart.
42. Loarn mic., *i.e.*, Fergus II.
43. Erc mic., *i.e.*, Eric.
44. Eochaidh mic. (Muinreamhair).
45. Aengus Feart, son of
46. Fiachaidh, son of
47. Cruthluath, son of
48. Eochaidh, son of
49. Fiachaidh Cathmhail, son of
50. Eochaidh, son of *i.e.*, ... Carbri Righfhada, son of
51. Conair II., son of *i.e.*, Eoghan mor, *i.e.*, . Conn, son of
52. Moghallamh, son of *i.e.*, ... MacNiadh, son of
53. Carbrie, son of *i.e.*, ... Lughaidh, son of
54. Daire, son of *i.e.*, ... Daire, son of
55. Conair, son of *i.e.*, . Cathair, *i.e.*, . . Ferulni, son of
56. Edarscol, son of *i.e.*, ... Edbolg, son of
57. Eoghan, son of *i.e.*, ... Daire, son of
58. Olild, son of *i.e.*, ... Sithbolg, son of
59. Uar, son of *i.e.*, ... Ferulni, son of
60. Deaghaidh, son of *i.e.*, Edhamhrach or Deaghaidh Teamhrach, son of
61. Sen, son of *i.e.*, ... Deagh Derg, son of
62. Arondel, son of *i.e.*, ... Dergthini, son of
63. Maen, son of *i.e.*, ... Nuadhat Argthech, son of
64. Fergus, son of *i.e.*, Forga, *i.e.*, . . Luchthani, son of
65. Ferchard, son of *i.e.*, . Feredhach, *i.e.*, Lughaidh Feidhloch, son of
66. Olild Aron, son of *i.e.*, ... Eramhan, son of
67. Fiachaidh Fearmhara, son of *i.e.*, . . . Edhamhain, son of
68. Aengus Tuirmac, son of *i.e.*, ... Eosamhain, son of
69. Fere-Cataroet, son of *i.e.*, ... Sin, son of
70. Fyere-Roet, son of *i.e.*, ... Mathsin, son of
71. Fyere-Anroet, son of *i.e.*, ... Lughaidh, son of
72. Fere-Elmael, son of *i.e.*, ... Edhamhain, son of
73. Ture, son of *i.e.*,. . . . . Mal, son of
74. Cathan, son of *i.e.*, ... Lughaidh, son of
75. Eochaidh, *i.e.*, Ughan mor, *i.e.*, . . Ith.

These columns will illustrate the numbers of generations there may be in like long periods of time, with other things.

Ollamh Fodhla,	75. Eochaidh Aldeten, *i.e.*, Ughan mor, *i.e.*,	Ith.
Carbri mc.,	74. Cathan mc.,	Lughaidh mc.
Labhradh mc.,	73. Ture mc.,	Mal mc.
Bratha mc.,	72. Fere-Elmael mc.,	Edhamhan mc.
Finn mc.,	71. Fyere-Anroet mc.,	Lughaidh mc.
Siorlamh mc.,	70. Fyere-Roet mc.,	Mathsin mc.
Argedmar mc.,	69. Fere-Cataroet mc.,	Sin mc.
Foghmor mc.,	68. Aengus Tuirmac mc.,	Eosamhan mc.
Dubh mc.,	67. Fiachaidh Fermhara mc.,	Edhamhan mc.

Sithrigh mc.,	66. Olild Eramhan mc.,	Eramhan mc.,		Labhradh Lorc mc.
Rudhri mor mc.	65. Feredhach mc.,	Lughaidh Feidhlach mc.,		Beadhacta mc.
Rosa Ruadh mc.,	64. Forga mc.,	Luchthani mc.,		Blathacta mc.
Fergus MacRoigh mc.,	63. Maen mc.,	Nuadhat Argthech mc.,		Eosamhan Emhain mc.
Ciar mc.,	62. Arondel mc.	Deargthini mc.,		Roigheon Ruadh mc.
Mogh Taeth mc.,	61. Sen mc.,	Deagh Dearg mc.,		Roith mc.
Astamain mc.,	60. Deaghaidh mc.,	Edhamrach or Deaghaidh Teamhrach mc.,		Finlaoch mc.
Lamni mc.,	59. Uar mc.,	Ferulni mc.,	Eochaidh Garbh mc.,	Finn mc.
Enna mc.,	58. Olild mc.,	Sithbolg mc.,	Muredhach Muchna mc.,	Eoch Areanh mc.
Delbhnaei mc.	57. Eoghan mc.,	Daire mc.,	Mogh Febis mc.,	Trifin Evna mc.
Fiadhmani mc.,	56. Eadarscol mc.,	Edbolg mc.,	Loch mor mc.,	Lughaidh mc.
Eochamhain mc.,	55. Conair I. mc.,	Ferulni mc.,	Enna Muncaein mc.,	Crimthan mc.
Artri mc.,	54. Daire mc.,	Daire mc.,	Deargthini mc.,	Feredhach mc.
Eochaidh mc.,	53. Carbri mc.,	Lughaidh mc.,	Dearg mc.,	Fiachaidh mc.
Orbsenmar mc.	52. Moghallamh mc.,	MacNiadh mc.,	Mogh Niadh mc.,	Ogaman mc.
Mogh Art mc.,	51. Conair II. mc.,	Conn mc.,	Mogh Nuadhat mc.,	Imchadh mc.

Sabhal or Saul mc.,	50. Carbri Riada mc.,	Findchadh mc.
Mesincon mc.,	49. Fiach Cathmail mc.,	Fergus Dubhdhedach mc.
Amhlaibh mc.,	48. Eochaidh mc.,	Cormac Ulfada mc.
Mochduin mc.	47. Cruthluath mc.,	Carbri Liffecar mc.
Ebhric mc.,	46. Fiachaidh mc.,	Fiachaidh mc.,
Imchadh mc.	45. Aengus Feart mc.,	Mueredhach Tirech mc.
Ferbra mc.,	44. Eochaidh Mumreamhar mc.,	Eochaidh Mugh Med-[hon mc.
Rectach mc.	43. Eirc mc.,	Niall Naoi Ghiall. mc.
Senasg mc.,	42. Fergus mor mc.,	Eoghan mc.
Durthact mc.,	41. Muiredhach mc.,	Muiredhach mc.
Aedh Logha mc.	40. Eochaidh mc.,	Muirchertach MacErca mc.
Maeltuili mc.,	39. Baedhan mc.,	Domnald mc.
Recta Brath mc.,	38. Colman mc.,	Aedh Uaridhnech mc.
Cobhthach mc.,	37. Sneachtain mc.,	Maelsithrigh mc.
Colman mc.,	36. Fearghus mc.,	Maelduin mc.
Flann Fearna mc.,	35. Feredhach mc.,	Fergal mc.
Maelsechlain mc.,	34. Fearchard III. mc.,	Nial Frasach mc.
Finn mc.,	33. Ain Ceallach mc.,	Aedh Oirnigh mc.
Conchobhar mc.,	32. Muiredhach mc.,	Nial Calni mc.

Diarmaid mc.,	31. Cathmhail mc.,	Aedh Finliath mc.
Culuachra mc.	30. Domnald mc.,	Nial Glun-dubh mc.
Ruidhri mc.	29. Morgand mc.,	Murchertach mc.
Tadhg mc.,	28. Domnald mc.,	Domnald, died in 980, mac.
Aedh mc.,	27. Ruidhri mc.	Column of Irish Kings.
Cathal mc.,	26. Maelbrighdi mc.	
Conchobhar mc.	25. Malcolm II. mc.	
Muiredhach mc.	24. Dunchadh mc.	

MacBethaigh, slain 1014, mc., 23. Malcolm III., slain 1097, mac.

The numbered list is the claim of the ancestors. The three parallel lists are for illustration by way of comparison of the number of generations there may be in different parallel lines of descent for a likeperiod of time.

The following is the royal Line of Leinster, so called, in descent from Labhradh Longsech and Ughan mor.

Domnall Caemhanach, abt. 1200 A. D., mac.	[28] Cu-Corb mc.
Diarmaid, na-n-Gall mc.	Mogh Corb mc.
Donchadh mc.	Conchobhar Abra Ruadh mc.
Murchadh mc.	Finn the Poet mc.
Diarmaid mc.	Rosa Ruadh mc.
Donchadh mc.	Fergus Fargi mc.
Diarmaid mc.	Nuadhat Nect mc.
Domnall mc.	Sedna Sithbac mc.
Kellach mc.	Lughaidh Lothfinn mc.
Kinaeth mc.	Bresal Brec mc.
Carbri mc.	Fiachaidh Fobrec mc.
Aedh mc.	Olild Glas mc.
Ruaghalach mc.	Fiachaidh Foglas mc.
Oncu mc.	Nuadhat Follamhain mc.
Faelcu mc.	Alloid mc.
Faelan mc.	Art mc.
Silan mc.	Mogh Art mc.
Eoghan Caech mc.	Crimthan mc.
Nathi mc.	Feidhlimidh Fortruin mc.
Crimthan mc.	Fergus Fortamhail mc.
Enna Kennselach mc.	Bresal Breoghamhain mc.
Bresal Belach mc.	Aengus Follamhain mc.
Fiachaidh Bacheda mc.	Olild Braechaen mc.
Cathair Mor mc.	Labhradh Longsech mc.
Feidhlmidh Firurglas mc.	Olild Ani mc.
Cormac Gelta-gaeth mc.	Laegari Lorc mc.
[27] Niadh-Corb mc.	Iugani Mor.

Under No. 23 is the man called Ceanmor, which the Sagas translate Langhals, meaning literally, I believe, "long neck," but the Scots trans-

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David I, No. 21, whose Gaelic name was Dunchadh, has been in some old histories called Aengus.* Their Aengus they also make to have been "a son of a daughter of Lughaidh," which last was the Gaelic name of the immediate predecessor of Malcolm III, as king of Scotland. But it comes out in the course of the narrative that his father was Alexander I, and his mother a daughter of William of Normandy. The Scottish monk historians have, in this connection, Aengus, Malcolm, his son, and so on, whom they represent as contestants for the Scottish crown; but this is, in a sense, fictitious, the object being to obscure the narrative as to origins. The histories represent Alexander III as having come to his death by a fall from his horse; but it is more probable that his death was the result of violence. A son of his survived him, and he is in genealogical lists named Aengus, but as King Robert II. Now, a comparison of the names in the lists of Mackintosh from this Aengus back to Dunchadh and of those with other family lists for part of that period and with what the monks, following Fordun, have said about it in their histories, shows it to be not improbable that the monks have made this last Aengus to have been son of Alexander I, instead of Alexander III, whose son he was. And in this way I notice that some few names in the list AFTER this Aengus may have been applied to some of those *before* him or *vice versa*, as follows:

"Hist. of Mackintosh and Clan Chathan."	*Skene's "Celtic Scotland." Appendix,*
13. Shaw, son	19. Gilchrist, *i. e.*, William in Hist. of Mackintosh and Clan Chathan.
14. Gilchrist, son	18. Shaw, *i. e.*, Alexander II, son
15. Eoghan, son	17. Ferchard, *i. e.*, Alexander III, son
16. Aengus	16. Gillemichael, whose name Skene says was Aengus. son

What makes it more than probable that it is Aengus, No. 16, that is made to be Aengus, No. 21, is that in the mystified histories this Aengus comes out in connection with David I under the name of Gillemichael MacDuff, while the name of our No. 16 is entered both as Gillemichael and as Aengus MacDuff. He is the dark horse or first "Steward," so called. These two lists of four names each are, as you see by the numbers, in the succession of father to son, the only name common to the two being No. 16. The form of name of No. 17, *i.e.*, Ferchard or Ferchadh, which equals Ethachfhair or Sethach, may have given rise to the two family names Shaw and Farquarson, as connected with that country. The idea of descent from monarchy in those narrow countries is apt to be thought of invidiously, and the various ideas connected with the knowledge of such descent, subjectively and objectively, doubtless led the monks to mystify the history as they did, their motives in doing so being perhaps, a good one.

David I, No. 21, being the same with Dunchadh, was son of Alexander I, and grandson of Malcolm III, not the son of the latter as some histories have it. He was also, in his name of Duncan MacDuff, "great-grandson" of the man who was slain by MacBeth, not of the man who slew MacBeth, as Burke has it in his heraldry.

The first part of the family history of Mackintosh has been carefully handled in order to obscure the true origin. Before Aengus, No. 16, their history reckons five chiefs of Mackintosh; but, I find, all these were kings of Scotland excepting No. 20, if he were not. According to Burton, Skene, and others, Alexander II died in 1249, and his son, then 8 years old, was, in Burton's language, crowned by the *title* of Alexander III. Skene has this to have taken place on July 13th, five days after his father's funeral. But a boy only 8 years of age has yet long to remain in tutelage. After speaking of the valor displayed by young Ferchard at the battle of Largs fought against the northmen in 1263, and how that he, in the next year, 1264, accompanied Comyn, earl of Athol, in his expedition against the northern and western isles; which (isles) were in 1265 ceded to the Scottish kingdom by the successor of Haco, the author of the history of Mackintosh states: "In this last-named year (1265), when only about 25 years old, Ferchard succeeded to the chiefship." That is, he was born in the early part of 1241, was 8 years old in the beginning of 1249, at his father's death, and was in his 25th year when in reality he succeeded to the chiefship, as according to this. The Mackintosh history represents him as having lost his life by the hand of violence, and that of the MacDonalds calls his son, Aengus, "the first laird of Mackintosh," although, perhaps only father to that first chief; but this indicates that the five ancestors preceding him were not known as chiefs of Mackintosh. While the name of MacDuff appears to have arisen from the circumstances of the children of Dunchadh, No. 24, after the death of their father, that of Mackintosh as plainly arose from the name Aengus, No. 16; for MacAnthaesaigh (which is the proper way of spelling the family name MacAntoiseach) is for MacAenghaesaigh, the t being commuted with the g. This name Aenghaes is also turned into Taesean, generally spelled Toiscan, an equivolent for Toiseach. The form Dunchadh equals Eoch-Dhuin or Eochain. According to Lhuyd and the old Lexicographers it equals Toiseach, prop. Taeseach; it thus plainly equals Aenghus.

late "great head." It is not impossible that it may stand for Crannmor, meaning "great tree" or "mainmast of a ship," as, away back in the history, I see the clan of which he descends is called Clan Craebh.

In the Gaelic annals generally this next, 24, is entered as Dunchadh, which, however, may have been originally spelled Duchadh, whose genitive is Dubhthach; for I see instances in Scottish history in which the name appearing in English as Duncan is in the original Duchadh; as in the case of Duchadh, abbot of Dunkeld, in connection with the kings Dubh and Cuillen in the Pictish chronicle, wherein the name they have transferred to English as Duncan is Duchadh. If the case we have under consideration were alike why then Ceanmor was the literal MacDuff of Shakespeare.

Now, although Shakespeare's MacDuff may have been put down in the general mind as a myth, as well as the Fife MacDuff of the old authors, still we find from Tiernach and Marianus, contemporary authors, the former having died in 1088 and the latter having been born in 1028, from the Annals of Ulster as well as the general Scottic and Anglic authorities that Malcolm III. or Malcolm mac Dunchadh killed MacBethaigh,* which would seem to indicate said Malcolm to have been the real MacDuff. Although I have not yet got myself to understand that there must needs have been an act of killing in the case, I yet find this Malcolm's name to stand eighth in the list from Alpin, which is the place Sir Geo. Mackenzie, whether correctly or not, has given MacDuff in the line of the descent.

The Saxon Scottish historians have rendered the history of that country very obscure by their having clothed some of their celebrated historic characters not only with such appellations as those here mentioned, but with some derived from the names of saints. The early compilers of their history were mostly clergymen of some grade, officials in their monasteries and institutions of learning, and the object of some of them evidently was

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* A. D 1057 MacBethaidh mic Findlaich Airdri Alban domarbad do Maelcolaim mic Donchadha. MacBeth the son of Finlay, chief king of Scotland, was slain by Malcolm, the son of Duncan." Tiernach's Annals: to which the Annals of Ulster add "i cath" (in battle).

A. D. 1057. Marians Scotus has: "Macfinlaeg occiditur in Augusto," that is, MacFinlay fell in August. And again: "Inde Macfinlaeg rengavit annis 17 ad eandem missam Sanctae Mariae" (15th August). Tiernach and Marianus were, as I have said, contemporary authors, Tiernach having finished his Annals before 1088. The popular mind, I believe, generally has it that MacDuff slew MacBeth; here we find out who MacDuff was; and the unvaried tradition of the house of Mackintosh and the Shaws of that ilk has been that they were descended from MacDuff who slew MacBeth, the grandfather of that one, whom I have set down as Aengus the 21st in my list.

A. D. 1058. Lulach Ri Albain domarbad Col MacDunchadha *per dolum: i.e.*, "Lughaidh, the chief king of Scotland, was slain by Malcolm, son of Duncan, through treachery." Tiernach's Scottic Annals, under 1058 A. D.

That this is the proper date is shown by what follows: After entering the death of MacBethaidh, son of Finlaigh, in 1057 Marianus Scotus says: "Lulag successit et occiditur in Martio:" *i. e.* "Lughaidh succeeded and fell in March;" and again, "Lulach, a nativetate Sanctae Mariae ad missam Sancti Patricii in mense Martio regnavit" (17th March). He then had reigned king of Scotland just seven months and two days, that is, from the date of the death of MacBeth, being the 15th of August preceding.

to weave a mythico-historic web, which it would be found difficult in after times for the unscholarly people to disentangle or get the meaning of. Such historic style would appear to have had for its object, first, some idea the author had in his mind as pertaining to governmental class as distinguished from the people; and secondly, doubtless, that it might tend in time to unite the people of Scotland, north and south, into one whole, in which the national idea would eventually prevail over all sectional issues or clannal distinctions, by which a way might eventually be opened to a unification of North and South Britain.

However, this Duncan, 24, is in the Orkneyinga Saga called Karl or Kali Hundason; no where there is he called Duncan; and this is accounted strange, since that the Norwegians of Orkney and of the north of Scotland were for some years occupied in waging war against him. The form Karl or Kal in the Norwegian would mean, in its commonest acceptation, a stout, robust man, and thus Karl or Kali Hundason would mean "the stout son of Hundi," his father being usually in the same Sagas called Hundi. Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary shows that Carl signifies a "male," being "chiefly used before words to signify the male as cwen is the female," which shows it would before Hundi mean at least what I have stated.

But, on the other hand, if Karl or Kali were meant by them to represent a root name in this case, by which Duncan was known, it would reasonably appear that Kali, rather than Karl, would justly represent that root, for the Sagas usually affixed an r to our words, but they could not easily affix it to Kal for Kalr would not sound very well. A person would be apt to conclude that if the root had been Carl they would have expressed it usually as Karl, but their expressing it as Kali would tend to show that, if the forms they used had reference to the root name, that root was Cal, Col or the like.

In the old Gaelic cull or gull means a house, a church, a round tower, in all of which it agrees with Dumh; it also means a champion, a hero, and in its form Cull and Coll is the appellation of Hercules in that language; it means, moreover, kin, kindred, relations, people, clan, from which arises the idea of 'house,' or 'patria;' it means the back which has reference to the roof of the house, and a hindrance, for meaning kin, it is kind and this is hind referring to that which 'hinders' *i.e.* 'pulls back.' But the truth is that call, etc., equals in full Cal-daemh or Cal-bhaedh and either part of the compound is understood as meaning the whole. We can see, therefore, how Clan Dhuibh and Clan Chuill or Mac Dhuiff and Mac Chuill mean the same, as appears by the clan designations in the history.*

* Says Vallancy in speaking of the ancient Irish alphabet: "The Irish have another Ogham called Ogham Coll, that is, the Ogham of Mercury, of the circles of Tait. Coll, *i.e.* Tait, *i.e.* Irish illustris Mercurius." "The Ogham Coll is not an alphabet properly speaking, but cir-

In the modern Gaelic Dictionary I find Macabh or Macaibh or Macaimh (all pronounced MacCauv or McCu, much as MacDhubh, when the *d* being aspirated and silent, the *c* in effect takes its place), put down as meaning (1) a liberal, generous, accomplished man; (2) a fair youth, a young hero; (3) plural heroes, renowned persons. Referring, therefore, to our number (24) it is easily understood from the foregoing he might have been called either Cal or Dumh, or, if you please, the whole

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cular scales for the ordering of the terminating vowels in verse. From Feadh or Fiodh, a tree, proceeds Foedh, Fodh, knowledge, art, science, which in the Sanscrit or Brahminic language is written Ved, and from Hercules being the inventor of the Fiadh or Fiodh, he was called Fidius." "The symbol of literature with the Irish is a tree or a serpent, or both; the tree has been converted into a club; Cull, the Irish name of Hercules-Mercurius, signifies a club and also a tree. Hence we find on all the most ancient medals of Hercules a club, a tree, a serpent or a lyre; for he was Ogham, that is, the harmonious circle, the Hercules Ogmius of the Gauls; he was the Rustam of the Persians, because Rus in Irish signifies a tree and knowledge or science. To prune the tree or the vine signifies to compose a hymn; to wreathe the pruned branches into Ogham or circles had the same signification. Hence in Irish Damh, a poet, a learned man, Damha, a poem, from the Chaldaic dama, succidere, excidere, (to prune). The Jews altered the first letter of this word into Z and wrote it Zamar, which signifies to prune and to sing psalms or compose hymns." "The origin of this symbol is to be found in Irish documents only. The olive tree and the vine was the emblem of literature in general To prune the tree, to weave the small branches into Ogham, crowns or circles, signified to compose in verse, and hence, each letter of the Irish alphabet was denominated from a particular kind of tree and so were those of the Samaritan or Hebrew and Chaldee." "The two different Oghams are distinguished, as the Ogham Craebh, the Ogham of the branch, and the Ogham Cuill or the Ogham of Tait, that is, Mercury. Sometimes Hercules is represented as covered with laurel or ivy and by him an altar dedicated to Oghai." "The general, name of the Ogham when written on the right line was Feadh or Fiodh, that is trees, because the tree was the emblem of literature among the Scythians. Hence Hercules received the name of Fidius; hence rus a tree and rus knowledge; whence Rustam, the trunk, club, tree of knowledge, was another name of Hercules." "But Creath or Criath in Irish signifies science, knowledge and a sieve; and Creat is another name for the Scythian and Irish Hercules." It is evident that Creath is but another form for Craebh, a branch, a bough, a tree. "Gollamh is a common name in Irish for a strong man." Then we have "Damh, learning; Damhaidh, a man of learning, a professor, from Damh and Ædh, meaning a teacher; Daimh, blood, connection, consanguinity, clan, people, house; Greek Demos, people, root Dem; Pesic Dem, Society; Ir. Daimhiath, a powerful clan; Daimh, a church; Damhliach, the stone church, from Daimh a church and lach a stone, pronounced Duleek and said to have been the first stone church, which the Christians erected in Ireland. According to Ammianus the ancient name of Adrianople in Thrace was Uscu-Dama, that is, in Irish, Uisge-Daimh, meaning the residence, town, village or city near the water,—Damh, equus, bos, or a learned man; Dunn, a learned man, a doctor or professor,—"Deimh, death, dark or hidden is now, say the lexicographers, written Taimh, as Taimh-tin, a natural death; Taimh-leacht, a burial carn; Taimh-lach, a tomb-stone. Deimhal is, therefore, the Angel of Death, Daemh, but with the M unaspirated, as found in the Latin Domus, and even in the Gaelic Dom, a house is the original for Dome and you can see that Taemh is Tomb, that is, the house or dome of the dead. Daemh as well as Gall, Call, etc., means a round tower. In its primitive idea it has reference to rotundity, the belt of the zodiac; circle of the sun; the concave dome of the celestial sphere, the convex dome of the hemisphere of the earth; and as applied to objects, such as the human cranium, a human dwelling, etc., it has in it the idea both of the concave and the convex, the internal and external idea of the dome. When the Greeks (says Vallancy, Coll, IV., XIV., note), came to understand that cuil, in the Scythian language meant a club, and err, a hero, they thought Hercules derived from Errcuil, or the club-hero, and thus they represented him; and the symbol of Hercules being the trunk of an olive tree confirmed them in the mistake." He considers the name Hercules derived from Arg-iul, *i.e.*, Arg, a ship, and iul, guidance, an index. But the first meaning, given for Arg is champion, chief, commander, which are also among the meanings of iul. Again, he adds, "Earc means the heavens and Earciul describes the instrument turning to a certain point of

compound Caldhaemh, contracted into Coll; for the foregoing explanation also bears that in those ages and especially among the Scotch, whose tendency it was to abbreviate their words, it is most likely that the form Dunchadh or Dunach, would be occasionally pronounced as Dufach or Duff, and sometimes get into the histories under those forms by which he might become permanently known.

Under our number (25) we have Malcolm. As I have said above he is called in the Sagas Hundi. A person would naturally suppose that this

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the heavens." But in the sense of these instruments the word Earciul does not refer to a man, but to an inanimate thing.

My explanation of it is that Err, as appearing above, has one r too many. The word is evidently for Fear, a man; and, before we shall have finished our genealogic treatise, we shall find our hero in the form Ferulni, *i.e.*, Fear-Culin, a little Hercules.

Call, Coll, Cull, and Guth the voice. Mac Chaill, etc., "Son of the voice," an Echo. It has reference largely to the oracle-givers or the prophets who predicted future events or delivered oracles, and consequently Mac Chuil would be, anciently, a priest, a prophet or the like.

Both, Bath, genitive Boithe, etc., a cottage, hut, house; Bothall, Bothlann, a temple, house. Vallancy, in speaking of the word Tirtiguacan, a word meaning pyramid in Mexican, says: "This Mexican word is literally Irish, Tir-teag-uaghan, the sepulchre of the house of the spirit." Again, in speaking of his labors as set forth in the seven volumes of his "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," from which very able work I have extracted much of the information set forth in this foot note, he says: "I flatter myself to have thrown new light upon this subject and to have proved that the old language of those islands was originally Palestine-Scythic; it was in fact the language of that people which Mons. Baily calls l'ancien peuple perdue. And if I may be allowed the expression, I esteem the Irish, Erse and Maux, to be those very ancient people, and therefore, they may properly be called l'ancien peuple perdu retrouve."

Another very able and pertinent writer, the author of the "Round Towers," explains Fiadh to be the plural of Budh, with the B aspirated, changed to F, and remarks that Syncellus spells Budh in the singular number with an F; and Josephus changes the d into t, as in Fut or Put, the Apollo of the Chaldees, and the founder of the Libyan nations of Africa." Hence, the collective and complex idea arises to us from the simple; from the idea of a tree, for example, we rise to the idea of a wood, a forest, fiadh, feabh, coill; and even to a heap of (fire) wood as conadh, I have not noticed that our clan has in any age been called Clan Fife; but from what has gone before it might have been so designated literally; for if we put Feabh into the genitive after clan it will become Clan Fhibhe, which might be pronounced Clan Hive, perhaps, and a hive, you see, is a "bee-house." From Prof. Humphrey Lhuyd as follows:—

Irish Fifach, Sciens, Knowing, } Root Fibh of nom-
Irish Fifaim, I know } inative Feabh,

a wood, a forest, a tree. In this manner Coill, Daemh and Feabh are exchangeable; and Baedh easily suggests Budh, and this Daebh or Dubh, all meaning a house. Under the head, of Domus, a house, Prof. Lhuyd, has for the Irish among other terms: Teach, Domhnach, Cai (which is an abbreviation of Caill or Coill); Dae (which is an abbreviation of Daibh or Daimh); Domh, Dom (that is they have the same word with the m aspirated and unaspirated, meaning a house). Lann, Long, Conghall, Dunadh, Achadh, Dunach, or Dunachadh, etc., and Conadh, that is Cinaedh, a wooden house or a heap of wood. I find not only in the Irish, but in the ancient oriental languages that the forms Cal, Col, Cul, have both the idea of shade, that which is above as Coelum, the celestial vault, the ceiling of a room, etc., and also the idea of a house generally, and of a church, and by prefixing s you have scull and skill. The scull is the dome of the human body, the daebh or daemh, highest roof; and in fact in German Rufen, root, ruf, means "to call." Then there is the Irish cail, cul, etc., Arabic koel, a covenant compact; and Damh, a covenant, compact, law; the support of a family; chief of a clan; a column, pillar, prop; the pillar of a State, prime minister of a nation. (See farther Vallancy.) A general idea in the root Gall or Cull is that of rotundity; the zodiac or course of the sun; the sun, the sphere. The Irish round towers were called Gaill (plural of Gall), the idea, doubtless, being largely connected with the beautiful, conical dome, which finished them above. These towers were, as we are informed by Bishop Cormac Mac-Culinan, in the Psaltar of Cashel, the temples of the ancient religion of the country.

form, Hundi, would arise to the Norwegians from the Gaelic name-form Conn; but this is not necessarily so; for although such form might arise from Cu, genitive Conn, it is none the less true that it might arise from Coll, which itself is for Colmh or Calmh, one of whose genitive forms is Chuilbh (from which form, doubtless, arises not only our word whelp but wolf). Both forms were known and used by the writers of the Sagas. Mr. Skene (Celt. Scot. I. 386), in speaking from Olaf Trygveson's Saga of that newly-converted Christian monarch, in his relation to Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, says: "King Olaf offered the Earl to ransom his life on condition he should embrace the true faith and be baptized; that he should become his man and proclaim Christianity over all the Orkneys. He took his son Hundi or Huelp, as a hostage, and left the Orkneys for Norway, where Hundi stayed with him some years and then died there."

This man warred against the Norwegians in the north of Scotland about in 987–8 A. D. (see Skene in time of Kenneth III.); and it is thought by some to have been the same Hundi, who, under the name of 'Cronan, abbot of Dunkeld, fell in a battle, fought among the Scots themselves in 1045' A. D. But a little consideration will show that this was not at all likely to have been the case; for between the times of these battles there had intervened at least fifty-seven years; and when Hundi first appears under that name, in 987–8, he is in command of an army and cannot reasonably be supposed to have been less than 25 or 30 years of age; so that supposing him to have been the same man who was killed in war in 1045, his eighty-second year, at the least, perhaps his ninetieth, found him leading on his men on the battlefield, in which 'he got killed with nine score heroes.' In the Ulster Annals (in O'Connor'sColl. de R. H.) I find the following entry under 1045; "A battle between the Albanenses themselves in which was slain Cronan Abbas Duncaillend." Tiernach, who gives of his name, the form 'Crinan,' has the number slain to be 'nine score heroes.'

It is true that King Duncan is called in the old authorities, the 'son of Crinan,' but in the Sagas, invariably, the 'son of Hundi;' and I, for my part, knowing how the old Scottic histories have been doctored for a purpose, as mentioned above, all of them I say which had a historical bearing being evidently thus treated — even Tiernach's Annals having been suppressed from 766 to 975 — would not for a moment hesitate to prefer in this case the last mentioned authority. The fact is that were it not for the Sagas it would have been exceedingly difficult for Mr. Burton, Mr. Skene and some others to have broken the seal of the mystery which those old church authorities have stamped upon the historic records of Scotland, even to the limited extent, which in the face of national and class prejudices, these investigators have felt free to do this

There, probably, was in the age referred to, a man named Cronan or Crinan, who was abbot of Dunkeld, and, although Duncan's father was,

doubtless, known in his day by the name of Malcolm, yet in the fourteenth century, or three centuries after his death, he might have been entered by Fordun in his history as Crinan, this form, in the process of doctoring, being considered a literal equivalent for the other; for either Mael or Coll or both compounded into one word, namely Malcolm, would be to Cronan or Crinan, in point of literal meaning, as our word skull stands toward cranium.

It is true that the name Malcolm, meaning especially in that early age, 'servant of Saint Colum,' might have been assumed by a man over his baptismal name Cronan. The form Cronan, pronounced Cronawn, is evidently a compound word, having, as one of its components, the word dubh in its diminutive form, daemhan; consequently Cran-dhaemhan would equal in sound Crawnawn or Cronyawn. The word Crinan, Creenyawn, also implies the idea of rotundity, the globe, the world, the precise equivalent of one of its compounds, Domhan, the world. This idea of world is implied in the idea of Cranium (Greek Cranion) our S-Cull.

Said a gentleman to me, who is a professor of the Irish language, "Cronan is the name we give to a swarthy or dark complexioned man," having the same meaning as Ciaran (which he pronounced Keearawn), derived from Ciar, black or dark brown, corresponding to dubh, black or water-color. It has also, said he, the idea of rotundity, Cruinne which is Crinan, meaning the orb of the world, corresponding to domhan, or Budh, 'the world,' Beatha, 'life.'

In speaking of the epithet Crandhamhna, as applied to one Conall a king of Dalriada, Dr. O'Connor says: "Or, as in some Codices, Ceanghamhna." This would be pronounced Cawnyawn or Cawnawn, and the Cean or Cran in Cronan or Crinan equals 'Clann' or 'Mac.' *

In an enumeration of certain clans of Scotland, in regard to their descent, standing in the books of Farborough MacFirbis (Scot. Forbes), a celebrated antiquary who wrote about 1560, and was of the family of MacFirbises who compiled the Book of Lecan, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, there appears under its appropriate head the following entry: "MacGilla Eoin (MacLean), the two MacLeods (or the MacClouds,

* Crann means a tree rather in the sense of a beam, mast, shaft, that which shoots up or forth as a beam of light; and it must also mean a plant or young tree; for Welsh plant is issue, offspring, children, and the l and r being consonants of the same organ are much interchanged in the languages. The c and p are also much interchanged. "The Celtic Clan," says Webster, "is probably the Welsh plan, plant, with a different prefix." Clann is Clant or Cland; plann is plant or pland, and so Crann is Crant or Crand. That Clan is an equivalent for Mac is shown by the fact that clan is plan and the Welsh for Mac is Mab or Map, and everybody knows that a plan of anything is, in a sense, a map of it. Clan, plan, plant: "the radical sense is probably to shoot, to extend." — Webster. From the fact that O'Flaherty, in the Gaelic, spells this name Crionan I would rather think that, in connection with this clan of Ruidhri or Clan Duff, which is understood generally as meaning a house, a shieling or the like, Malcolm or any other man of this family, might have have been called, by the historian, Crianan for Grianan, the G being often represented by C, simply as a literal equivalent for the clan name Duibh or Craebh in the sense of Duibh; for the form Grianan has among its meanings a summer house, a palace, a peak of a mountain; or a sunny place, etc.

of the Islands of Harris and Lewis); MacConnigh (MacKenzie) Mac a Toisigh (Mackintosh); Murmor Hundon (Mormaer of Moray?) are of the race of Conaire."

This entry I take from Skene's Celt, Scotland (vol. iii., p. 119), and that author, who is an eminent Gaelic scholar and historian, knows nothing to the contrary of the "Murmair Hundon" or Hundi, referring here to the Mormaer of Moray. In connection, therefore, with our 'Kali Hundason' this entry may be taken fairly to show that said Kali was a descendant of the House of Moray.

The name which the Irish authorities generally wrote Cineath, was by the Scots usually written Coineach and Cuineach or Cunachadh, and also Conan or Conang, which last forms would be equivalent to Cronan. Speaking of Kenneth Kear, king of Dalriada, O'Flaherty says: "He is indiscriminately called Conchadh, Connadh and Conang, but not Cinaeth." Notwithstanding this, however, the Scots have translated the name Kenneth, because with them it was the same. If, then, our Hundi had for his baptismal name any of those forms which from Conair or Cronan, might, perhaps, as well as Coll be translated Hundi, then he must have assumed the name Malcolm, for the reason above given, which I consider not improbable. The house of the Mormaers of Moray was of the same stock as that of the MacAlpin line of kings, that is it was of the house of Ferchar III., whence the line proceeded. This will become clearer as we go on. As to the father of our Kali, that is, Hundi, while having been king of Scotland for twenty-nine years, it is not improbable from what may be discovered to the contrary that he may have held the office, whether honorary or otherwise, for a term or for his lifetime, of lay abbot of Dunkeld. This, however, is secondary to the idea of Hundi, being the father of Kali, and we have before us a remarkable instance of the obscuration of the Scottish history by the clerical scribes alluded to above.

Says Mr. W. F. Skene: "What may be called the Celtic period of Scottish history has been peculiarly the field of a fabulous narrative of no ordinary perplexity; but while the origin of those fables can be very distinctly traced to the rivalry and ambition of ecclesiastical establishments and church parties and to the great national controversy excited by the claim of England to a feudal supremacy over Scotland, still each period of its history will be found not to be without sources of information. Before the early history of any country can be correctly ascertained there is a preliminary process which must be gone through and which is quite essential to a sound treatment of the subject; and that is a critical examination of the authorities upon which that history is based. This is especially necessary with regard to the early history of Scotland."

After giving a succinct review of the works on Scottish history, preceding his own, this author says: "These works are all more or less tainted by the same defect that they have not been founded upon that complete and

comprehensive examination of all the existing materials for the history of this early period, and that critical examination of their relative values and analysis of their contents without which any view of this period of the annals of the country must be partial and inexact. They labor, in short, under the twofold defect, first, of an uncritical use of the materials, which are authentic; and, second, of the combination with those materials of others which are undoubtedly spurious. The early chronicles are referred to as of equal authority and without reference to the period or circumstances of their production. The text of Fordun's chronicle, upon which the history, at least prior to the fourteenth century, must always to a considerable extent be based, is quoted as an original authority, without adverting to the materials he made use of and the mode in which he has adapted them to a fictitious scheme of history; and the additions and alterations of his interpolater, Bowar, are not only founded upon as the statements of Fordun himself, but quoted under his name in preference to his original version of the events.*

It is well for me to remark here, in order that there may be the proper discernment in regard to this subject, that neither Mr. Skene nor any other writer intends to say that the work of Fordun and his continuator, Bowar, or that of Hector Boece, is entirely fictitious; but what they intend to say is that the true history of Scotland in its early periods has been by those writers so interwoven with fiction that it requires much labor and time and painstaking research on the part of the competent and unprejudiced critic to disentangle the facts and exhibit the continuous thread of the historic events free from mythic covering or class or race coloring. A man who would say, for example, that the work of Fordun is entirely fictitious would be prepared to say that the Albanic, Pictish and Scottish nations did not begin to exist before comparatively modern times, an assertion, which, if made, even intelligent common sense would at once negative, and the intelligence of the learned would say was idiotic.

Prof. Munch in his 'Chronicle of Mann' (pp. 46–48) calls the immediate successor of Malcolm II. 'Malcolm MacKenneth.' But in this he was following a misconception of Mr. Skene as published in his 'Highlanders of Scotland,' in 1837, in which he had suggested 'that two kings of Scotland, at this period, of the name of Malcolm had been confounded, one who died in 1029 and Malcolm MacKenneth, who died in 1034, and that the latter was Kali Hundason.' In his edition of Celtic Scot. published in 1880 (vol. I, p. 400, note), Mr. Skene notices the mistake of Prof. Munch and regrets that he should have led the Prof. into it; for that he had 'long since come to the conclusion that this theory is untenable.'

* Celtic Scotland, Introduction to vol. 1, by Wm. F. Skene, in 3 vols. Mr. Skene has the reputation of being one of the most perfect Gaelic-English scholars of his day. But notwithstanding his confession here he remained too much a slave to the fictions invented in the interest of class.

Prof. Munch, speaking from the Orkneyinga Saga with reference to Thorfinn, son of Sigurd, says: "Thorfinn outliving his oldest brothers became lord of Orkney and Shetland, and Caithness was given to him by his maternal grandfather, Malcolm MacMaelbrigid, and, after the death of Malcolm in 1029, he sustained a successful war with King Malcolm MacKenneth and conquered Sutherland and Ross," etc.

In speaking of the theory of two Malcolms at this period Mr. Burton says: "It is necessary to speak of them as one since there are no means of separating their two reputations." Hist. Scot. 1, 374.

Now, as to our number (25) we shall leave this for the present, expecting more light on it as we proceed. But referring to number (26) we have Kenneth III. all wrapped up in his mantle of Saint Brighit. But this Kenneth was a renowned warrior, and in the Sagas he is called Mag-Biodr, which Mr. Skene and others think is meant as a substitute for MaelBrighdi, in which they may be correct; but for which there might be other reasons as follows: MagBiodr, the Scandinavians would substitute for MacBoidh, which name they would give him, as a surname, from his father, whose name was Ruidhri, our number (27). The name Ruidhri is a compound word, made up of Rugh and Airidh. Now, if any one looks into the Gaelic Lexicon he will find Rugh to mean an arm, a cape, promontory, etc., and among its meanings also is a shieling, that is, a booth, hut, or summer residence for herdsmen. Of Airidh the first signification is shieling. MacRuidhri, therefore, would be literally translatable MacBoidhe or MacBaidhe, which the Scandinavians, calling the man by his surname instead of his Christian name, would set down as MagBiodr or MagBoidr.*

This Ruighri (27), whom they have set down in the history as Malcolm I, is in the Pictish chronicle simply called Mael, which may have given rise to the appellation of Malcolm I., as applied to him. Speaking of Constantine, the son of Aedh, his immediate predecessor' retiring to a mon-

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* A reference in Skene's (Celt. Scot. I, 57) has led me to suppose, if not decide, that our Keneth III. was named among his own people Cal or Col, genetive Cuil or Culi. From the records of grants, made from time to time to the Monastery of Deer in Buchan, there is the following expression: "Then Domnall, son of Ruidhri, the fifth-named mormaer (that is before mentioned), and Malcolm, son of Culi, give Bidhen, now Biffie; and here the king comes in as also possessing rights in these lands, for Malcolm, son of Cinaetha, or Malcolm II., gives the king's share in Bidhen, Pett mic Gobroig and the two Davachs of Upper Rosabard." I have thought it very clear that the Malcolm son of Culi and the Malcolm son of Cinaetha represented but one person, with a sort of glossing over to render obscure the king's identity; for, in the first place, I do not find that among the Scotch themselves the form Cinaeth was used much, if any, for our name Kenneth, their form being Caineach or Coinneach; and in the second place, their forms Call, etc., meaning Caldhaemh, Colbhaedh or Culaedh, the first part of the compound having the meaning of kin or clan, it is very likely that this form was put by their historians into the form Cinaeth as a just literal equivalent. But this 'Culi' is called in the same record the 'son of Batni;' as it comes to me, however, in English the Gaelic is not fairly represented in the expression. Baedhan, genitive Baidhni, is, of course, a diminutive of Baidh or Boidh, and Culi would be the genitive of Cal or Col, and so the expression 'Malcolm, son of Culi, son of Batni,' as given in English, would, in short, thus equal 'Malcolm mac-MaelBrighdi mic Ruidhri.'

astery in his old age, the chronicle, as Anglicised from the Latin, says: "And being decrepit with old age he took the pilgrim's staff and served the Lord, and resigned the kingdom to Mael, the son of Donald." Mael is evidently put here for Ruighri, meaning just the same as its first component.*

This Rudhri's father being named Donald (28) helps also to identify him as the 'Mael' or 'Malcolm I, Son of Donald,' of the history of Fordun. In one of the old English chronicles, in an enumeration of the kings who were present with King Edgar on one occasion (sometime in the interval 950–975) I see his name entered as 'Rinoch, the King of Scottes,' which, however, may have referred to his son Maelbrighdi. The root of this form of his name would be simply a diminutive of Rudha, a point of land or promontory, as explained above, and would mean, in effect, the same.†

This root evidently carries in it the idea of Toiseach, he who precedes, goes before, leads; and the use of the form ness (a promontory) exchangeably with tus or tos (see local names Moythus, Moythes and Moyness, as in Celt., Scott., III., 248; those different forms referring to the same place), which (ness) I take to be an abbreviation of Aengus, which in its turn must equal Taesean, fuller form Taeseanach, show that all these words are, as it were, clustered together in the idea representing the same thing or action, the same collective idea or course of action. Speaking in relation to the grades and relation of offices to each other among the Gaels in early times, Mr. Skene (Celt. Scot. III., 141) speaks as follows of the King: "As the supreme authority and judge of the tribe he was the Ri or King. This was his primary function. Then we are told that 'it is lawful for a king to have a judge, though he himself is a judge.' As the leader in war he was the 'Toisech' or captain, and bore the one or the other title as either function became most prominent, while in some cases these functions might be separated and held by different functionaries." Thus, I think, it has generally been with the Gaels in the ages preceding the introduction of foreign manners, customs, and modifications of government, or before the age of the children of Malcolm Ceanmor; and the MacAlpine line of kings, I perceive, were not averse to the title of Toiseach.

And now for some more light upon what has preceded: In Tiernach's Annals, under the year 1029, there is the following entry: "Malcolaim mac MaelBrighdi mic Ruidhri, Ri Albain, mortuus est." "Malcolm, the son of MaelBrighdi, the grandson of Ruidhri, King of Scotland, died." Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, p. 77.

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* "Rudha, a point of land jutting out into the sea, a promontory; Mael or Maol, a cape or promontory, the brow of a rock."—Gaelic Eng. Dictionary.

† "Roinn, a point, as of a weapon; a small promontory or headland."—Gaelic Dictionary. I is the diminutive form of the root that is used in the Greek for our word 'nose,' as 'Pis, genitive, 'Pivos, root 'Piv, this organ being a kind of 'point' or 'promontory' projecting from the face.

Under the year 1034 there appears in the same authority and on the same page the following: "Malcolaim mac Cinaetha, Ri Alpan ordan iarthair Eorpa uile deg." "Malcolm, the son of Cinaeth, king of the Alban nobility (or dignity) of all western Europe died." This is rather bombastic language and seems to me to have no meaning; but if it has, then, one Malcolm, the king of Scotland, died in 1029, and another, the king of all the nobility or dignity of western Europe died in 1034. Or would this last entry have had reference to some man who had been the recognized chief of some secret and wide-spread organization after the manner of the 'Masons?' Otherwise it is so evidently a foolish entry or a forgery that I do not think worth while to say any more about it.

In the course of their mystification and, in effect, falsification of the Scottish historic records the fabulists who would apparently make the Mac Alpine line of kings to have been distinct and of different origin from the house of Moray have stated that their Malcolm II., son to Kenneth III., son to Malcolm I., had no son but two daughters, one of whom was married to Sigurd, Earl of Orkney and the other to Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld. They, perhaps, did not foresee that it would be discovered in due time in the Sagas, that the Malcolm, whose daughter Sigurd had married, was Malcolm mac MaelBrighdi mic Ruidhri, who reigned over Scotland as its king for 29 years. This last statement taken from the Sagas, as to the length of time Sigurd's father-in-law reigned, proves beyond all doubt Malcolm mac MaelBrighdi to be identic with Malcolm mac Cinaedha; for, according to the best authorities upon this subject, Mr. Skene among the rest, king Grim, otherwise called MacDhuff, the immediate predecessor of Malcolm II., and the immediate successor of Constantine, the son of Cuillen, died in 1004 or 1005 (the Annals of Ulster having it in the latter year), to which if you add 29 years you have 1034, which according to all is the proper year of the death of Malcolm II. Any one, therefore, can see what invaluable helps those Sagas are to us in the work of disentangling the intricate web of this history, which no one who has not tried his patience with, can fully appreciate the difficulty of. Mr. Burton in his History of Scotland (vol. 1, 310), speaking in reference to the history of the earlier periods and the difficulty of coming to a proper understanding of it says: "The whole affair is so fugitive and confused as to afford nothing but perplexity to those who have tried to unravel it."

The Sagas know nothing about MacBeth under that name any more than they do about Duncan under this appellation; but impartial consideration of the subject shows that MacBeth, whether or not he was known by another appellation also, was an entity and was king of Scotland for about seventeen years.

But to illustrate how those old records have been made to confuse matters, take for an example the following from the chronicle of the Huntington under *anno* 1054: —

Comes Northumbriae Siwardus Scotiam ingressus Maket regem nepotem dicti Malcolmi cum XV annis regnaret, a regno fugavit, which is translated as follows: "Seward, Earl of Northumberland, having entered Scotland, chased from that realm King Maketh, the grandson of said Malcolm, when he had reigned fifteen years." Without thinking it necessary here to show that almost all the ancient authorities agree as to MacBeth having reigned seventeen years, or up to 1057 instead of 1054, as, according to this author, I will simply bring to your notice how that MacBeth is here called '*the grandson of said Malcolm.*'

But it might be difficult here to determine which MacBeth was referred to, there appearing to have been a MacBeth or MacBoidhe, grandson to Malcolm 1st, and a MacBeth, grandson to Malcolm II. This tabulation will illustrate the case: —

Ruidhri was Malcolm I.

Maelbrighdi was Kenneth III, son of

MacBoidhe son of Malcolm II, son of

Dunchadh son of Bethach, daughter of

Thorfin son of

The common opinion, as gathered from the genealogical lists appearing in the histories of those periods, was that King MacBeth was cousin-germain of Malcolm II, as having been grandson of Ruidhri through his son Finlaoch. But this is an eggregious mistake as I will make plain before having finished this Appendix work.

Under *anno* 1033, the year in which, according to Mr. Burton, Malcolm II. died, the Annals of Ulster have the following entry: —

'Mac meic Boidhe mac Cinaedha do marbhadh la Malcolaim meic Cinaedha:' which, as it stands, is thus translated: "A son of a son of Boidhe, son of Cinaedh, was slain by Malcolm, son of Cinaedh." Mr. Skene says with respect of the Cinaedh here mentioned: "He may either have been the same Kenneth who was father of Malcolm II." (*i.e.*, Maelbrighdi), "thus making Bodhe his" (*i.e.*, Malcolm's) "brother, or the Kenneth, son of Malcolm, who slew Constantine, son of Culen, and is supposed by Fordun to have been his" (*i.e.*, Kenneth III. or Maelbrighdis) "illegitimate brother."

The present reading, however, of the Annals would make the person who was killed by Kenneth (it makes no difference as to time, as you see, which Kenneth it was, the two Kenneths being supposed brothers by Fordun, just as if there were not enough names accessible to Ruidhri, *i.e.*, Malcolm I., to obviate the necessity of his giving the same name to two of his sons; but the Kenneth here referred to in the Annals appears clearly enough Kenneth III.); I say the present reading of the Annals would make the person who was killed by Malcolm II. to have been great grandson of Kenneth by his son Bodhe, and consequently two generations

farther down in the scale than Malcolm II., the supposed brother to that Bodhe. If, therefore, such a person lived in the time of Malcolm II., and the latter killed him, he must necessarily have killed a young and harmless child. But such an idea is inadmissable.

The true reading for meic Boidhe in the passage in the Annals is beyond doubt MacBoidhe, which would make the passage thus translated: "A son of MacBoidhe, son of Kenneth, was slain by Malcolm, son of Kenneth." This would make the person whom Malcolm is supposed to have killed to have been his nephew and Kenneth's grandson. I have not noticed that there was such a name as Baedh or Bodhe common among the Gaels, but Mac Baidhe or Mac Boidhe, etc., was not uncommon, and signified, I believe, a champion, a hero, an accomplished gentleman.*

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* In both Tiernach and Marianus MacBeth is entered as son of Finlaoch; but whether or not Finlaoch was a name by which a brother of Maelbrighdi was known, as according to some old genealogical tabulations, it is pretty certain that the MacBeth, who reigned King of Scotland for 17 years, was of the house of Malcolm mac Maelbrighdi, but through a female line. As king, therefore, he was illegitimate. "St. Berchan," says Skene, "gives MacBeth a reign of 30 years, which reckoning from his death in 1057 places its commencement about this time," *i.e.*, 1029 or when Malcolm II. deceased. Consequently this MacBeth must have been considered by a portion at least of the Scottish nation as King during the reign of Duncan. A person would think that a man so regarded at the time could not be supposed to have risen to the place from outside the house of Maelbrighdi, unless he were a conqneror of the country. Under *anno* 1029 the Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, p. 77, has the entry: "Malcolm mac MaelBrighdi mic Ruidhri, ri Alban, mortuus est." That is, Malcolm, the Second died in that year. "The later chronicles," says Skene, "state that he was slain by treachery at Glammis; and Fordun adds, by some of the stock of Constantine and Grym, — but the older notices of his death imply that he died a natural death." If Malcolm had killed his brother's son whether or not he had good reason from his point of view for such proceeding, he doubtless made enemies for himself; for the brother whose son had lost his life, who doubtless had a strong party in the nation in sympathy with him, would have taken the matter to heart; and perhaps none the least of those, who would meditate vengeance for the deed would be the maternal relations of the boy. This would be likely to be so whether or not anything would come of it.

Under *anno* 1020 the Annals of Ulster have the following entry: Finlaech mac Ruidhri, ri Albain, a suis occisus. That is "Finley, son of Ruidhri, king of Scotland, was slain by his own people." In Tiernach's Annals, wherein the entry is under the same year, Finley is called not ri or king but "Procurator or Seneschall of the clan of Craebh."

The Finley here spoken of was son of Ruidhri and full brother of Mallbrighdi, both kings of Scotland. The territory of which he was maormaer then included the shires of Moray and Ross and some authorities enter him as righ or king of Scotland, although he was properly but lieutenant of the king there. At the time of his death in 1020 he must have been an old man, for we find him engaged in war with Sigurd, earl of Orkney, shortly after Sigurd had succeeded to that earldom in 980. Now, although McBeth, who was king of Scotland after this, is entered in many records as son of Finlaoch, yet this Finlay was not his father, but Sigurd, with whom this man warred, was his father. McBeth was, on his father's side, a Norwegian; but, succeeding to the dominions which this man had governed after or somewhat before he became King of Scotland, it is likely he was thought of by many of the scribal authorities as not only the successor but the son of this man. Clan Craebh, *i. e.*, clan of the tree.

The reason why Tiernach's proper Annals are so comparatively meagre is thought to have been because of the author's great desire to have published only truth. I have thought it strange that his Annals should have been suppressed from 766 to 975 A. D. and although Dr. O'Connor supposes that the matter suppressed in his Annals appears, in the main, in the Annals of Ulster yet most investigators would prefer to have the statements under the name of Tiernach himself.

Under the year 995 there appears in Tiernach the following entry: "Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, king of Scotland, was slain by his own people." He is said by de Wyntoun to have been killed at Fetherkerne, which I believe is located in the district called the Mearns, by the wife of the maormor of that province, whose only son it is said Kenneth had caused to be put to death some time previously. Whether or not there be any truth in this it would seem to contain the story of Malcolm, the seconds death by anticipation. If one of them died a violent death the story may have been transferred to the other gratuitously?

It appeared to me, whether I was correct in my notion or not, that it may have been Fordun's inventive genius which created a Kenneth, son of Malcolm, to slay a Constantine son of Culen; and secondly it has appeared to me plain enough — the whole story of Crinan, abthane of Dull to the contrary notwithstanding — that Kenneth III. had a sufficient number of sons to occupy his throne after him independently of any stranger who might have happened into his kinship through a female line.

Mr. Skene continues: "Fordun tells us that the old custom of the succession of kings lasted without a break until the time of Malcolm II., son of Kenneth, when for fear of the dismemberment of the kingdom which might perhaps result therefrom that king, in a general ordinance, decreed as a law forever, that henceforth each king after his death should be succeeded in the government of the kingdom, by whoever was at the time being the next descendant, that is a son or a daughter, a nephew or a niece, the nearest then living. Failing these, however, the next heir begotten of a royal or a collateral stock should possess the right of inheritance." Fordun's Chron. B. IV. Ch. 1, Ed. 1872.

"Whether," continues Skene, "Malcolm actually issued a formal decree to this effect rests on the authority of Fordun alone, which can hardly be accepted for the events of this early period. Malcolm seems to have taken the readier mode of removing from life any competitor who could claim as a male descendant." Thus Skene. (Celt. Scot. vol. I., 399 note).

Would this whole thing have been pure and simple one of the continued fabrications of Fordun to which Mr. Skene himself sometimes gives a too literal interpretation; for it is a most unreasonable supposition that Malcolm would have gone to work and deliberately taken the life of any one simply to prevent such an one from succeeding in the government. If

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I have reflected, on consideration of this whole subject, that there is not only great likehood but abundant proof of the Gaelic records of this period, say from the tenth to the fifteenth century, having been corrupted for a purpose, that is, in connection with the mythico-historic productions of Fordun and the Irish historians and that consequently what is found in those records of those and preceding periods should be as far as possible compared with the Scandinavian or other external records, before they are set down as authentic.

Secondly, I have noticed that since the marriage of the son of Duncan with the English princess Margaret, the South British literature appears to have been all on one side. The son and grandson of Duncan, that is Malcolm III. and his son Edgar, if not his brother David also, came into the power in Scotland by means of the assisting forces from South Britain; consequently, since that time, there has been no little glorification of that one side on the part of the South British and Anglo-Scotch authors and no little contempt, if not abuse, of the other side. It is a sorry thing indeed to find a Scotch historian try to keep on the popular side at the expense, perhaps, of some principal. In true patriotism there it much true principle. This, indeed, is not narrow or contracted, but looking above small things and not allowing itself to brood over or be occupied with the faults or foibles of a few of its people, which faults are likely to be laid hold of and magnified by designing foreigners, perhaps for their own glorification, it embraces in its love the whole nation and kindred of its patria. Dr. Geo. Chalmers in his representation of the character of MacBeth might be thought to have developed a truly patriotic spirit if he had not developed it on the wrong side. He seems to have been conscious of MacBeth's illegitimacy as King, but if he thought him to have been by descent a Scot, he was mistaken.

he did take the life of any one it is most probable that he had good and reasonable grounds, at least from his standpoint, for such proceeding. O'Flaherty, Ogygia, I. 262, says of this Malcolm: "He made the crown hereditary which had been before a concession of the nobility; he enacted laws; divided the kingdom into baronies. John Skenae collected the statutes of Malcolm II., and published them; where in the first chapter, King Malcolm gave and distributed all the country of the Kingdom of Scotland to his subjects and reserved nothing for himself, as a property except his royalty and Mount Placid, in the village of Scone." He is said to have been the first who applied to the kingdom, the name Scotland; for in his reign he had won by war the territory south of the Firth of Forth, namely Lothian, so that he united the whole country as far as the English borders under the name of Scotland; I know not, indeed, whether O'Flaherty had in his possession a copy of the law collected, as he says, by Skenae; but it would seem that he was acquainted with it by his referring to its first chapter. Mr. Skene, however, says above that the said law 'rests upon the authority of Fordun alone,' and as to whether this was so or not I deem of no consequence.

When Fordun wrote, Scotland was under foreign, more especially Anglo-Normanic influence. He certainly appears not to have had all his interest in humanity or for himself centered in the Scottish nation. He appears to have been of foreign derivation to Scotland, for Mr. Skene, after referring to his description of the Highlanders as contained in vol. II., p. 38 of his Chronicle, says: "This description is, no doubt, to some extent colored by the predilections of one who himself belonged to the Low country population, but is not greatly unlike the prejudiced view taken of the characteristics of the Celtic population by late historians; and the struggle between the prejudices of the old historian against the Highland population, and his reluctant admission of their better qualities is apparent enough."

With a peculiar ingenuity under his ecclesiastical cloak his general object, as appears to me, must have been: first, a sort of unification of Scotland itself under a strong government, somewhat akin to the Normanic of that age; more nationality, less clanship would doubtless be for the end Fordun had in view, as best what was required. He, therefore, must, in his idea produce a history, so-called, in which the facts would be so interwoven and embellished with fiction that it would be difficult for the clans in future time to trace their origin, at least from his chronicle; and if they should undertake to do so they must, for the good of the general mass, become a laughing stock to the so-called learned class, who being largely of foreign derivation to the country would be in a position to attribute to them plausibly any foreign origin they pleased, without the people themselves being intelligent enough to exercise any judgment on the matter. He would thus, so to speak, render them mouldable, like clay in

the hands of the potter, as to their susceptibility to foreign influences and their receptivity of foreign institutions, national and local. Secondly, his object from the fraternal standpoint of a priest would doubtless have been the promotion of international friendship, intelligence and commerce, more especially among the people of the British Isles, and eventually the unification of North and South Britain. Whether this may be a somewhat fair view, in a limited way, of his general object, the man himself, his age and circumstance being considered, and whether all this has been accomplished to a remarkable degree at a much too great sacrifice to it, at the start, of simple truth only those who are acquainted with this general subject can judge; but it is evident that even Mr. Skene may have followed him too closely and understood him too literally in many places and connections in which his narrative may be fictitious.

It is agreed by all historians that with Malcolm II. the light breaks in upon the Scottish history. But this Malcolm II. the Sagas have enabled us to identify with Malcolm, son of MaelBrighdi; consequently Mael-Brighdi is their Cinaeth III. Now this Cinaeth III. was, of course, son of their Malcolm I.; but we really find by the genealogic list that Mael-Brighdi was the son of Ruidhri; consequently, as shown before, Ruidhri is their Malcolm I. But this, their Malcolm I. was, according to them, the son of Donald, which we find in the genealogic list to be the name of the father of Rudhri. He was doubtless in his lifetime usually called by the short name of Dumh. He is number 28 of our genealogic list, and is called by Dr. Chalmers and the other historians Donald IV. He must be the Donald Dagathach of the Ulster Annals and O'Flaherty and this being so we have in our No. (29) that is Morgand or Morcund not only Constantine but Aedh; for, according to all the authorities, the man we find to be Donald IV. was son to Constantine, which name in the Gaelic is Conn or Cund, the clan name thereof being Aedh. Morcand is merchant, that is, the Conn or chief of the sea (Mur). This Constantine they enter as son to Kenneth II.; but here the immediate predecessor of Morgand is entered as Donald, who, being also given as his father, leaves Constantine to have been grandson of Kenneth II., not his son. For it is certain the one in our list they intend for Kenneth II. is Cathmail No. 31; Gregair in the adjoining list, and in another list, Eoghan. This being so the one who immediately precedes Cathmail in our list, *i.e.*, Ruidhri; and, in the

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* Dr. Jas. Brown, in his History of Scotland, speaks of Kenneth McAlpin as of a mythical character, "celebrated in fabulous story for his supposed extermination of the whole Pictish nation;" and calls MacDuff, Earl of Fife, "a greater and more renowned hero than Kenneth McAlpin himself and not less apocryphal." In a like vein he speaks of Gregor, the Great, whom the clan of MacGregor claim as their ancestor. But notwithstanding all this those men were entities; doubtless, real, industrious, hard-working men in their day and generation. But the histories have clothed some few of them with different forms of name than those given to them in baptism—such as Fife MacDuff, with perhaps another name or two for the same man—while in most cases, doubtless the histories have entered them by their proper Christian names.

adjoining list, Dungal, is the man they intend for Alpin, for these three names, meaning the same thing, refer to the same person, whom some have also entered as Muiredhach.

Of the word Donald the parts are Daemh-land (nald being equivalent to land as Allin is in the Gaelic after mac or clan, MacNallie, etc., or as with us, our common name Ellen is Nellie; or in the Gaelic again, Seachlann is the same with Seachnaill, Dunseachlainn being Dunseachnaill, etc.), and in this name Donald we suppose the parts each to mean just about the same as the other. Now, although the form Connall, of which Cinnell is a variation, as for example, in the phrase Cineal Scuit, the Scottish race, Cinel Comhghall, the tribe or clan of Comgall, is but an inflection of Domhnall, that is a form which arises from the genitive after mac, clan, etc., MacDhomhnaill, being turned into MacConnaill as MacConnich arises from MacDhunach; and although this Connaill or Cinel or Cineal has the precise meaning of the form Cinaedh still and withal it may not be quite clear to those, who are unacquainted with the Gaelic language, its idioms, and the history of the nation whose language it was, that Domhnald MacChathmhail was sometimes Anglicised Connal MacConnal. Take the meanings of the parts then: Daimh, a house, a church, clan, people; Lann, an inclosure, church, house, land, either of them might in several of their senses be used for the other; but if a perfectly literal definition would be required of the compound word Donald, it would be the 'Dome of the Enclosure,' the roof of the house; as applied to a human being it would mean the 'head man of a State;' but the general meaning usually understood of it is 'clan,' 'house,' in which it agrees exactly with the form Cinaeth; which latter form, as I have remarked before, appears not to have been in very general use among the Scotch.*

The place where Alpin was killed in battle with the Picts of Galloway is called Drum Cathmail. "One of the Chronicles," says Skene, "appears to have preserved the traditionary account of his death, when it tells us that he was slain in Galloway, after he had destroyed it, by a single person who lay in wait for him in a thick wood, overhanging the entrance of the ford of a river as he rode among his people." In reference to the locality of the battle, the writer of the 'Statistical Account' says that 'its surface abounds with small hills of a conical figure called Drums;' and 'on the northeast is the green hill of Dungaile, whose summit was once crowned with a strong fort.' 'Dungayle,' says he, 'is probably a corruption from Dun — G. — Chathmhail, the aspirated consonants being quiescent.' N. S. A. vol. IV. pp. 144–5. "There is a large upright

* The simplest explanation of it is that Cinneal, which the Scotch people generally use for Cinneadh (it meaning exactly the same), is understood as a variation of Connall, which latter is or arises from an inflection of Domhnall, that is, after mac or clan, or the like in the genitive case.

pillar stone," says Mr. Skene, "to which the name Laight Alpin or the grave of Alpin is given; it belongs to the farm of Meikle and Little Laight on the eastern shore of Loch Ryan, and the stone is on the very line of separation between the counties of Ayr and Wigtoun."

In the early church in Wales there was a St. Cathmail (also called St. Cadoc and Docus) and Mr. Skene finds there was a place called Kirk Cormac in the parish of Kelton in Galloway, near Kirk Cudbright, about where the battle was fought, which place or church he supposes was in early times called Cathmail.

Either Ruidhri or Dungal was, doubtless, the baptismal name of this man, but he was afterwards given for variation in the histories other names, of the same meaning at least in some of their senses.

As to the date of Alpin's death we are told in the chronicle of Huntington that "in the year 834 there was a conflict between the Scots and Picts at Easter and many of the more noble of the Picts were slain and Alpin, king of the Scots, remained victorious, but, being elated with his success, he was in another battle, fought on the 20th of July in the same year, defeated and slain." This appears to be a variation of the other account.

Mr. Skene finds that in the old British language of Strathclyde Ruidhri means Dominus, which is the meaning given for the name Muiredhach by Vallancy and the old lexicographers. This name Muiredhach was used, doubtless, by some historians for further variation and mystification of the history at this period. This man is identical with "Muiredhach the good," the "son of Ferchar" in the Alban Duan.

In No. 33 of my list is the name Aincealach, spelled also in one old list I have seen, Aircealach, which is, doubtless, a mistranscription of a letter by some MSS. copyist. In the old Gaelic genealogies some whose proper name was Eochaidh appear in the histories under other names, as, for example, Carbri Righfhada and his grandfather Moghallamh, who had as their proper prenomen Eochaidh or Eoghan. This man, therefore, under whose two adjectival names of Aincealach (gentle, good) and Sealbhach (wealthy) they have made out so much of the historical romance, would seem to have had for his baptismal name Eochaidh; for Alpin is called "Son of Achaius." The strain of the history is that Sealbhach was a brother of Aincealach, who contested in war with him his right to the throne and so prevailed against him as to cause him to absent himself in Ireland for two years. That after the expiration of this time Aincealach returned, defeated Sealbhach in battle and resumed the administration of the government. But, if there were no other marks internal or external to indicate their character as partly fictitious, the contradictions and inconsistencies with which the histories of that age and country abound would clearly show to the historical critic that a large portion of the filling up or expansion of those histories must necessarily be of the nature of the historical romance.

No. 34 is quite a remarkable figure in Dalriadic history. To this Ferchard or to his father through a brother of his, all the private genealogies in the MacAlpin line, which have come under my observation, trace back. He is made eighth in descent from Loarn, who is set down in the Irish list as son of Erc and is represented in some histories as brother of Fergus. The genealogy of this Ferchard is given not only in the 'Tract on the Men of Alban' in the chronicle of the Picts and Scots (p. 316), but in the Books of Ballymote, Lecan and Leinster. Supposing, therefore, for the present, the said Loarn to have been as the statements in the Irish histories and the traditions represent, namely, as a son of Eric and elder brother of Fergus, then this Ferchard was the first of his line, after his eighth ancestor, who came to the throne of Dalriada. O'Flaherty puts him down as "16th king of Dalriada, and eighth from Loarn," so that of the race of Fergus, the latter included, there were fifteen kings before this Ferchard. Since, however, the old Scottish historians, Fordun and those who have followed him, have not mentioned Loarn or alluded to the clan called, afterwards, Cinnel Loarn, some people have thought Loarn to have been only another name for Fergus. Supposing it, first, to be as the Irish histories represent then Ferchard's accession to the throne arose from the following chain of circumstances. From the death of Donald Brec, king of Dalriada, in war with the Britons of Strathclyde, in 642, A. D., it is noticed that no one is called by Tiernach Ri of Dalriada (although he mentions two or three who succeeded each other), before the son of this Ferchard. "Dalriada," says Skene, "seems to have fallen into a state of anarchy on the death of Donald Brec. During the remainder of this century we find no descendant of Aidan recorded, bearing the title of king of Dalriada, and it is probable from Adamnan's remark" (circa, 700 A. D.), referring to Donald Brec, "that from that day to this they have been trodden down by strangers," that the Britons now exercised a rule over them. (Celt. Scot. 1,250). From this it is seen that the Britons did, for a time, during the period indicated, dominate over the Dalriadians, which both they and the Angles did to some extent over the Picts, whom they wished to bring more under subjection to them; for Bede tells us that in the year 685 "Ecgfried, king of Northumbia, led an army to ravage the provinces of the Picts, and that the enemy feigning a retreat, he was led into the passes of inaccessible mountains and slain with the greatest part of the forces which he had taken with him, on the 20th day of May, in the 40th year of his age," *i.e.*, in the year 685. In this expedition Ecgfried seems to have wrought much destruction to the Pictish cities, and, says Skene, "he seems at the same time to have sent a detachment from his army into Dalriada where he burnt Dunollaig, now Dunolly, the chief stronghold of the Cinel Loarn."

The effect of this crushing defeat of the Anglic army, together with their King's death, was to enable those who had been in a somewhat sub-

ject state to recover their complete independence: Bede sums it up: "From that time the hopes and strength of the Anglic kingdom began to fluctuate and to retrograde, for the Picts recovered the territory belonging to them which the Angles had held and the Scots who were in Britain and a certain part of the Britons regained their liberty, which they have now enjoyed for about 46 years." (Bk. IV., ch. 26.) Bede died about *anno* 734.

"Although," says Skene, the 'Scots of Dariada had thus obtained entire independence they did not immediately become united under one head. Their freedom from the yoke of the Britons and Angles was followed by a contest betweeen the chiefs of their two principal tribes, the Cinel Loarn and the Cinel Gabhran, for the throne of Dalriada. On the death of Donald Brec, when the Britons obtained a kind of supremacy over the Dalriads, his brother Conall Crandamhna and his sons Maldun and Donald Duin appear to have been at the head of the Cinel Gabhran; but Fearchar Fada, the chief of the principal branch of the Cinel Loarn, had, as we have seen, *taken the lead in the attempt to free Dalriada from the rule of strangers.* (Celt. Scot. 1, 271.)

In the year 690, according to Tiernach and all the best authorities, died Malduin, son to Donald Duin to whom succeeded Ferchard Fada, who must have died in the seventh year of his reign, 697. Mr. Pinkerton in his critique, written in 1728, remarks that *all the old lists have Malduin to immediately precede Ferchard Fada.* In the year 687–8, according to Skene, Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, sent twelve ships to Loarn for oaks and had the monastery repaired, which since the time of its foundation by Columba Cille, had fallen into disrepair. Hector Boethius informs us that this monastery was rebuilt by Malduin, King of Dalriada, who died in 690. Referring to this matter Skene says in regard to Malduin: "He, therefore, reigned at the very time when Adamnan was abbot, and this fixes the date of these repairs as between 687 and 690." The old records put the death of Ferchard Fada in 697; but O'Flaherty, in order to suit his chronology, puts it in 711, which is surely wrong. Between the Ferchard called son of Conadh Caer and him called son of Feredach I cannot distinguish. They resolve themselves into one.

If those who understand literally the story of the two contesting brothers think they have ground to conclude the real Cinneth MacAlpin descended through Sealbhach instead of through Aincealach, it is plain that the one (Cinneth) to whom only they can have reference is "Gregair the great," the son of Dungal, who is put down in the old historically romantic chronicles as having reigned over Scotland for eighteen years (878–896); for, in the first place, Dungal in the list is made son of Sealbhach; and this Dungal they represent as occupying the throne fo six years in the early part of that century; and if this Grigair (Gairig, *i.e.*

Cathair) son of Dungal were the son of this Dungal who was son of Sealbhach, and there is nothing to indicate that he was not, then he would have been the great grandson of Fearchard who died in 711 and might be supposed, even on historical grounds, to have lived in the time set down for him. The following I extract from that tissue of fabrication, Hollinshead's Chronicle, V., 217–18. Speaking of the arrest and imprisonment of Aedh, son of Cinnaeth, in A. D. 878, he says: "This done they proceeded to the election of a new king; and in the end by the persuasion of one Dongal, governor or thane of Argyle, they chose Gregory, the son of that Dongal, who reigned before Alpin, who was not past two months old when his father died." Supposing Gregair to have been son of that Dongal, who was grandson of Ferchard Fada, you will see where his name appears in the list, and under this name he is ancestor to the clan of MacGregor,* *who still trace their descent from Kenneth MacAlpin.* But I nave examined the authorities on this subject both in the originals and in English and conclude that any representation which makes a Gregor, the great, as distinct from Kenneth McAlpin is a fiction pure and simple.

The want of uniformity in the lists, which reckon the ancestors of Alpin in the male line back to Fergus, would lead a person to suppose that there existed great doubt as to the proper filiation of Alpin. But on the other hand, if the number of generations in the different lists between Alpin and Eric is found to be the same, a person would think the conclusion reasonable that the men represented in the different lists were identical under different or somewhat different forms of name. This last conclusion might also be thought to be justifiable, when the fictitious and mystic work accomplished by Fordun in the Scottish historic records is considered.

I have seen a list from Andrew de Wyntoun, Prior of Loch Leven, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and another from the Chronicle of Mailros, both of which traced back only a few generations from Alpin, but far enough to plainly show that the male line of Alpin's ancestors went back through Ferchard III. With these partial lists it is unnecessary for me to trouble you farther, especially when it is considered that I present you the full list from the Book of Lecan compared with and revised by the Scottish authorities. After we get back to Erc we connect with other lists, one from the same source, revised by the Scotch, and then from lists which I have reason to believe correct and will show to be so, until we arrive at the link at which we will terminate our list.

I think it, however, expedient to give a limited exegesis of some of the

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* The Albanic Duan mentions not either Sealbhach or Gregair in its list of Gaelic kings. But there can no doubt remain that Sealbhach, Dungal and Gregor are but other names on paper for Aincealach, Rudhri and Cathmal, respectively; and these again for Eochaidh, Alpin and Kenneth. The baptismal name of Kenneth II. was doubtless Eoghan, as is given in one of the lists, and Eachain is Caineach, which is the Scotch form of Kenneth.

names in our list as compared with some of those appearing in other lists represented to be of the ancestors of Alpin, such, for example, as that Dr. Geo. Chalmers adopted and followed: Referring to numbers 34, 35 and 36 of our list I may remark that the name-forms Fearchard, Fearchar, Fearchadh, Fearchann and Fearghaes being often misentered for each other in the old Gaelic histories, accounts, doubtless, for the form Feargus appearing in the short list referred to of Wyntoun and the chronicle of Mailros in the place of the proper form Fearcar or Fearcard. "Wyntoun," says Chalmers, "enters Sealbhach as Sewald," which is true of the chronicle of Maelros also as to that name; but we have as positive historic proof as is necessary in Tiernach and other ancient authorities that the name of the father of Sealbhach was spelled Fearchard or Fearchar not Fearghus. The literal meaning of this last form is "a male relation" or a "kinsman;" that of Fearghaes or Fergus would be properly "a male scion," having in it, perhaps, a little more of the idea of "champion" of a house than the other, but, considering, the root gaes, which is the original of our word "house," in the sense of clan or blood relations, which must necessarily be its root meaning, then Fearghaes means "a kinsman" just as the other, use having giving to it the heroic idea.*

The Fergus, then, of the short list of Wyntoun is undoubtedly for the Fearcard of our list (34); and, in like manner, the Aedh Finn of our list would be represented by Feredhach, our number (35); that is, this last form would be in effect the other form; for Feredhach equals exactly Finedhach, Fear having here the same meaning as Fine.†

This name Aedh is sometimes spelled Eochaidh, and even Eoghan, the diminutive or genitive being often and indifferently used among the Gaels for the root form. For example, Eochaidh Buidh, son of Aidhan, is called by Fordun, in his history, Eugenius (*i.e.*, Eoghan), Eochaidh and Aedh; by Bocthius and Buchanan he is called Eugenius IV., and St. Adamnan, in his life of Columba, which he wrote about the year 700, A. D., calls him Aedh. If Aedh Finn, as here, was originally written Aedhghan it might be translated Eugenius. The forms in Chalmers' list corresponding to our numbers 34 and 35 were Eochaidh and Eochaidh. Another

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* The old list of Fordun and Buchanan, which has Alpin to descend from this same Aincealach, enters this name in their Latin histories as "Amberkellethus, the son of Findanus." Dr. Keating (Hist. p. 141) in speaking of the Tuatha de Danaans, having already spoken of two castes of them, says: "The third caste, called Danaan, was composed of such as were devoted to the arts; for 'dan' (daun) and 'ceard' mean the same thing, *i.e.*, 'art,' 'handicraft.' Thus they were named Danaans from their 'dans' or 'arts.'" Fear, as above explained, meaning Finn, you find by this that Fearchard means the same as Findan, and besides have occasion to notice how Fordun and his class have doctored the Scottic history.

† Fine, a clan, family, tribe, as Na Fineachan Gaedhalach, the Highland clans. As regards color both Fine and Fear mean 'fair' not 'white' as Wyntoun has expressed in translating Aedh Finn 'Hed whyte' or 'white head,' perhaps for the sake of his metre. It is, of course often translated white, in accordance with Cormac's Glossary; "Fear, *i.e.*, find, *i.e.*, white," etc.

variation I have seen was Ewan and Ewan; but they managed to have so many Eochaidh's and Eoghans in the Gaelic histories that I have thought it must have been a handy name they sometimes gave a man, whose proper name was of some other form, or, *vice versa*, a man's prænomen might have been a certain Gaelic form, let that form be what it might, and it be written down by a Saxon scribe long after the man was dead under some other form; for there is reason to believe that many such scribes who meddled with the Gaelic histories did not properly understand the language or its idioms, and in some cases rather tried their ingenuity in punning upon it than in doing justice by a fair transcription. In our number (36) we have Fergus, who may possibly in the popular mind, have been set down as Fergus II.; for the popular mind, we know, confounds all chronologic distinctions; but what I want to remark about him is that he may have been entered in some of the histories by his surname, which would be MacNeachtain (37), which equaled, as then understood, MacEachan, the N being here for the article prefixed and not belonging to the root, and the t being aspirated and quiescent. What I mean is that a man, although likely to be called by his Christian name, would be not unlikely to be called by his surname; such surnames, I mean, as were then in use, the Christian name of the father after Mac, and this mac, clan or cran, or whatever the prefix might be, that went to make up the surname, would, of course, be sometimes dropped and the father's name be applied to a man, both in speech and writing, as if it were his own praenomen. This would be a mistake in fact, but popular use would render it permanent in print.* Thus the name Eochaidh being involved in Fearedhach, which is Eochaidh with the prefix Fear, we have in effect in our numbers 34 and 35, in the first case the name Eochaidh involved in the surname, and in the second case involved in the praenomen, which would leave it not at all difficult for fictionists, such as Fordun, or Saxon scribal punsters, to make out several of the name of Eugenius or Eochaidh almost wherever they might please in the list, although the nominatives in the Gaelic were of different forms.

I think it true, as implied in the histories generally, that among the Gaels the praenomen Fergus may have been sometimes applied to a man, indicating the idea of "champion," "hero," although his praenomen proper might have been of some other form. Would then the Christian name of our Fergus (36) have been the Domhaugart of Chalmers after Fordun & Co.? And, as Sneachtain means Toiseach, would this form (37)

* When this name is spelled Sneachtain it represents Toiseach and is what remains of the form Toiseanachthain, consequent upon the aspiration and quiescence of letters after mac, clan, etc. Neachthain, consequent upon the aspiration of the t equals Neachain, and the N prefixed to this form not being radical, the form really equals Eachain. For further light on this form of name see the account of the sons of Uisneach (*i.e.* Tuiseanach) in Keating's History of Ireland, p. 267; Naesi, son of Uiseanach equals Aenghaes, son of Tuiseanach. And for light on the derivation of the form Neachtan, see as to Loch Neach, for example, which equals Loch-an-Ethach, the lake of Eochaidh, or of the horse. Thus the verb to neigh.

be for Donald Brec who fell *leading on* his Gaels against the Britons in 642, A. D.?

The names in our numbers (38), that is, Colman, and that in (39), that is, Baedhan, are indeed the names of celebrated saints in the time of these men, namely, St. Colum, abbot of Iona, and his immediate successor in the abbacy, St. Baedhin. Whether it happened so with men generally it is pretty certain that many of the saints of those days were not usually called by their proper Christian names. Keating tells us in his history that the proper name of St. Colum Cille was Crimhthan (pron. Crivan or Griffin); that he got the name of Còlum Cille or "Dove of the Church," as a familiar appellation from his school-fellows, when a boy, he was accustomed so punctually to attend the church. After telling us that this soon became in effect his proper name, his baptismal name Crimthan being forgotten, he says: "Such changes often happened with the names of holy men. St. Mochuda is another instance of it. His baptismal name was Carthach. There was St. Caemhan, also a disciple of Patrick, whose first name was Mac Naesi; and then there was St. Patrick himself, whose baptismal name was Succath, and to whom St. Germanus gave the name of Magonius, when he confirmed him, and upon whom the Pope, St. Celestinus, conferred, lastly, the name Patricius, preparatory to his mission to Ireland to propagate the faith therein." "Again, there was St. Finbar, the patron saint of Cork, whose baptismal name was Louan; and so it happened with many others of the same class." (Keating's Hist., pp. 458 and 460.) I may add that this St. Finbar is written also St. Barfinn and merely St. Bar. And St. Mochua (not Mochuda) is St. MacDhuach, the sound of the latter combination giving rise to the form Mochua. It is not here intended to be implied that the men represented in our numbers 38 and 39 were those saints, Colum Cille and Baethin, any more than it is intended to be implied that they were not good men; but it is not altogether improbable that they may have had baptismal names different from those they have in the list, which their people may have applied to them after the names of those saints. Would then our Colman (38) have been identic with the Eochaidh Buidh of the list of Chalmers, and our Baedhan (39) with his Aedhan, for, a person would think, whether it so happened in this case or not, that Aedhan, with the B prefixed, is Baedhan?*

* There is historic evidence of some celebrated warriors, such as Constantine mac Aedh mic Cinaedha and Sealbhach mac Ferchar mic Feredhaigh having in their old age entered monasteries. The last named I find put down also in the history under the name of Eochal, a name which arose to him from his monastic life. And here is an illustration of how two such names of one man may be made in the after history to stand for two men. Wyntoun does not make the mistake, for he puts in its proper place "Sewald, called by some Eochal;" but the chronicle of Maelros commits the egregious blunder of putting in the proper place of Sealbhach, "his son Sewald; to whom succeeded Eochal Venonosus," a mistake evidently which was likely to lead to many mistakes.

In number (40) of our list we have Eochaidh, in number (41) Muredhach and in (42) Loarn, names of which, if the men in the list aforementioned of Chalmers be identic with those in our list, would stand for Gabhran, Domhanghart, and Fergus respectively in that list. Neither the ancient Scottish histories, as Fordun and his followers, nor Tiernach, nor the Annals of Ulster, nor the Four Masters, who, however, are merely copyists of the foregoing and others, mention Loarn under that name but they may mention him under the form of Fergus.

This has led some to suppose that Loarn was the proper praenomen of the man to whom Fergus might have been given as an honorary title. And what strengthens this supposition, it is thought, is the fact that in the interview reported of St. Patrick with Eric, the prince of Dalriada and his family, Loarn does not appear to have been mentioned by name, but Fergus obtained the saint's benediction, with a prophecy that the kingdom of Albania was to belong to his descendants, which Jocclin claims to have remained in their hands down to his time, 1195 A. D.; but if it were so that the Loarn, who was eighth ancestor in the male line of Ferchar III., was not identical with Fergus then this could not have been so; for from the time of this Ferchar the government was certainly in the hands of his descendants and his genealogy goes back to Loarn son of Eric, which name occupies in the list exactly the same place as the Fergus, son of Eric, of the list of Fordun and Chalmers does. In the Albanic Duan, composed about 1057 A. D., the author makes Loarn to have been the first Scottish king in Albania, giving him a reign in his old age of ten years. Fergus he makes his next successor on the throne and gives him a reign of twenty-seven years, which makes the thing appear as if he were the son rather than the brother of Loarn, as he would appear to have made him.

The most careful historical investigator is, on some occasions, not unlikely to take too much for granted. Dr. Geo. Chalmers was a laborious investigator himself, and in general he had great confidence in O'Flaherty as a pioneer for him in the Dalriadic history; but I find that in some things this pioneer may not have been a perfectly safe guide. He puts down, for example, Eochaidh, he calls Rinneval, as the 'grandson of Donald Breac by his son Domangard,' quoting as his authority the Alban Duan; yet I find the Duan of itself does not bear him out in this; for it does not say who this Eochaidh's father was, simply designating him 'Eochaidh of the horses.' But it is not impossible that Flaherty may have had some other authority for this in his mind, which he has not quoted, and that we may have the said Eochaidh and his father and son in their proper places in our list under other forms of name?

As to the form Loarn it may not be considered strange that some people have thought that form to have arisen in Scotland from the form Gabhran after I give the following explanation.

The form Gabhran is a very old clan name of the Goths, Gaels and

Hunns. The form ending in n is a genitive form being in full Geabarchan or Deabarchan. Here the b is sounded v or u and the initial G or D coming after Mac, Clan or Sil, in the genitive, would lose its sound or partake of the sound of the final letter of the word which governed it; thus, after Mac or Clan the sound would be Awran; but Sil Ghabharchan, for example, would be sounded Sheel Lawran.

See, for illustration, our words 'teach' and 'learn.' This last is the Saxon laeran, which had in that language both significations, namely, to teach and to learn; and in popular use in our language, as Webster says, it has still both meanings. But in accordance with its root gabh, to 'take' 'acquire,' etc., our learn means to 'receive' or 'acquire' ideas concerning things, that is, knowledge; while, 'teach' in accordance with its root tabh in tabhair, to 'give,' means to give ideas of things, 'impart' instruction. Says Chauncey Goodrich, in his synonyms prefixed to Webster's Dictionary: "*Learn* originally had the sense of to *teach*, in accordance with the analogy of the French and other languages, and hence we occasionally find it with this sense in Shakespeare and Spenser. This usage has now passed away. To *learn* is to receive and to *teach* is to give instruction. He who is taught learns, not he who teaches." The Saxon taecan meant 'to teach' and 'to take.' The words for to 'give' and to 'take' are in the mother languages evidently only variations of the same root. A structure we call a 'house' for example is a house whether we view it from the outside or from the inside; but it implies a remarkable differentiation in the general idea of the house; as to which of these points of view you have in your idea. In the former case, you may say, you have the 'teach,' a Gaelic word for house, Greek Δειχω, root Δειχ, to show, Latin doceo, root doc, to teach, etc., for to teach is to show implying light; and in the latter case, in the inside you may say you have the gaebh, Gaelic to take, acquire, hold, receive, cave or hole implied, the container, receptivity, the open hand which closes up upon what it receives, and the root daebh or dubh, the d being here for the g, means in one of its senses a house, and in another, dark or black. The outside of the roof, thach or Teach, implies light, giving, imparting; the inside darkness, recipiency. It is a carrying out, with another root, our idea of hill, hell, hole, the same root varied.

Now, although I understand the word Aedh or Edhach to be root of our Gaelic word Teach, a house, that is, Deach for Edhach; and although I apprehend that our word 'teach' or a slight variation of that root, must be originally involved in our word 'learn;' * for otherwise it could not

* I find our clan was not only called clan Taigh, that is, genitive of Teach, a house; but also clan Dai, for Daimh or Duf, pronounced Du, a house. But, it is likely, different families of the same general clan went under these different forms of the name. I may say further that the forms Aedh and Aedhach or Eth and Ethach must have been understood as equivalent to

among the ancient Saxons have had the meaning of to 'teach,' still I clearly perceive that if the form Loarn did arise at all from the root Gabhran it might have arisen in this simple way, namely, that Cinel Ghabhran (the initial G in Gabhran being aspirated and quiescent after Cinel) would among the Gaels have been pronounced as we would pronounce Cinel Lawran, and thus the idea of two clans might be supposed to arise out of what was only one originally.

I do not conceive that this idea of two clans would be likely to have originated early in this way among the people themselves, but in later times it might arise from the writings of Saxon or foreign scribes, who did not possess sufficient knowledge of the Gaelic language and its idioms to fairly represent in their histories the Gaelic historic affairs and events, or, even if some of them did, their object might not have been to fully and truthfully instruct the people upon the course and nature of the real historical events; or, perhaps some of them foolishly thought it not expedient to have the general public know as fully and clearly the history of their country as the learned class who could criticise and investigate and understand the Latin and Greek and other foreign expressions they chose to scatter among their writings. Of course an author should feel free to put in a foreign word in his writings if he thinks it eminently fitting to do so, judging that it will serve its purpose with such as well understand it better than a native expression; and it must be confessed that not all who may be called fair English scholars understand their mother tongue, equally well in the matter of the contents of books.

It may be remarked in connection with our present subject that Tiernach and the Annals of Ulster appear to speak of the Clan Loarn and the clan Gabhran as early as the year 700 to 720, when the sons of Ferchard Fada were waging their wars against Dunachadh Beag. The clan spoken of as in opposition to Sealbhach is clan Gamhna, which perhaps is only another form of Gabhran, as before this time the great clan of Gabhran doubtless became distinctively subdivided into rival septs, which occasionally entered into war with each other. If, however, as appears to be the understanding of the Irish historians, the Clan Loarn were a clan *per se*, sprung from a man whose praenomen was Loarn, but whom the old Scottish historians do not notice, at least under that name, I would nevertheless understand that the name-form Loarn would be at least an exact literal equivalent in meaning for Dubharchon or Gubharchon; for Loarn

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Teach and Daimh, for Aedhach is equivalent to our word Adam which is pronounced in Gaelic Awoo, and Edhach or Ethach to our word Edom which Bible students understand to be the same word originally as Adam, meaning a house, land, red land, a reddish man, a Phœnician, etc. Hence, you see, the foregoing shows you that Eth or Ethach, being equivalent to Adam and Edom, Seth and Sethach must be also equivalent and you do not wonder that mount Seir, that is, Sether, equal to Sethach, is Eshaw or the mount of Edom.

would equal as to parts, Lugharchon, sea chief, etc., etc., just as the others.*

The old compilers of the Scottish history, Fordun and his followers, make their Fergus II. to have been the fortieth King of Scotland, and the reckoning of the proper Scotch genealogical list makes him twenty-second in male descent from Fergus 1st. This account, all things about it being considered, I think, on the whole, quite reasonable to say the least. The old authorities also are likely to have been not far from correct as to the time they put down for their Fergus II., the son of Eric, and in what they say as to this juncture of the history. I will give here the words of the old record as to this juncture.(39) *i. e.*, the thirty-ninth king: "Eugenius 1st. Fincormachus Sonne. A valiant, just and good king. He was slain in

* In the old Lexicons 'Dubh has among its meanings the sea, water, as Dobhar, a river, and that Lugh means the same originally we have the evidence of in the form Lough, the old Irish form of the Gaelic Loch, the same root word anciently. Moreover, in the old Lexicons Loch has the identical meaning of Dubh as to color, meaning black, dark, really the color of water or slate color. Adamnan (B. I, c. 27), says that the inhabitants of Skye 'call to this day,' the river in which the Pictish Chief Artbranan was baptized Dobhar Artbranan, and in Cormac's Glossary (Ir. Ar. Soc'y, 1865, p. 53) we find Dobhar is water, unde dicitur Dobarchu, *i.e.*, an otter, as in another Glossary (Gaelic, Soc. Tr. Dublin, p. 12), we find 'Dobhar a river.' Adamnan (B. II. c. 38) also tells us of a peasant, 'who lived in the district which borders on the shore of the Stagnum Aporicum' or Aporic lake (by which he is understood as meaning Lochaber), and placed a stake, blessed by St. Columba under the water, near the bank of the river, 'qui Latine dici potest Nigra Dea,' and caught a salmon of extraordinary size. This river is now called the Lochy, which running from loch Lochy, empties into the Linnhe loch, near fort William. The name the first component of which Adamnan translates Nigra was, 'Lochdea,' and in the title to B. I. c. 28, Adamnan has the same name in his Stagnum Lochdiae, which he located in the Pictish province. "It is now," says Skene (Celt. Scot. II. 456), corrupted into Lochy in which the obsolete word Loch, black, is preserved."

But Loch and Dea, more properly Dae, are two components, which, more easily recognizable in the forms Loch and Daebh, have the same signification; and so Lochdhea would be Loch-aedh and an equivalent in this sense to Lughaedh, and this would be equivalent as personal appellation to Dubhaedh, genitive Dubhthach, so that Lake Lochy would be translated Lake Lughy or Lake Duffy, as an equivalent appellation, whatever meanings the roots might have as differentiate from each other.

Now, if instead of Aedh or Dae we suffix to root Lugh, Lath or Lo, Dubh, Daebh, Gubh or Gabh, the component Archu, genitive Archon, a component which has also various meanings but as a personal appellation would equal in meaning the first part of the component that is Lugh or Daebh, then we shall have Loarn, or Gawran or Duverin, all easily enough understood. It may have thus arisen that the Clan Lugaidh or Loarn is called in the genealogies Clan Dubh.

La, genitive Latha, for which the form Lô is sometimes used, is Gaelic for our word day, which shows (1) that the root ta or te of teach is involved in our word Learn, connected with the root of Light; and (2) that Clan Loarchan or Lodharchan would be equal in signification to Clan Duarchan or Clan Duverin; Aedh or dhaedh, meaning also the circle of the sun, the zodiac, the day. An ancient Gaelic word for day is Dia, which corresponds to Latin die; Welch dydh; Sanscrit, dyu; but quite a common word in use among the Irish for day is iudh, which anybody can see is for the old form Aedh, and would be pronounced wèe about as iudh. In the name Lughaidh you can see the ancient root of our English word 'light,' corresponding to day; but I can hardly agree with the lexicographers, MacLeod and Dewar, that the modern Gaelic word Lochran, a lamp, a light, a torch, has for its second component with Lô or Lâ crann, a tree, beam, shaft or mast; it appears to be Laegharchon or Lugharchan and to refer to the king of day, the light-giver, the sun.

The word luchd is translated into our language load, burden, cargo, and also as a collective noun people, folks, Luchd-daimh means kinsmen; as Fear-daimh and Fearchard means a Kinsman.

battle by the Pictes and Romans, and the whole Scottish nation was utterly expelled the isle by the Pictes and Romans, and remained in exile about the space of four and forty years, 357–360. (40). Fergus 2nd, Erthus* Sonne son to Ethodias,* Eugenius the First, his brother, returning into Scotland with the help of the Danes and Gothes and his own countrymen, who were gathered to him out of all countries, where they were dispersed, conquered his kingdome of Scotland again out of the Romans' and Pictes' hands. He began his reign in the year of the world 4374, in the year of Christ 404. He was a wise, valiant and good king. He was slain by the Romans in the sixteenth year of his raigne."..... 404–420.

Such is the expression of the old chronicles, which represent one or two generations to have been born during the time of their exile. This time, so far as the great body of the people were concerned, appears to have been spent in Ireland; and while the old chroniclers point to Denmark as the birthplace of Fergus, and, of course, his brothers, the Irish authorities seem to agree that these brothers were born in Ireland, in which country, that is, in its northeast part, they possessed a considerably extensive territory, tributary, of course, at that time, to the house of Niall Naei Ghiall, into whose family the exiled princes were marrying and giving in marriage. The account of the exile of the Scots at this time appears to me truthful, for at that period the Romans and Picts bore hard on their principality; and in the matter of what the Scots offer in their chronicles, as being the ancient history of their little kingdom, I would, of course, give preference to that as compared with what outsiders might have to object to it.

For, in the first place, if any investigator looks with an unprejudiced mind into the ancient history of Scotland, preceding this Fergus, called the Second, as given in Fordun and Buchanan's History, he will, doubtless, conclude that that historic representation, however much or little fiction there has been interwoven into its tissue, must have had a foundation in fact and will reason thus on the subject: "The country was there and was inhabited and must needs have had a government; here is a history before me purporting to be of that country, and its government, such as this may have been, for that period which it claims to represent; and even if there be nothing in the histories of other countries to support this as an authentic record, still I find nothing in history or literature to negative, no, nor truly to controvert it; all I find in this way being a few doubts expressed as to it by some men, who, perhaps, could not comfortably harbor the idea of anything worthy the name of organized government or civilized society having existed in the British Isles before the times of Saints Patrick and Austin; I, therefore, conclude that as the country existed, and was inhabited, and must needs have had a govern-

* Erthus is here for Erc, and Ethodius, brother of Eugenius 1st, is for Eochaidh Muinreamhar of our list. This Ethodius, however, was not son to Fincormac.

ment of some sort, that this record claiming to be a history of that country, while it may contain many errors, inaccuracies and only approximations to the truth, must have had a foundation in fact, as I take it for granted that the majority of the inhabitants of that county were from age to age not insane."

And, now, in regard to the subject we are particularly considering you can see plainly by the direction in which that conclusion points: 1st. If Loarn and Fergus mac Erc mic Ethach Murinreamhar were identical then the appellation Loarn or Kinel-Loarn would have arisen as above indicated, in connection with the history, say within two centuries after he had died; and, thus, the men represented under the name forms Muiredhach and Ethach in the one list would be identifiable with those under the forms Domhangart and Gabhran in the other, whether or not we might suppose in this case the form Domhanghart was assumed in addition to his real name by Muiredhach, to indicate him a servant of St. Domhangart, the disciple of Patrick, who was of the first or second generation immediately preceding him. A person would naturally conclude the identity inferrable from the absence of any mention of the name Loarn in Fordun and his followers, and from the fact that these authorities have shown Alpin to have descended through Aineeallach, although they mystified the subject here by making him the son of Findan, which, however, has been understood by the mystifiers as a perfect equivalent for Ferchard. I have wondered that Dr. Chalmers did not examine more closely into the course those historians pursued at this juncture.

But, 2nd, if Loarn and Fergus were two brothers, as would appear to be implied in the historic Irish traditions, then there were two parallel lines of descent from Erc, and Ferchar III. was the first of his line after his eighth ancestor, who possessed the government of Dalriada and through him and Loarn is the line of the ancestors of Alpin reckoned back through Erc. Alpin would thus have descended from Erc through his son Loarn, whose honorary appellation was Fergus, or through his son Loarn, who had a brother of the name of Fergus.

But, 3rd, as the name Loarn, ancient Lugh-archon, means the same exactly as Fearghus, Fear-gaes, namely, 'sea chief,' then it is so consonant with reason to think that the Irish have substituted the form Loarn, as an exact equivalent for the proper Scotch form Ferghus, that I have left the form Feargus in the list, as having been the name by which the man was called by the Scotch in his lifetime; and especially as I find that in the case of Fergus 1st, his 22nd ancestor, the like process exactly was followed.

In the old Scottish Chronicles, under the head of Fergus 1st, is the following entry:—

"Fergus* mac Ferchard, a prince from Ireland reigned from 330 to 305

* This man had a brother, who reigned after him, whom I call Ferchard I. Buchanan calls him Feritheris, which is a shameful misspelling of the name.

B. C. He was a wise and good king that did marry the King of the Pictes his daughter, that did bear him two sons, Ferlegus and Mainus."

None of the ancient historians represent the settlement of this Fergus 1st in North Britain, in 330 B. C., as consequent upon a conquest of the country on his part; but as consequent upon an invitation from the Scots already long settled there, to come and rule over them as their king. In the traditions, written and oral, of the Scotch themselves, they have accounts of colonizations from Ireland from a very early period — from at least double three hundred years before the Christian era — and still some people of modern times are so irrational as to claim that there was not only no Scottic Government, but not even a Scottic colony in Albania before the settlement there of the Sons of Erc, spoken of above.

The venerable Beda, an Anglo-Saxon writer, and who is accepted as of great weight upon matters of history on which he has written (temps, 672–734 A. D), after relating the colonizations of Britain by the Britons and Picts says: *Procedente autem tempore Britania post Britones et Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem Pictorum parte recepit; qui, duce Reuda, de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes, quas, hactenus habent, vindicarunt; a quo videlicet duce usque hodie Dalreudini vocantur, nam lingua eorum dal partem significat.* Which is translated as follows: "In process of time Britain, after the Britons and Picts, received a third nation, that of the Scots, into the territory of the Picts; who, having emigrated from Ireland under the leadership of Reuda, achieved for themselves either by friendship or the sword, those seats among them which they possess to this day. From which leader they are to this day called Dalreudini; for in their language dal signifies a part." Dal, I remark, signifies also, a tribe, a clan; but this is, of course, implied in the connection, if not in the idea of part. In speaking in another place in regard to Ireland Beda says: "It is properly the country of the Scots, who immigrating from thence, as has been said, added a third nation in Britain to the Britons and the Picts. There is a very large bay of the sea, which formerly divided the nation of the Picts from the Britons; which bay runs from the west very far into the land, where to this day stands the strong city of the Britons called Alcluith. The Scots, arriving on the north side of this bay, settled themselves there." Beda's Compl. Wks. II., 35.

Dr. Chs. O'Connor, a contemporary of the celebrated Dr. Saml. Johnson, in his Dissertation on the History of Scotland at the end of his dissertation on the History of Ireland, tells us: That "in the time of Cormac O'Cuind an establishment of the Scots was made in North Britain: That it was in favor of Carbri Righfhada, a prince of the Deaghads of Munster: That Righfhada and his immediate posterity ruled that colony, as well as another that had settled in the present Antrim, and both colonies were from him called Dalriada: That the Picts, at length, forced the whole

colony in Britain to take flight into Ireland under their leader, Eochaidh Muinreamhar, and they settled in the Irish Dalriada: But that neither he nor his son Erc could obtain a re-establishment in North Britain; nor was it effected till Loarn, son of Erc, again fixed the Scots there."

This gentleman, who is also the author of the very comprehensive work entitled "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," written in Irish and Latin, with perhaps a dozen of other languages interspersed, has on different occasions repeated the above information. In his publication of O'Flaherty's "Vindication of Ogygia," he gives several notes concerning this settlement, particularly a long one on page 163, wherein he shows that O'Flaherty is contradicting his own words in the Ogygia, where in speaking of Cormac O'Cuind, he says that he carried on a government in Albania. That the greater part of Antrim and a neighbouring part of North Britain were given to Carbri Riada. That some Irish Sennachies confirm Beda's testimony; that the Irish and British Dalriadians were governed by the same family. That, *the sons of Erc in the eighth generation from Carbri Righada re-established this colony, which had suffered much.*

Mr. O'Connor, has, of course, enlightened us somewhat, more especially upon the exile of the Dalriadians, their return therefrom, and the number of generations which existed in the interval between Riada and the son of Erc; but why he should intimate any connection between Carbri Riada and Cormac O'Cuind I know not; for the latter being of the second generation after the former, even though we should suppose them to have been contemporaries at any time, yet the one should needs have been so old and the other so young that there could not be supposed to have been any business whatever between them. My understanding is that the son of Conair II. was not at all contemporary with King Cormac O'Cuind.

Then, in regard to what is said as to some Irish Shannachies confirming Beda's testimony, I may say there is nothing to be confirmed in this case, excepting what all know to be so probable or so consonant with truth, as Pinkerton says, that they do not require any confirmation of it. What Beda says, however, as to Reuda leaves it very vague and indeterminate as to who his Reuda was.

In regard to what O'Connor says about the *eighth generation*, in which he doubtless spoke from other authority than the old Scottish list of Fordun, in which he appears to have had little or no confidence, I may say that I had, even from Fordun's list, and before I saw the list from the Book of Lecan, deduced that Righada must have been just the eighth ancestor of the son of Erc. However, I felt quite sure that the descent from Conair II., to Erc must have been through a different channel than as indicated in Fordun, in which appear before Fergus, only three names which are pretty well certified as being of the descent of Conair II. But to show how it was possible that Beda's Reuda might have referred

to a Reuda or Reuther, who had lived ten or eleven generations before Riada, let me place before you the following tabulation: —

The descent according to the old list of Fordun for this space

Aengus Tuirmac
Fiachaidh Fermhara
Olild Eraun
Ferchard
Fergus 1st
Maen
Arondel
Reuther
Josina
Findan
Durstus
Dothan

Carran — Edar
Metellan — Ewan

I refer here to Reuther or Rudhri, the great grandson of Fergus 1st, who although an Albanian by birth, was, on the rise of a war there concerning the succession, compelled to leave the country; returning, however, after an absence of some time in Ireland, he succeeded in putting himself at the head of the government. This rebellion would appear to have been incited and carried on mainly by one Donald, governor of Galloway then called Brigantia, on the side of Reuther, and on the other side by one Ferchard, Governor of Argyle, son-in-law to King Nothatus (Nuadhat), who was brother to Arondel and reigned after him, and uncle to Reuther. This caused Reuther and his followers to leave the country, as I have said, to which they returned after a brief absence. "The year that Reuther returned thus into Albion was 216 B. C."— "Reuther by Beda, in his ecclesiastical history of England, is named Reuda, who also supposes him to have been the first of the Scottic princes that set any foot in Britain, there to inhabit." (Hollingshead's Chronicle, vol. V., p. 49.) This Reuther had, as according to the history, a brother named Reuda, who reigned next after him, but of whom next to nothing is recorded; and the name may be here only a repetition of Reuther. Notwithstanding the idea of some of the old authors, who have thought concerning this in the way given in Hollingshead, Beda may have had either no idea or a very indistinct one as to the particular man named Reuda or Rudhri concerning whom the tradition was. Such traditions sometimes refer to persons or circumstances more remote in time than is suspected. Conair mor is in the old Latin and Scoto-Saxon histories called Caractacus and Caratake. From this and other considerations I deduce his name in the old Irish was

Cathair.* But the historians are unanimous that the Ernaans are derived from Conair mor mac Edrscol; consequently this Conair must have been known among his people by the name-form Cathair, also, though he is entered on the records as Conair, thought, perhaps, the more classical form; really the genitive or diminutive of the other. This man lived at the beginning of the Christian era (say 60 B. C. to 10 A. D., O'Flaherty) and had to render all the assistance he could to the Scots of North Britain in their struggles against the Romans. He united his arms with the Britains themselves against the foreigners, and soon his fame spread over the world, until, betrayed by a woman into the hands of the enemy, he was taken to Rome, whence he afterwards returned and died in his own country, in his palace of Bruin da Derg, it is said. His chief residence in Alba was Carrick in Galloway, the name meaning a city (having also the idea of rock or fortress connected with it), perhaps called so after his own name Cathair, genitive Cathrach, from whence this particular Carrick might have derived its name.† Caratake is said, in the old chronicles, to have had a sister named Boada, who was married to Arviragus, a king of the Britons under the Romans, by whom she had two daughters and a son. One of those daughters was afterwards married to Marius, a Roman official in the Island, whom the Emperor Claudius made King of the Britains, under himself on the death of Arviragus, his wife's father, in about anno 73, A. D. This couple in due time had a son name Coill (his name having a peculiarly Gaelic physiognomy), who in his turn, on the death of

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* Cathair, genitive, Chathrach or Chathrigh after mac, whence our name Harry, Chathanair genitive Chaneri, whence our name Henry. "The Ernaans of the Middle Munster," says Flaherty, "are descended from Cathair, the son of King Eadarscol, and the Southern Ernaans of Dun Kermna derive their origin from Dubhin, the son of this Cathair." (Ogygia, Vol. II., p. 149). "Cathair," says Vallancy, "means the God Mars;" but it may here be a variation for Cathan, the clan name of this man. Curi genitive or diminutive, Conri or Coneri, is, of course, but a variation of this, local or otherwise, and means the same.

† The old Saxon chronicles make Caractacus to have been son of Cadallan and grandson of Cadall, which is as far back as they take his genealogy in the male line. Cadall in those old authorities, who had little or no knowledge of the Gaelic, would doubtless be meant to signify a Gaedhal, pronounced Gael, and Cadallan would be diminutive of this or Gaedhalan. Beginning with Caractacus there has, I thought, appeared to me an attempt in Fordun's list to obscure the Annals of North Britain, as any one may see by looking into the list of Buchanan, for example, from number 18 to number 25, inclusive of these two extremes. They begin by seemingly attributing to Caratake an origin different from what he had. It did first appear to me as if some South British author by a glossing over with his Cadall, Cadallan and Caractacus name-forms, may have taken into his head to transfer the idea of Caratake's origin to Welsh Britain (South Britain was, of course, all Welsh at that time), or rather to Brigantia, which some claimed to be Welsh, but which was really Gaelic and is now called Galloway. It makes no difference whatever in my idea whether they allow that Caratake was born in North Britain or in Erin, it being pretty certain that he was the Conair mor mac Edirscol mic Eoghan of Tier nach and the Irish Annals, and thus might have been, harmlessly enough to them, the Gaedhalan, son of Gaedhal, or in their own hard consonants, the Cadallan, son of Cadall of the old South British chroniclers, he being, of course, a Gael, Gall, or Call, a real Scot. Mr. Beauford, in Vallancy, calls this Conair, 'son of Trenmor,' *i.e.*, 'son of great strength,' and says he was the first who built the palace of Tara, which during his lifetime was partially destroyed; but he having rebuilt it, it afterwards suffered destruction by fire, with its builder, the incendiary being one 'blind Ancell,' a general of Conair's with whom he had had a disagreement and who revenged himself in this manner.

his father Marius, in 125 A. D. (he appears to have lived long) became king of the Britains, and is said to have had a reign of fifty-four years.

The Irish Chronicles might seem to be very meagre in their accounts of their kings, but I have discovered that they have entered some of them under several names; and what may not appear concerning the man under one of the names may appear concerning him under another. Now, this Conair mor lived in the generation of the first entry of the Romans into Britain, and if we suppose him to have been not even monarch, but only a powerful provincial Governor of Erin, still, reflecting upon the universal claim of the Irish history that Caledonia, or a certain portion thereof, had been colonized by and was to a large degree dependent for its political existence upon Erin, he would have to regard himself as a dastard indeed if he had continued to look quietly on and left his North British relations as well as his South British neighbors wholly at the mercy of their foreign foes during the progress of the invaders from South to North of Britain. It is therefore what we should reasonably expect to learn that Caratake would have conducted an army over sea to help these peoples in their struggles, and this he did. With the South British peoples he joined his arms, peoples who, from neighborliness, intermarriages, etc., were in a manner as dear to him as his own Gaels; but even the combined forces had eventually to retreat northwards, when it happened to Caratake as I said. Let it never be imagined by any sane man that the monarch of Erin looked calmly on, seated in his Western isle, as indifferent as we might suppose a barnacle on a rock to be, and did not cross the channel in conduct of his forces and assist all he could in the prolonged endeavor to expel the invader from the British soil.

Tiernach gives to Conair mor a reign of eighty years, O'Flaherty sixty, and Keating only thirty. I think most of the authorities agree upon a reign for him of not less than sixty years. But contemporarily with him I find they have several other names to succeed each other, his whole reign overlaping these several. Now, as it is nonsensical to think there could have been two or more contemporary monarchs of Erin, so it is not unreasonable to conclude that at least some of those who appear to be contemporary monarchs were merely other names by which he himself was entered in the histories. Although under his own name he is not said to have gone abroad, yet it is reasonably understood that it is he whose foreign expeditions are spoken of under the name of Crimthan.

O'Flaherty speaks of Crimthan's foreign expedition, in which he had obtained a very rich booty. Among which was a golden chariot; a pair of tables studded with three hundred brilliant gems; a quilt of singular texture worked with a variety of colors and figures; a cloak interwoven with threads of gold, such as Virgil mentions" (Caratake may have got that when he was at Rome); "a sword engraved with various figures of serpents, which were of the purest gold; a shield embossed with refulgent

silver studs; a spear which always gave an incurable wound; a sling so unerring that it never missed; two hounds coupled with a chain, which was worth three hundred cows; with other valuable rarities."

Those whose reigns are fairly overlapped by that of Conair mor, and which follow his name (that of Lughaidh Riabh n Dearg properly preceding his) are Crimthan and Carbri Cathan. These two represent himself under different forms. The Concobar Abradh Ruadh, which is here, does not belong under this head. He is misplaced, belonging to the position Cathair mor occupies, while the latter belongs five generations further on.

After the last of these names, *i.e.*, of Carbri Cathan, comes Feredhach Finn Fectnach, whose proper name was Muiredhach, *i.e.*, he was called Morand, which is Morchand, Gaelic Muiredhach, for which Feredhach. He was called son of Carbri Cathan, *i.e.*, of Crimhthan or Conair mor, and has the reputation of having been a very just man.

To Feredhach succeeded his son Fiachaidh Findalaidh, who is the Carbri of the other list, the grandson of Conair mor; to whom succeeded his son Tuathal Techtmhar, who is the Moghallamh of the other list, the great-grandson of Conair mor. And to him succeeded his son Feidhlimidh Rechtmhar, who is the Conair II., the great-great-grandson of Conair mor of the other list.

So, when we precede Conair mor in time, Lughaidh, the father of Crimhthan of the one list is the Eadarscol, the father of Conair mor, of the other; and so each corresponds to the other in those two lists as you go back, until you arrive at the identification of Labhradh Lorc, the last given of that line, with Eramhan, and he with Olild Eron.

After reviewing what had been published concerning the colonization of North Britain by Carbri Righada Pinkerton says: "This account of the matter is so consonant with probability that it would almost support itself independently of all the ancient authorities which are united in its favor."

Again, "It may be thought that Kennedy and O'Connor, writers of this, *i.e.*, the 18th, century, are but poor supporters of Beda's authority. But it must he reflected that concerning the origin of the Dalreudini of Ireland, all the Irish writers, Keating, Usher, O'Flaherty, etc., etc., are accordant and say, the name sprung from Carbri Riada.

"This Carbri, or as they call him, Eochaidh Riada, appears in the old genealogy of the Scottish Kings, repeated at the coronation of Alexander III. and is preserved by Diceto, Fordun and many others."

But why may not an old tradition, referring to one of the same line of descent, who had lived ten or eleven generations before have been referred also to this Carbri?

In his survey of the number of generations between the son of Erc and

the father of Carbri Riada Pinkerton says in referring to the number eight, as given for that space in O'Connor and in the Book of Lecan, *which is surely the truth.*" Now, how did Mr. Pinkerton know that eight generations was here "surely the truth?" Simply by taking pains to trace up and compare all the authorities concerning it and then deducing as I did, before I saw the list from the Book of Lecan that this conclusion must be correct.

In some genealogical lists we must allow it possible that a name, say which belonged to the original may have been at some time accidentally omitted in the process of transcription, while in another case a name which did not belong to the list may have crept in; but that any number of names, which had belonged to the body of a list, should have disappeared from it or which did not belong to the body of a list should come to appear in it I would decide most likely to have been the effect of design, and not of accident.

O'Flaherty, in giving the genealogic list of MacConn, monarch of Ireland, where 25 generations were present in the list, remarks that there are 23 generations wanting; for that on the part of MacConn's mother, whom he represents to have been daughter of Conn Ced-Cathach there were 23 generations more in her list on the side of her father. I have not yet learned who the Conn Ced-Cathach was, who could have been father-in-law to King MacConn; but the fact appears to be that the Conn Ced-Cathach, who had been monarch of Ireland before him, was the father of MacConn. Conn and MacConn are here but honorary titles pertaining to these families. One of those lists was doubtless inflated.

Andrew de Wyntoun, Pryor of Loch Leveu, the latter part of the 14th century, has the same number of names between Eramhon, their first Scottic king of Ireland, and Simeon Brec, as has Keating; but the forms of the names are not always strictly the same, as he wrote in the Scotch-Saxon and in metre. Between Simeon Brec and his Aengus Tuirmac, de Wyntoun has six names more in his list than has either of the other Irish lists, that is between Aengus Tuirmac, and his father, as according to them, he has inserted six name forms in his list.

In order to make a close approximation to the time of Fergus, the son of Erc, we must take into consideration what the old chroniclers and Buchanan have said that he was killed in war with the Romans in about the year 420 A. D. According to Beda (vol. II., complete wks.), "from 385 to 416 the Picts and Scots ravage South Britain, when the Romans who had already evacuated the island, upon earnest request of the Britons sent thither to their assistance a legion, who having worsted the Picts and Scots in battle return to Rome." — "On this," *i.e.*, on the advice of the Romans, "the Britons built a sod wall across the island (A. D. 416), which, however, did not avail to keep out the northern hordes."

Upon the invitation of the Britons the Angles and Saxons came into the island, commencing 447 to 449 A. D."

Now, while it is possible that there may be a mistake in saying that Fergus was killed in war with the Romans on British soil and in saying that he and his brothers returned from exile just at the time here stated, still I have not the least doubt that with respect to the time of the sons of Erc coming to recover their patrimony at the head of an army the old authorities may be very much nearer to chronological correctness than the modern ones, who have put the date altogether too late. This last class of chronologers appear to have carried out their plan by somewhat inflating the genealogical list between Fergus and Carbri Riada and somewhat abridging the number of reigns which actually were between Fergus and Aedhan. By an inspection of the old list and a comparison with theirs it will be found that they omit four names or reigns in that old list between Fergus, son of Erc and Aedhan, son of Gawran, and they have added to their list, between said Fergus and Conair, son of Moghall, two names more than what I find properly belongs to it. The names they have rejected from the old list for the space aforesaid are as follows with their times: —

Eugenius II.,	son of Fergus II.	420–452 A. D.
Constantine I.,	son of Dongard	457–479 A. D.
Eugenius III.,	son of Comgall	535–558 A. D.
Kinatellus	son of Comgall	569–570 A. D.

The time here represented amounts, as you see, to 78 years, which, perhaps, would represent the difference between the true time of the return of Fergus and his brothers from exile to their patrimony and the time which the new chronologers have put down for it. Thus 503, the time they have put down as that of the invasion of Fergus and his brothers, minus 78, leaves 425 A. D. for the time of the return of the children of Erc from their exile. If this be correct, then the length of the life of Fergus, after his return, let that have been of a long or short duration, leaves the time of his death to have been correspondingly different from the time set down for his death in the old chronicles.

The two names which those new chronologers added to the list between the son of Erc and Carbri Riada, and which are additional to what appear in the list in the Book of Lecan, are Ciongai and Guari, the first of which appears to be a repetition of Cintai in a blotched form, and the second, doubtless, an epithet applied to him in his day or in MSS. after he had died.

I do, on the whole, favor the keeping pretty close to the date set down in the old chronicles as that of the return of Fergus, son of Erc, from his exile, that is, the keeping rather closer to it than possibly allowing ones' self to deviate from it farther than I have indicated. The time, in this

case, is in the neighborhood of what Buchanan and the old chronicles have given for it without any doubt. What follows will make my reasons for this more clear.

Roderic O'Flaherty who wrote his Ogygia about 1684 tells us considerable about Loarn, or rather about his daughters. He relates how Erca, Loarn's daughter, was married to Muiredhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, by whom she had a son Muirchertach, called Mac Erca after the name of his mother, who became in his time monarch of Ireland and reigned according to him from 513 to 534, but according to Keating from 497 to 527 A. D.

Keating, who wrote his history of Ireland about 1600 A. D., says: "It was twenty years after the battle of Ochan that the six sons of Erc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, passed over to Alba. They were named the two Anguses, the two Loarns and the two Ferguses.

"Three hundred and seven years had passed from the time of Conchobar, son of Nessa to that of Cormac son of Art; two hundred and four years from the time of Cormac until the battle of Ochan was fought; and it was twenty years after that event when the sons of Erc emigrated to Alba." (Keating's Hist. of Ir. p. 420.) The date of the battle of Ochan he sets down for 483 A. D., and consequently the sons of Erc, he speaks of here, could not have gone to Alba before 503, which is the date Keating, O'Flaherty, Drs. Geo. Chalmers, Jas. Brown and all that class of the new chronology have decided upon for the invasion, as they call it, of the sons of Erc. But this either refers to another emigration, possibly of some of the children of Erca, that is, Loarn's grandchildren, or it is certainly nearly one century later than the return from exile of the children of Erc properly so understood.

That there was a tradition of an invasion of Scotland having taken place at about the beginning of the fifth century is certain; for in his work on the 'Topography of Ireland Giraldus Cambrensis, a Norman ecclesiastic, whose mother was Welsh, and who accompanied the Anglo-Norman expedition to Ireland in 1185 A. D., at which time he wrote, says: "When Niall enjoyed the sovereignty of Ireland the six sons of Muiredhach, king of Ulster, having equipped a large fleet, made themselves masters of the north of Britain and the descendants of that people, especially called Scots, inhabit that corner to this day." This writer confounds Muiredhach Muindearg, the provincial king of Ulster in the time of Niall, with Muiredhach the grandson of Niall, by his son Eoghan, of two generations later.

Speaking in his preface (p. xxv.) in controverting the statements of this Cambrensis and Campion, Keating says: "This Murcertach sent his six brothers into Scotland and one of them Fergus mor mac Erca was the first king of the Scottish race in Alba." Now, you perceive the evident mistake here of Dr. Keating; for, Murchertach being on his mother's side a grandson of Loarn, could not possibly have been a brother of the Loarn

who had been his grandfather, nor a brother of the Fergus who was that Loarn's brother. Secondly, it is a great mistake for any one to say in the face of the ancient Scottish records themselves that Fergus, the son of Erc, was the first king of the Scottish race in Alba.

Dr. Keating distinguishes the different invasions of Alba by the Scots in order as they took place from age to age as follows: First, that under Aengus Oll-Buadhach, son of Fiachaidh Labhrann: Second, that of Rechtaidh Righ-dearg: Third, that of Carbri Riada: Fourth that of Mac Conn: Fifth, that of Fothadh Conan, son of MacConn: Sixth, that of Colla Uais and his brothers: Seventh, that of Crimthan mac Fidhach: Eighth, that of Erc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, son of Aegus Feart, one of the descendants of Carbri Riada: They are his descendants who are called the Cinel Gabhran of Alba; and the Cinel Lodhairn; Cinel Comhghaill; 'Cinel Aengusa; and Cinel Conchreechie of the isles: Ninth, that of Mani Leamhna and his brother, the ancestors of the dukes of Lennox and the Eugenians of the Mearns; and he adds that it was after the time of Niall of the Nine Hostages that these (that is, referring to those under the ninth head) went to make settlements in Alba;' Tenth, that of the sons of Muiredhach the son of Eoghan, the son of Niall of the nine Hostages, who were known as the two Loarns, the two Aenguses and the two Ferguses."

This tenth in order enumerated he appears to understand as the last Scottish invasion of Alba. It will be noticed too that he distinguishes this from that of Erc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, which he has put under the eighth head. His translator, in a foot-note, says, that 'it was a mistake of Keating to say that these were the six sons of Muiredhach; that they were the sons of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, as Keating himself had stated on the 420th page of his history,' where he said that 'it was twenty years after the battle of Ochan when the six sons of Erc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, migrated to Alba.'

It would not look at all strange here if it were intended to be said that several of the children of Erca, daughter of Loarn by Muiredhach, the grandson of Niall Naei Ghiall, had emigrated to Alba, as private citizens, in 503 A. D., or thereabouts; but if Dr. Keating, Roderic O'Flaherty or any other writer ancient or modern has intended or does intend to say that the invasion of the sons of Erc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, took place in 503 A. D., or near thereabouts, he makes a mistake of about one century.

I have said before that the going to Alba by Fergus 1st is not represented as an invasion by him of that country but as undergone quietly at the solicitation of the Scots already there. It is no wonder, therefore, that he is not noticed in the historical enumeration of the invasions. But, I consider, that under his third head would have been the proper place for Keating to have noticed the invasion by the Rudher or Rudhri, above mentioned; and then Carbri Riada properly under the fourth head.

The comparison of the numbers of successive generations, within a considerably long period, is a great help towards the determination of the true dates. That the date 503 was the time of the grandchildren of Loarn or Fergus or both and corresponded to the time of Murchertach mor Mac Erca, King of Ireland and to Gabhran and part of the time of Aedhan, son of Gabhran of the old list of Buchanan, at which time, as Skene says, 'the kingdom proper of Dalriada had its commencement' can be made as clear as that the most dull and stupid will apprehend it. But, although Skene says that the kingdom proper of Dalriada had its commencement with Aedhan, son of Gawran, it could only have received then some new life from Aedhan's successes in war, perhaps with some slight assistance to him from Ireland, for I do not find that there was any invasion of Alba at that time from any quarter. What Mr. Skene refers to is, I think, mainly that in the time of Aidhan, by the good offices of St. Colum Cille, who was a cousin to the then king of Ireland, the Albanic Dalriada became free from being tributary to the mother country, Ireland, which made it, in effect, an independent government. Aidhan accompanied St. Colum to the great council of Drumceat in Ireland, where this and much more was accomplished by St. Colum.

If Keating or any of those who referred to 503 as the date of a Scottic invasion of Alba had any distinct idea of what they referred to it can only be to a private immigration of the grandchildren of that Loarn who came into the country about one century before in return from exile. These children would also have been the great-grandchildren of Niall the great, by his grandson Muredhach, son of his son Eoghan; but of such a supposed private emigration I have found no historic evidence.

A good way to test the date of the invasion or return from exile of the sons of Erc arises from the following circumstance: St. Colum Cille was, for example, a contemporary of Congall son of Comgall and of Aidan son of Gawran, kings of Dalriada, who were third in male descent from Fergus mor, that is, his great-grandsons; and Colum Cille through Erca, his daughter, was third in descent from or great-grandson of Loarn. The descents are as follows:—

Neall Naei Ghiall		Erc	
Eoghan, mic.	Loarn, mic.		Fergus, mic.
Muiredhach, mic.	Erca his daughter nigh.		Domangart, mic.
Muirchertach, mac.	Feidhlimidh, mic.	Comgall, mic.	Gabhran, mic.
	Colum Cille, mac.	Congall, mac.	Aidhan, mac.

This, you see, is a plain exhibit so far. The second husband of Erca, daughter of Loarn, was Fergus, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naei

Ghiall. And, thus, it is seen that the sons of Erc were contemporaries of Conall Gulban, son of Niall and flourished in the latter part of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth when he did. But if the invasion of the sons of Erc were in 503, as the moderns have supposed it to have been then it would have corresponded in time to the place in this tabulation occupied by Comgall and Gabhran and Murchertach mac Erca, King of Ireland, and not two full generations back of that time, as it really did, as indicated by the place in the table of Loarn and Fergus.

Moreover, St. Adamnan was of the same family of St. Colum Cille, both being descended in the male line from Conall Gulban and in the female line from Loarn and his pedigree is given, which we may compare with that of Ferchar Fada, who was lineally descended in male line from Loarn. The death of Adamnan took place, according to Tiernach, in 704, and that of Ferchard Fada in 711; the steps are as follows: —

Niall Nali Ghiall died 404.	Eric.
Conall Gulban, mic.	Loarn, *i.e.*, Fergus, mic.
Fergus, mic.	Muredhach, mic.
Sedna, mic.	Eochaidh, mic.
Colum, mic.	Baedhan, mic.
Aedh, mic.	Colman, mic.
Tini, mic.	Sneachtain, mic.
Ronan, mic.	Fergus, mic.
Adaman died 704 mac.	Feredhach, mac.
	Ferchard died 711, mac.

This tabulation might indicate that Erc had been born say a third or half a generation before Niall Nael Ghiall, and this last supposition would be strengthened by the time put down in the old Scottish history, say Buchanan's, as that of the death of Fergus or 420 A. D., while the time of Niall's demise is put down by O'Flaherty for 405. They are both, of course, represented to have fallen in war, but if they both had lived to the limit of the length of the ordinary life of man in their country and age, they might, perhaps, have died at about the half length of a generation say fifteen or sixteen years apart. But it is seen that the difference is only fifteen or sixteen years between the times of the deaths of these two, as it did or may have happened, which may indicate that Erc had been born fifteen or twenty years before Niall.

Says O'Flaherty (Ogygia I. 236): "Erica, the daughter of King Loarn, was twice married, first to Muredhach, the grandson of Niall, the great, by his son Eugenius, by whom she had Murchertach, king of Ireland, Feredhach, Tiernach, and Maen. Her second husband was Fergus, the son of Conall Gulban, first cousin to her former lord, by whom she had Sedna, the progenitor of nine Irish kings; Feidhlimidh, the father

of St. Columba, tutelar saint of Ireland and Scotland; Loarn and Brendan; concerning whom is extant the following ancient fragment.

Chethre mic la Muiredhach,
Fri h' Eairc, ba slocht Saor;
Feredhach agus Tiernach,
Muirchertach is Maon.

Chethre mic la Fearghus,
Go n' Eairc ccubha ccudna;
Breundan agus Lughadh,
Feidhlim agus Sedna.

Which is Anglicised as follows by Mr. Healy the translator of the Ogygia: —

"Four brave sons had Muiredhach
By Erk, an offspring rare;
Feredhach and Tiernach,
Muirchert and Maen they were."

"Four brave sons great Feargus had,
By Erk, same lovely fair;
They Brendan bright and Lughaidh,
Feidhlim and Sedna were."

The word cceudna means 'the same,' referring to what has gone before. It was largely in metric composition that the Gaels preserved the history of their country and clans. These children, then, of Erca, the daughter of Loarn, referred to in those two stanzas, who would be called Mac Earc from their mother's name, would be the persons who might have emigrated to Alba, if any such emigration took place, at the opening of the sixth century, as has been reported by the new style chronologers, for this was the time, in the main, of their mid life.

And it would be no cause of wonder to me if I were informed on good authority that the man Feredhach, which would likely be recorded in the history as Feargus mac Earc, and Lughaidh, which would of course be recorded as Loarn mac Earc, being brothers by the same mother, may, if they did emigrate at that time to Alba, as private citizens, have given rise to the tradition of the invasion of Alba, in the sixth century, by Loarn and Fearghus, the sons of Earc, which tradition would inevitably be confounded, with the tradition or history of the sons of Erc, the son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, who had returned from exile nearly a century previously.

But there is no necessity here for any confusion whatever in the idea as to the descent in the male line of Alpin, King of the Scots. The ancient account of the Scotch which they give of this descent in the male line from Erc mac Ethach Muinreamhair and from Conair II. is doubtless the one which was intended to be given, as that which indicates the channel of the descent; and as to whether this channel has sometimes hitherto

been made to overflow its banks by an inflated list or in parts to run dry by a name being left out is a matter which reason would pronounce as of only secondary importance.

In regard to the list I give, I may explain that the Clan Duff, which embraces it from Eochaidh Muinreamhar to Lughaidh mac Gilla Comgan, these two inclusive, we have from the Books of Ballymote, Lecan and Leinster and from the Gaelic authorities in the Advocate's Library, Edinburg.

From Eochaidh Muinreamhar to Conair II., these two inclusive, the list which appears in the Book of Lecan I have compared and revised by the Scotch list. As to the list from Conair II. to Conair 1st, I compare and revise the Irish list by the Scotch. As to the number of links in this space I find O'Flaherty to be correct, where he calls Conair II. "great-great grandson of Conair 1st," that is judging from the chronology and the history of Fordun for this space. I have also found it to be correct by a collateral evidence, even if it should be a matter of surprise to any one that in the process of my investigation into this subject I may be found to have identified our Conair II., so-called, with the so-called monarch Mac Conn. With the genealogy given of him in Keating and O'Flaherty, our list will be found to agree as to numbers, from Conair II. to and including Hugony mor. If, as would appear to be the case, the two lists represent the same line of men for this space, all that is to be said about it is that some of the families descended from this stem may in the later ages have taken the liberty of giving to the names such forms as they judged the changes of the language, even in the pre-Christian ages justified. There are usually reckoned about 33⅓ years for an average length of generation, that is, on the average three successive generations to a century; but in the British Isles I think the average length of human life may be longer than in most other nations and one may perhaps reckon 34 or 35 years as the average length of a generation. Now, Fergus, the son of Erc, died in 420 A. D., and back of him there are 34 generations, which multiplied by 34 equals 736 B. C. for the time of the 75th. (34 generations multiplied by 34 years for each equals 1,156, diminished by 420 years after the Christian era, leaves 736 B. C.)

"According to the Irish history," says Vallancy, "this colony (*i.e.*, the Gaedalian), arrived here in 3260 A. M., that is, in 738 B. C. The Liber Lecan says this happened in the reign of Belesis, who is Nabonassar, and his era began in 747 B. C., and he died in 714 B. C." He was succeeded by his son Nabocollassar, that is, by the great Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture. The Irish annalists may be right and there is great reason to think that this is the first colony that settled in Ireland, and that the great Milesian expedition was in the time of Nebuchadnezzar."

Now, although I think it uncalled for in me to extend my list in the main line in the British Isles beyond Hugony, I yet consider it quite non-

sensical in Vallancy to say that this was probably the first colony which settled in Ireland; for there were doubtless colonies of different stocks and some of the same stock as this which settled in it previously. Evén the Liber Lecan confirms this, which in one place says that the Milesians invaded Ireland in the year of the world 2736, which if this date were correct would have been 1264 B. C. Vol. II., p. 1., O'Halloran's History of Ireland.

Vallancy continues: "The Reim Roighree or Book of Kings places their (*i.e.*, the Firbolgs) arrival in Ireland, in 3266 A. M., but the Liber Lecan says some of them came in the reign of Ballaster, that king who saw the handwriting on the wall, and from whom Cyrus, son of Darius, took Babylon; and that they landed in the northwest of Connaught, at a place called Inbher Domhnan, from these Fir D'Omnan or men of Oman." Vall. Coll. de Reb. Hib. Vol. IV. p. 139. This would leave the time of this invasion to have been 734 B. C.

In the preface to page XII of this same volume, this author says: "I showed the mistake of Keating and the bards he had copied from in making the Firbolg and the Tuatha de Danaan colonies. They were only the names of the different orders of priests that arrived with the colonies."* But Vallancy must certainly have known that the Firbolg were not only the priests that accompanied the expedition of the Milesians, but the

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* "An old author says the Firbolg came to Ireland when Ballaster (Baalstassar) was king, he, who saw the magic handwriting, the words Mane, Tethel, Phareas, and, he proceeds, Cyrus son of Darius soon after took Babylon."

"Now, Firbolg signifies Augurs, Fir, a man, bolg of letters, learning and erudition. Fearbolg *i.e.*, mailineacha or mailachane, vet, gloss. Mr. Shaw in his Gaulick Lexicon, thus explains mailachan, viz. 'the young of sprites in Scotland called Browny, it is a good-natured being and renders good offices to favorites.' Thus, the Rev. Mr. Shaw."

"Arab, baligh, reaching the highest perfection in learning. Pers, belagh, any vocable implying excellence as purity, virtue. Belaghet, eloquence, fluency of words. Belegh, eloquent, (Richardson)." "In the Sclavonian dialect blog is an interpreter, a lexicon." "But Castellus proves that the Chaldees had an order of priests named Belgae ab hoc, ordo ille sacerdotalis, cujus observatores Belgitae dicti; and the ancient Irish glossarists fully explains our Firbolg were in holy orders, viz.: Bolgceard, *i.e.*, Neas; that is, the profession of a Bolg is Neas, *i.e.*, divination, in Heb. Naash."

"In another ancient glossary I find bolg or builg explained by druchd run, that is, the mystery of the dead, or of raising up the dead, by which I understand conversing with the Manes."

"So that the Irish fir-bolg means no more than the Augurs or Druids, the Dadanan left behind when they journeyed to Pelasgian Greece, to improve themselves in some new doctrine then broached, and such masters of the magic art were they now become, the poet tells us, that on their return they threw a cloud over the firbolg for three days and nights, till they had made good footing on the shore. The meaning of the whole is that the Druids not approving of the new doctrine brought in by the Dadananai opposed them, and, we are told that in the space of twenty-seven years, they had two noted battles, one at Magh-Tuire-deas, and another at Magh-Tuire-Tuagh; that is at the plains of the South tower and of the north tower; but at length they got the better of the Firbolg." The translator and fabulous interpolator of Keating's History of Ireland has brought our Dadananai from Greece to Denmark and Norway, and made them instructors of the young Danes in the magick art. I have carefully perused Keating in the original Irish, *and the ancient poem on which he forms* that part of his history, where I find not a syllable of Danes or Norwegians, but a plain description of Etrusca, etc." Vol. III. Vall. civ, cv, cvi. — The Spear of Lughaidh, the Tuatha de Danan, was called Gai Builg the Sorcerer's Spear.

great body of those Milesians or Scots themselves under an old name by which they used to be known. The author of the *Recherches sur l'origine et le progres des Acts de la Grece* observes: "that the name Scolati (*i.e.* Celts) is anterior to that of Scythai and that of Sacae must have preceded that of Scolati, since the prince that bore it was born of the Sacae. The name of this people so ancient, has never been changed, or at least, has received so little variation as to be discovered, not only in China and Japan, but also in every country they originally inhabited. The Usbeck Tartars, a division of the Mongols call themselves Zagais; and their country of which Samarcande is the capital, is called Zagathaia, or Zagaia, which is the same as Sacaia." In connection with this I may add, that the learned Prof. Bayer observes that the word Scythae was unknown to the most ancient Greek writers and that it is not of Grecian origin; and, he adds, it was not the name the Scythians called themselves. He discovers that they called themselves Bolgi, anteriorly to their being known by the name of Scuthai; Bolgi means Hidemen, because their vessels were made of hides (See Keating's Hist., p. 129; Bolg, a leather vessel, bag, etc.), and the Greeks consequently called them Skuthai, *i.e.*, Hidemen Coriarii. It was not, however, from the idea of the hides, strictly speaking, that those people got the name of Scuthai, but from this name Scoth, Sgoth or Scuth, that is, small branches interwoven (Arabice Sachut, Virgas) into the form of a skiff or ship; the name being applied to the wicker-work from their use. With these primitive boats, whose frame was made of wicker-work, and this covered over with ox and buffalo skins, they were accustomed to navigate the Caspian and Euxine Seas, and then ventured with them on to the ocean and transmigrated to distant countries. You can here also call to mind the Scripture term Succath, that is, booths or shielings constructed out of the boughs of trees plaited or woven together into a kind of house. This is also a Scuth or a Buth. Although the terms Bolg and Scuth came to be used for each other they were to each other primitively, strictly speaking, as the frame or roof proper of a house is to the thatch or shingling. When these Bolgi had mixed with the Dedanites and had traded to Babylon, they then took on them the name of Scothi or Scuthi; the Chaldean name for a ship; and by this name they were known on the Red Sea, where they sailed the Egyptain ships. Hence, some think, arose the Allegory that their chief, Milesius, was married to Scota, a daughter of Pharaoh; as Erythrus or Hercules was said to be married to Erytha, *i.e.*, a ship. In such manner we shall find Niul was married to the *Skeita* or fleet of the Egyptains,* at the time Moses was conducting the Israelites out of Egypt.

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* The Greek word corresponding to Bolgi is *σκύθαι i.e.*, Coriarii, Hideman, whence Stephanus justly derives the name Scythae and *σκυθοπολις* Coriarii Urbs, the city of the Hidemen, *i.e.*, Scythopolis. Scythian and Irish Scuth, Scudh, a ship; Egyptian Sceitha, Anglo-Saxon Sceith, a ship made of hides, etc.

In a very ancient Manuscript of the Seabright collection is the passage of which the following is the translation from the Irish: "The Fomharaigh" (*i.e.* Seamen, the ancestors of the Norwegian Pirates) "came to Ireland and imposed very heavy taxes upon the inhabitants, viz., two thirds of the produce of the soil, of their kine and their children for slaves; and moreover one ounce of gold annually on every head. But Luch-Lamhfhada arrived for the help of the Irish; he came from the land of Croton, *i.e.*, Emania Felix (lit. Emania of the Apples) in the country of Tairge (Tarcon); and with him came certain youthful sorcerers, called Tuatha Dadanan, who had the power of metamorphosing stones and trees into fighting men." etc. Id. p. xiii.

Keating supposed the Tuatha de Danaan, Ferbolgs, etc., to have been different as to nationality from each other and from the Scots. They were, however, all the same at the start; only the progress of ages made a perceptible differentiation in the characters of those people, say not only in North Britain and Erin, but in the provinces of Erin itself. Referring to the Tuatha de Danan, he says, "It was this nation that vanquished the Fomorians in the battle of North Magh Turedh and which had previously vanquished the Ferbolgs in the battle of South Magh Turedh." Lughaidh Lamhfhada or the Longhanded is in the tale said to have been a son of a danghter of the king of the Fomharaigh and to have killed his grandfather, in the battle of North Magh Turedh by a stone he threw at him from a sling. In this battle, also, Kethlen, the wife of Balor, is said to have fought with cool and determined valor and to nave succeeded in wounding the Daghda, *i.e.* the chief priest of the Danaans. Nuadhat Argiod Lamh, *i.e.*, Nuadhat with the Silver hand and several other Danaans of prominence were laid hors du combat on that hard fought field.

But notwithstanding the interweaving of some such fiction in the narrative, the two battles here spoken of would appear to have been of a real nature, the opposing forces being respectively the Fomhorian invaders and the native defenders. The field of South Magh Turedh is said to have been in the county of Mayo and that of North Magh Turedh in the County of Sligo; while Beauford has them respectively in Galway and Roscommon.

"Fomhoraigh Afric," says Vallancy, "is a general name in Irish history for the Carthaginians, the name signifying Marine Heroes, Princes," etc.; but here I take the name to imply that body of Persians, who, according to the Punic Annals given us by Sallust, did not quit Africa with the great body of the Nemedians, but settled towards the ocean. These people would naturally endeavour to share the benefits of the lucrative trade carried on by the colony settled at Gadiz, and being as expert mariners as their brethern, would endeavor also to pursue them to the British isles, wherein a lucrative trade had been established by the Spanish colonies. This conjecture corresponds with the subjoined account, which is from Major Tisdal, who received it, on his part, from Capt. Logie, the English consul at Morocco about anno 1780.

"An MSS. of very ancient date is now in the possession of the emperor of Morocco, describing the people of the province of Soudan and South Barbary. Their features, complexion and language differ totally from those of any other people on this continent. Although this MSS. is old its description corresponds exactly with that of the present inhabitants of that country. It relates that a part of that people, being once oppressed by their prince, crossed the Mediterranean into Spain; from thence they traveled north and found means to provide vessels from those shores, in which they embarked and landed in a mountainous part of some of the British isles. At this present the people of Soudan always speak their own language, unless in their intercourse with the Moors, and this language has a great affinity with the Irish and Welsh dialect.

"They are red haired, freckled and in all respects a stronger bodied and more enterprising people than the Moors. Their language is called Shiloagh; they wear a checked, woolen covering, put on in the same manner as the Highlanders usually wear the kilt.

"They are the greatest travelers and most daring people of the Morocco dominions and conduct all the caravans." Vall. Coll. de Reb. Hib. Vol. IV.

The Irish history states that their ancestors for nine successive generations had their abode in a country called by them variously Gothia, Guthia, and Gaethluigh, Latin, Gaetulia, situated on the African side of the Mediterranean, not far from the Carthaginian's possessions on the one side, nor from Crete, Sicily, Italy and the coast of Spain on the other. My understanding is, however, that those from whom sprung their line of ancestors did not live in Gaetulia during those nine successive generations, but during that interval, were born and lived in different countries, called European and Asiatic, situated upon the Mediterranean in Europe in Asia or elsewhere. The names they give in nineteen successive places, that is between Breogan and Phenius Pharsaidh, do not all represent the names those men were called by, whether or not they fairly represent the number of generations, at least back to Gaedhal or Niul.

From Fenius Farsaidh, or the Persian, came Niul, who was the first of the race they say, who settled in Egypt, and which name some have very ingeniously supposed to represent a race, say some Egyptian dynasty, whether of the Shepherd kings or others; just as they suppose Fenius, his father, to have represented the Persian — Phoenician * race; and

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* Of the Phoenicians Herodotus says: "This nation, according to their own account, dwelt anciently upon the Erythraean Sea, but crossing thence fixed themselves on the sea coast of Syria, where they still inhabit. This part of Syria and all the region extending from hence to Egypt is known by the name of Palestine." Rawlinson's Herod. Bk. VII. 89.

Phoenius was according to Sanchoniatho, son of Chna, *i.e.* Chanaan; "a bold etymologist," says Rawlinson, "might add that Phoenix is a mere translation of Chna, which is the name of the red dye so admired by the Orientals." (Id. Appendix pp. 338-9. See note 1 on Bk. II. p. 49, as to the settlement of Phoenicians in Baeotia.) But Phoenius represented a man and a race, the Phoenician. The Gaedhalians must have been understood as offsprings of the Phoenicians, consequently the same by propagation. In the Hebrew and Phoenician, Gaedel means great applying to largeness also, as Gaedel Mare the 'Great sea,' the Mediteranean.

Gaedel, his supposed son, to have represented the Gaedalic race, the race bordering upon the Great or Gaedalic or Mediterranian Sea.

"Keating, MacCurtin and the MacFirbeshes, authors of the Liber Lecanus, all confirm the arrival of the Fomharaigh in Ireland at several periods; that they introduced the art of building with stone and lime, the science of astronomy, etc., that they adored certain stars which they supposed to have power from the god of the sea, either to guide or mislead the ships; that at length they overran the country, and made a complete conquest, drove out the Nemedians and laid the country under tribute." "Spencer allows that the Irish received letters from the Phoenicians and asserts that a colony of Africans (*i.e.* of the Carthiginian kind) settled in the western part of Ireland." Vall. Coll. II., 252.

These people, before their advent to Ireland, appear to have had settlements all round in the vicinity of the Mediterranean, for we have seen that Luigh Lamhfhada came with his host of Tuath Dadanan sorcerers to the assistance of the Irish from the harbor of Croton in Italy.

'The country about Croton was called Maeoni or Eamonia; there was also the city of Eamonia, the vica Maeoni and the planum Maeoni in Etruria. Now, as there was Eamonia in the inland parts and Eamonia on the sea coast, in which stood Croton, our Irish historian most properly distinguishes Croton to be the maratime Croton or Maeonia, 'Croton na Cuan,' that is, 'of the harbors.' Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions the change of name into Cothornia, and the Cruthni or Picti of Ulster were, according to Colgan, called Cetherni." Vall. Coll. IV., Preface, xiv.

"Herodotus places the Pactyae and Crethoti in Thracia — Chersonesus-Thrace, Samos and Crete had been peopled by Phoenicians, Pelasgians and Etruscans." "To this let us add that the first Etruscan king after the fabulous time of the Etruscans was Melcus, rex Etruscarum totae Italiae imperavit. He consequently was the leader of the Pelasgian colony to Spina and afterwards to Spain, where Herodotus finds him under the name of Melesi-genes and thinks it was Homer." Vall. Coll. IV., Pref. vi.

Herodotus, in representing his 'Miledh of Spain' to have been a contemporary of Homer (of course he was too sensible a man to think him to have been Homer himself) has doubtless hit upon the 'Miledh of Spain' of the Irish history, as the chronology of Homer would, perhaps, exactly fit into the time of Ith or his father. In regard to the local name, Aemonia or Maeonia, as connected with Croton in Italy, Vallancy considers the name Ereamhon to mean 'an Aemonian chieftain,' seemingly compounded of Er, great, noble, a chieftain, and Eamoin or Eamonia or Aemhoin. 'I think,' says he, 'the name points out the origin of the Pelasgian Irish from Eamonia, or, as they write the name, Eamhain."

Speaking in reference to various historic evidences he again says: "This shows the origin of the Irish history, and although I believe that part of the Irish records not to be true in every particular of the detail,

still there is good authority to say that such a colony did arrive from Spain." — "In short, the history of the ancient Pelasgi and Etrusci is the same as that of the ancient Irish." — Id.

Again: — "But a stronger evidence of the arrival of this colony cannot be given than the name of Aemhain or Eamhain, that was given to the capital and royal residence in Ulster: Cruthni to the country and people of Dalriada: Aemhain to Inch Colum Cille on the coast of Scotland; and of Aemhain, Euboncа, and Euboea to the isle of Mann." — Id.

At the founding of the city of Emhain, in the reign of Hugony, Tiernach of Cluanmac Noise commences his Annals, with the statement that 'all the historic records of the Scots preceding the time of Kimbaeth are uncertain.' The coming of the Picts to Ireland under their King Gud in the time of Eremon, as according to the Irish Annals, must not be understood in the literal way it would appear to bear; for the people called the Cruthni or Picti were evidently the same people as the Scots, which is proved by the identity of the Gaelic with the language spoken by the Picts in the seventh century. In the course of the ages the dialects of North Britain and Erin differentiated by use, but not so much as might be expected; for St. Colum was able to preach to the Picts in his own native tongue, without the aid of an interpreter. There is only one instance recorded by Adamnan in his life of St. Colum, in which we can suspect the aid of an interpreter had to be called in, and in that instance it is likely the old Pictish chief may have had peculiarities, one of which might have been that he could hear but imperfectly. In his Celtic Scotland Mr. Skene also proves the identity as to origin and language of those two peoples from the ancient topographical nomenclature of North Britain and Ireland.

If the name Eremhon would mean Western people, as according to Beauford, an interpretation, which is doubtless easily explainable, it would, as we have seen, also mean the chieftain of Ewania, while the man's name by which he was known in his day might have been of some other form than Ereamhon. However, I would regard it as not at all unlikely that Eremhon was the proper name of a man after which in future times his race was designated Heremonians and that he may have lived in a later praeChristian age than that which has been assigned to Heremon by the Irish historians. The antiquity of that Heremon, whose name appears away back in the line of 'MacConn,' might be deemed what is called respectable; viz., Conair mor, A. D. 1, or say, B. C. 50 years. Then 12 generations back from him to and including Heremon in the line of 'MacConn's' ancestors makes 433 years. ($33\frac{1}{3} \times 12 = 400 + 33 = 433$.) After that there are 9 generations in that list, which represents at the same computation 300 years; for $33\frac{1}{3} \times 9$ equals 300; and 300 added to 430 equals 730 B. C.

But we must keep in mind that the praeChristian dates are comparatively uncertain and this in regard to all the historic nations. In Rawlinson's

"Great Monarchies," as well as other such ancient historic works, the dates preceding the Greek empire in Asia can be only regarded as generally approximative to correctness. That the Irish records leave a wide field for speculation as to the true dates for the founding of their Milesian kingdom the following data together with what I have given will show. Philip O'Sullivan in his work dedicated to the King of Spain, says that they arrived in Ireland 1342 years B. C., which up to his (O'Sullivan's) time, 1627 A. D., makes 2969 years. See "O'Donovan's 4 Masters." The Irish historian, bishop and prince, namely, Cormac MacCulinan, the compiler of the Psalter of Cashel in the 9th century, A. D., as well as the Book of Conquests states that the Gaels arrived in Ireland about 1300 years B. C. The Polychronicon agrees with them in this computation in stating: "There are about 1800 years from the arrival of the Hibernenses until the death of St. Patrick, which is the same as to say that they arrived in Ireland over 1300 years B. C. The Book of Conquests asserts that "it was at the end of 283 years from the 'Exodus' that the Scots arrived in Ireland;" which, if the incoming of the Scots was in the early part of the fourteenth century, would leave the exodus to have taken place sometime in the sixteenth century B. C. It is difficult to divine the reason that during the prevalence of state Christianity, the tendency of fashion has been to abolish all antiquity — either there was no praeChristian world or if men then lived they were all fools! Away with such squeamishness as is prepared to say that every human fossil, which comes to sight, must needs have pertained to some Indian, the evident and general characteristic of fickle imitators, the mistaken object of whose life seems to be to please somebody or something at the expense of principle, of manhood, of womanhood.

If, however, the Irish records go to show that there may have been an invasion of the country or that a foreign colony settled in it at about the time indicated, they do also go to show, as evinced before from the Book of Lecan and from what follows, drawn from the same source and others, that there were other colonies which settled in the country or other invasions of it much later than the time above set down, that is, than the fourteenth century B. C.

"The Book of Lecan, fol. 13, says that some of the Tuatha Dadan came to Ireland in the first year of Cambaoth, *i.e.*, Cambyses, son of Cir, *i.e.*, Cyrus; and that some of the Milesians came in the 5th year of Alexander's reign, that Alexander that fought Daire Mor; that is, Darius, the Great; and that these Milesians brought with them an account of the divisions of Alexander's army among his generals. Others came to Ireland in the very year in which Alexander defeated Daire Mor." Vall. Coll. IV. 322 note.

When Nebuchadnezzar II., the king of Babylon, besieged Tyre in 586 B. C., the governor of that city at the time was Ith or Eth-baal. The

city held out for 13 years, and when it was taken in 573 the people had left for Spain and for the islands of the Mediterranean. When, however, Nebuchadnezzar had set everything in order in the regime of his government and had prepared a fleet he embarked a large army and followed the exiled Phoenicians into Spain, where, it is said, he remained 13 years, until there was not a Phoenician left in that country. It is thought by some respectable authors that the Ith here mentioned was that one who invaded Ireland and settled his people therein; for that this would, in his emergency, have been most likely to have been the country he would have selected as a permanent and quiet home for his people, out of the reach of Nebuchadnezzar or any other ambitions conqueror, who might arise in the east. But this is their conjecture, no one having spoken definitely with respect to it. Supposing, however, for the sake of illustration, this to have been the man of that name, who established the colony in Ireland, then he must have been well advanced in years, having his grandchildren grown up around him, when he left Tyre for the west; for, according to our reckoning of three generations, on the average, for a century he would have been in mid life about the year 700 B. C. But reckoning the average length of the generation back from the Christian era in the line of 'Mac Conn' to have been 30 years instead of 33⅓, this man would have been in the prime of life about the year 600 B. C.; or, at 29 years for the average length of the generation for the same period, he would have been in the prime of life about 580 B. C.

"We only learn from Berosus," says Vallancy, "that Nabocollassar (or Gudarz, *i.e.*, Nebuchadnezzar 1st.), whose reign commenced in 626 B. C., was master of Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Caelo-Syria." It is seen that the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon are not included in this list of conquests, and consequently Nebuchadnezzar II., on coming to the throne, set about earnestly the capture of those cities. Referring to this whole period of the Nebuchadnezzars, Vallancy says: —

"At this period I am of opinion the great Milesian expedition as it is called, took place from Spain to Ireland; other parties would naturally follow, when Nebuchadnezzar II. reached Spain, where, it is said he did not leave one Phoenician in the whole kingdom, spending no less than nine years in driving them out." "Again: As our Scythians mixed with the Tyrians and became one people and shared their fate there is great reason to think that this is the first colony that settled in Ireland, and that the great Milesian expedition took place in the time of Nebuchadnezzar."

"There is a great reason to think our Ith (*i.e.*, that one of the name who invaded Ireland) was the Ith-baal or Eth-baal of the Scriptures, *i.e.*, Dominus Ith." Vall. Coll. vol. iv.

An expression of the history of Hugony mor as given in the four Masters is translated literally as follows: "After Ugain mor had been king of Eireann and of the west of the west for forty years he was slain by

Badhbhchadh;" which is translated as follows by the Irish historians: "After Hugony, the Great, had reigned forty years over Ireland and the western isles of Europe, he was slain," etc. Vallancy takes Eireann here to mean not Ireland, but Iran in Persia, and the expression the 'west of the west' to mean that Hugony and his people were still situated to the east of the Mediterranean. In fact he, with many others, maintain that all the names in the so called Irish historic list not only preceding Hugony's, but for some space of the list after that, are merely transferred from Iran or Eireann in Asia to the isle of the west and that what is said of them is merely what had happened to the real men in Asia. They go on, too, and give such historical and philological illustration of their position on this subject as they consider makes their assumption amount at least to probability, which suppose it does and more. Yet, on the other hand, it is replied that, with respect merely to the genealogical bearing of the subject, if the names appearing in the Irish lists represent real men and in the relation of son to father right along as they are represented in the lists to have been, then it makes no difference, at least considered in this relation, whether they lived to the east or to the west of the Mediterranean in their day, provided they were the ancestors of those who claim them as such. In the PraeChristian as well as in the Christian ages men used their privilege of changing occasionally their local habitations; and of sometimes, doubtless oftener than was necessary, making a new habitation for themselves and their families by force of arms. It is, therefore, seen from this that aman whose name appears in a genealogical list as an ancestor might be of a country far distant and a language much different from that of his grandfather or grandson, whose name may appear in its proper place in the same list. But, really, if this assumption of Vallancy and that class of men referred to as being of his opinion be correct, namely, that at the time of Hugony mor the Gaels were yet settled to the eastward of, on the borders of and in the islands of the Mediterranean, then it might be thought difficult for us to go to work in the list which contains the names of Ughain and his ancestors and descendants and pick out the name of the man who was the leader of that expedition into Ireland. We see, however, that the investigators incline to the name Ith or Ethbaal in their idea of the leadership of that expedition and consequently we have to look for the Gaelic list which contains in its first place or in effect in its first place the name Ith. This list we recognize in the genealogy given of MacConn, king of Ireland, which list we recognize as the main line of the ancient Irish monarchy. Whether or not then we are to recognize in Ith the leader of an invasion of the country, my understanding is there must have been an invasion of it about in his time. I would not be disposed to refer to Ireland the story related of Labhradh Longsech, as from criticisms I have seen on it I would think that story might be justly referrable to the Eastern Eireann, *i.e.*, in Persia: But

allow me to suggest the tenth name in the list, namely, Eramhan or Olild Eron, as a native of the country, who by means of the forces at his command within the country and drawn from his own territories in North Britain, took possession of the government of the island which remained in the hands of his descendants (if we are not to except the few kings of the house of Rudhri?) down to the last half of the twelfth century A. D.

Some historians have represented this conquest, such as it was, by Olild Erawn, to have been that of the Tuatha da Danan, as they make that of his ninth ancestor to have been the conquest of the country by the Firbolgs; but this is, in a sense, a multiplication of words without the necessary explanation being given for the conveyance of the proper knowledge: for they were the same people, namely, what they called Milesians or Scots; but in the progress of six generations a large body of them appear to have changed their religion from the tenets of the Firbolg sect to those of the Tuatha De Danans and to have become hostile towards each other on this account: And so we find that it is not alone in the Christian times that religious differences have existed in Ireland.

Some of the authorities make Ith to have been grandson of Bratha and others grandson of Milesius, which is supposed to be because this Bratha was the leader (Miledh) of their Gaelic expedition from Gaethluigh into Spain. The historians, however, represent their Ith as the first of their men who went into Ireland; for that as being a very intelligent man and well versed in the languages they had sent him before them to make observations of the country and learn what he could of it, for their information, before they had set out from Spain on their expedition. It is, therefore, not unreasonable on the whole to conclude that a Milesian expedition may have taken place into Erin in the time of Ith, although such expedition may not now have attempted a conquest of the country by force, nor may they have found it necessary to attempt such a thing by reason of the friendly reception they met with from the natives and the existing authorities.

Now, I suppose the list given us of the ancestors of king MacConn to contain all the links which properly belong to it, I mean intermediately of Lughaidh Mac Conn and Ith; and that it does so I regard as proved to a nicety by the parallel list of the royal line, so called, of Leinster, that is, supposing our Ughain to be only another name for Ith. And this being so it is evident that this list measures to a close approximation by means of the number of its generations the length of time which has passed since the Scots made their celebrated invasion of Ireland.

In regard to the expedition of King Nebuchadnezzar II. into Spain the very learned Count Gebelin observes that 'many learned men had doubted of this expedition, particularly Bochart, who, for reasons not worthy of himself, treats it as a fable.' He then shows that the Phoenicians had the

use of the compass and navigated to the Western Ocean, and finally he combats the opponents of this part of the history and proves the criticisms of Bochart to be full of errors.

Referring to this juncture of the history Vallancy says: "The vanity of the ancient Irish Sennachies had formed this connection between their ancestor and the heroic governor of Tyre. The Liber Lecan flatly contradicts this genealogy. At folio 119 it says: "The race of Ith were neither Milesians, Domnans, Bolgai nor Nemedians, but far superior to all these, *i.e.*, they were Fomaraigh. Mac Conn descended from Ith and extended his arms to the British Isles and to Gaul." Now, if any ancient Irish historians meant to say that their Ithians were descended from Ith, the governor of Tyre, I do not see how this account of the Book of Lecan can contradict it as said by Vallancy. In fact, common sense shows that the Tyrians were compelled by the circumstances of their case, when deprived of their own homes by Nebuchadnezzar II., to become for the time Fomaraigh and either by persuasion or force obtain a home for their people. Now, where would the Tyrians, a sea-faring people, having at their command at the time an abundance of sea craft and wealth, have been likely to have gone with their wealth and their families? Not into the center of Africa, wherein they would be likely to have to abandon or partially abandon their ships on the coast; no, but they would be likely to have abode for a time on some islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, whence having reconnoitered Ireland by agency of some of their competent men and judged things there to be generally favorable for their invasion and settlement they would have gone there and settled down after such arrangement as they found necessary as preliminary to such settlement. It would seem to me also that this account of the the Book of Lecan, which says that the descendants of Ith are not Milesians may possibly have been intended to imply their descent from this Ith, who had been governor of Tyre in Phoenicia when that city was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar II.; but as to whether or not this Ith was grandson to the Bratha or Milesius, mentioned above, through his son Breogan is something which perhaps the authors or compilers of the Book of Lecan did not take sufficiently into consideration? In reference to this historic juncture Vallancy says: "This strongly marks the intercourse and mixture of the Southern Scythians with the Tyrians." Bratha, the grandfather of their Ith, was, according to the Irish historians, a celebrated conqueror (Miledh, leader), who conducted his expedition "from Guthia near Crete, and Sicily, into Spain;" he landed in that portion of the peninsula now called Portugall or 'the port of the Galls,' and conquered the province, called after him, Bragantia now Braganza in Portugal. His son Breogan conquered a large portion of Spain proper; founded the city of Brigantia near Corunna and was the ancestor of the celebrated peoples called

Brigantes in North and South Britain. Is it then unlikely that the grandson of this Miledh, whatever his proper name was, the son of this Breogan as being descended of such renowned warriors, and being himself so brave, intelligent and accomplished a person, should have been selected by the Tyrians in their emergency as their governor to defend them from the power of the then all conquering Babylonians, even supposing the governorship were not understood to have pertained to him by right, say through marriage or otherwise? Would not this also be likely to have been the man selected by a council entrusted with the public defense and with the provision for the public safety and maintenance to send on a mission to reconnoiter a country which they had partially concluded would be a good country for them to emigrate to or to invade, if necessary; for a home they must provide for their people to go to when forced from their own habitations?

That the Fomaraigh were the actual invaders of Ireland in what is variously called the Gadelian, Milesian and Scottic expedition there can be no doubt, that is, that the Gaels, Milesians or Scots were the same people they called the Fomaraigh, notwithstanding O'Flaherty might be thought by his language to imply the Fomaraigh to have been aboriginals and those he calls Scots or Gaels or Milesians to have been a different race of people and the invaders.

"The Fomaraigh," says he, "the primitive inhabitants of those islands were giants." And in speaking of his Milesian invasion he says, "which was the fifth from the deluge except the Fomorians or natives."

But in the same manner the Gadelians were called giants and aborigines. "These Gaduli or giants," says Vallancy, "were in possession of the Brittainic isles when the Cymmerii or Walsh repossessed themselves of Britain, for they were the primitive inhabitants. In commemoration of their expulsion of those Gaduli or tall men they annually burnt a giant figure of wicker work. From that time the Gaeduli remained inhabiting Ireland, Mann and the north of Scotland." Coll. Vol. IV.

In his Ogygia, vol. I, p. 7, O'Flaherty has as follows: "The first adventurers who arrived in Ireland after the deluge were Partholan and his followers. Some write that he found it planted with inhabitants, but they came here soon after him. Our historians call them Fomhoraigh or as we call them in English Fomorians, which name the antiquarians give to all those foreign invaders, who have made descents into Ireland in opposition to the first inhabitants; and they tell us they were all the offsprings of Cham from Africa, except the Fomorians or first colonists to whom they assign no other settlement or origin than Ireland.

The Latins have termed such people Aborigines or natives, because their origin cannot be traced any higher and the Greeks call them Gigantes or giants (γηγενης, earth-born), that is born of the earth, because they came

from no other country, but like trees and herbs were first produced from the earth by vegetation, of whom Virgil:

Haec Nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebrant
Gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata.

"The native Fauns and Nymphs these groves possessed,
And a race of men sprung from trunks of trees
And the stout oak."

And Juvenal:

Qui rupto robore nati,
Compositique luto nullos habuere parentes.

"Who sprung from the shattered oak
And formed of clay, no other parents had."

"Nor indeed," he continues, "does the name import any extraordinary stature of body. We read nowhere that men were taller before the deluge than they are at present; there have been men in all ages of a monstrous and gigantic stature, but very few. The long and happy life which the patriarchs and men who lived in the infancy of the world were blèssed with added nothing to their stature. The raven, as is obvious, by many years surpasseth a man in length of life; nor does it necessarily follow that he should have as large a body, from whence we may infer that giants in Scripture should not be understood as men of an uncommon magnitude; but are taken as tyrants, and the first inhabitants or natives; so much for the etymology of the word.

Nemedh, the third in descent from Taith, the brother of Partholan, being impelled and actuated by similar motives to fame and glory, was the second after the flood that immigrated to this kingdom. The third and fourth colonies were the Firbolg and the Tuatha Dadanan, that is, a people who adored and enrolled mother Danan with her three sons as gods.

Fifthly, the Milesians from Spain succeeded them, a Scottic colony of Scythian origin, who possessed and governed this nation longer than any other invaders." "The chieftains of those four colonies are said to have been descended equally alike as the Milesians from the same father Magog, the grandson of Noah by Japhet and to have all spoken the Scottic language."

Now, first, supposing all those different colonies to have spoken, as he has said, the same Scottic language, this language from its name is Scythic. It, however, could not possibly have been the Scythic of Western, or Northern Asia, for, as a matter of fact, we find the Irish to have hardly any perceptible kinship to those languages. Nine out of ten Irish words are, according to Vallancy and the profoundest investigators into this subject, either Chaldaic, Arabic, Syriac or Hindostanic; consequently the Irish is of

that class of languages which belongs to the Scythic of Central and Southern Asia. It is the language of the ancient founders of Babylon and Nineveh, and of those Persians settled in early times on the eastern side of the Erythrian Sea towards India and of the Peninsula of Arabia and the Sabaeans towards the straits of Babel Mandeb. By some philologers all this class of languages have been called Cushite; for the word the Persians call Cus and also Sus and Cis, as in their name of country Cisiana or Susiana, the Chaldaeans and Syrians call Cuth which is the veritable Scuth, Scyth and Scot. This race of Scuths has been very renowned on the earth and may be reasonably supposed in the course of the ages to have had a dynasty or dynasties of their own on the ancient throne of Egypt, perhaps other dynasties besides the Shepherd kings: and they may also be supposed to have dominated in ancient Ethiopia, especially in its kingdom of Meroë, situated among the rivers, the African Mesipotamea, near the sources of the Nile?

To make the distinction between the Northern and Southern Scythians as plain as is necessary let us have the following: —

The Persians say that the Tourani or Northern Scythians were so called from Tour, a son of Feridoun a King of Persia of the first dynasty, named Pish-dadians; that Tour had an elder brother named Irag, who had Persia for his inheritance; and Tour was obliged to pass the Gihon or Oxus and to reign in the Transoxane Provinces. Much has been written in this strain, but the learned d'Herbelot clearly proves that neither was Turquestan named from Tour nor Iran from Irag, as the Persians fabulously relate.

The Arabians, Persians and Turks have, however, always distinguished the Northern from the Southern Scythians. "By the names Jaguige and Maguige, Gog and Magog, says d'Herbelot, they understand the same as they do by Gin and Magin or Tchin and Matchin, that is the Northern Chinese and Southern Chinese."

For ages the Southern Scythians or Persians had been at war with the Northern Scythians, representing them as demons and always respecting them as barbarians.

"The Persians," says Vallancy, "were Scythians descended from Mount Caucasus; they first settled about the Caspian Sea; then in Armenia and finally in Persia. The ancient history of the Persians is the history of those Southern Scythians, the ancestors of the Irish."

Iran *i.e.*, Persia. Iran and Touran, *i.e.*, Southern and Northern Scythia.

If, then, we suppose the people of any of those invasions of Ireland, above enumerated, to have come into the country speaking a language different from that spoken by the great body of the inhabitants, are we to suppose them to have adopted the language of the country or to have imposed their own upon it?

As to the Fomorians a person would be apt to think O'Flaherty not quite consistent in his narrative; for he now appears to call them the first inhabitants or aborigines and then says 'they came soon after the first inhabitants.' He then goes back again and implies them to have been aborigines; I suppose fearing from the start that if he fell completely in with the idea that his Scots, Milesians or Gaels were the Fomorians he would have fallen into the trap of those who had fixed the descent of the Fomorians from Cham or Sham instead of Japheth Gadul (as this last is written in the old MSS.), the son of Noah. He may not possibly have been actuated by this thought, but he seems to have beaten round the business a good deal, perhaps in a way quite natural to him.

Gadul means a merchant, Canaanite, etc., and the Fomoraigh were eminently engaged in the sea-faring business. Is it more likely then they were descended from Japheth Gadel than from Cham, not because I consider it of any importance to know which of those names that son of Noah, they say was their ancestor, bore, but because the history or tradition of the Scots traces back to Japheth and the Fomaraigh were the people he has under his fifth head and whom he calls Scots?

Some profound ethnological and philological investigators have found great difficulty to distinguish among the races the people called Shemites. They seemed to me by the tone they adopted before they had finished with the subject as if they somehow understood the Cushites and Shemites to have been the same people if not the latter to have been, so to speak, the genus which included the former, somewhat as a species, and the form Shem, anciently pronounced Sham, to have been but a verbal variation of Cham?

It appears now plain from a consideration of the whole mythico-historic exhibit that the people called Fomorians were the only people whom the Irish histories allow to have effectually conquered the country at the time their great Milesian invasion is said to have taken place; and consequently the Fomorians must have been identical with the Scots.

Speaking in the Ogygia Vol. II. 194, O'Flaherty says: "I find this Scal, the father-in-law of Tuathal (Techtmhar) called king of Fomoir, by which I conclude he was king of Finland and that those northern inhabitants (now the Danes, Swedes, Iothians, and the people of Finland), were anciently known to us by the appellation of Fomaraigh, that is, Fomorians, whom we have called Lochlanians, from their piractical depredations, because they were remarkable, since the eighth century for their invasions and piracies; and by others they were denominated Normans from their situation."

According to the Book of Lecan their Ith was a Fomhorian and according to the general Irish history their Ith was one of the Scottic family which conquered the country; consequently the Scots or Milesians who conquered the country in that celebrated Gadelian expedition were Fomhorians.

The distinction in the Gaelic mind between the Fomhorians who were the aborigines of a country and the Fomorians who were the sea rovers must have arisen in the popular mind after Christianity had been introduced or after they had come to know from the Bible that there had been a deluge. It was then conceived that after that catastrophe had taken place there were no aborigines of the race of Adam left in any country and that those who in the after ages, came to be deemed the aborigines in contradistinction to all others must need have themselves arisen from those who had been at some time colonists and were of the stock of Noah. These were Fomharaigh in a good sense, being however, in the idea, of a rather inferior grade to the Scots. But the idea entertained of the **Fomharaigh**, considered as invaders, must have been akin to that afterwards, entertained by the inhabitants of the coasts and islands of Great Britain and Ireland of the terrible Scandanavian Sea Rovers who for a long course of ages brought so much sorrow and destruction to those people. In this sense Fomharaigh would mean literally 'foes of the sea,' or enemies whom the sea might bring to them at any time and unexpectedly.

If it be a correct opinion that the Scots or Phoenicicans of the earlier ages followed in their sea-faring life for the most part trade and did not incline to invasion or conquest unless in very rare cases in which they absolutely found they would have to provide homes for their people, and as to the early ages to which we refer there appears nothing in the history to controvert it, we then might safely decide this ancient Fomhoraic people not to have been usually associated in the popular mind with such hatred and terror as were the Scandinavians of the Christian ages wont to be associated in the minds of the people upon whom they were accustomed to prey.

In the later ages, that is the ages of the Roman empire the ports and harbors of the Mediterranean were the rendezvous for swarms of piratical craft, which Pompey and other commanders, to the praise of their memory should it be said, took pains to clear from the sea, in so far as they were able to effect this.

With reference to the Firbolgs I may say that this Bolg is by an elision of an or ean at the end for Bolgean or Belgian and means literally child of Baal. Of the great divinity of the ancient Phoenicians Baal was an appellation and therefore, Bolgae was for Bolgean or more fully Baalgaethan, *i.e.*, Baal-gotten. Mr. Beauford, in speaking of the ancient Milesians, says: "Whence in the most ancient Poems we find them distinguished as Siol m Bolgae and Slioght m Bealidh or Slioght Mileadh, that is, the race of the worshippers of Baal; an appellation which as universally distinguished the ancient inhabitants of Europe as that of Christians doth at present." "But when the Belgae are mentioned in the Irish Poems and history in contradistinction to the Milesians they signify the Plebeians or herdsmen, from Bol, horned cattle, whence Bolg or

Bolga, a herdsman or keeper of horned cattle, by reason that this species of animals was dedicated to Baal or Bol." Again: "Miledh Fene signifies a learned nobleman or druid." He then mentions as equivalents Baal, Beal, Beul, Bol, Heul, Ull and Oll. "Ull or the sun, which in this dialect was the same as Beal, whence Ullagh, the worshippers of the sun and their country Ulladh or Ullin," *i.e.*, Ulster, Vall. Coll. III. 290–2.

In reference to the form Baal or Bolg, appended to names, Vallancy says: "Baal is only an epithet in the Canaanitish tongue, like Arz in the Persian." As Ethbaal or Ithbaal; Gudarz, a proper name of Nebuchadnezzar, etc.

After Tiernach has begun his annals with the statement that the father of Ughan mor was then reigning, King of Erin at Tara and Cimbaeth ('or as others wrote Liccus') was king at Emhain and after stating, without specifying any as such, that thirty kings of the Lagenians had dominated over Ireland from the time of Labhradh Longsech to that of Cathair mor, the next king whom he gives specifically to Ireland is Duach Dalta Deaghaidh. He has placed him, too, where he appears to belong, namely, in the sixth generation before Conair mor, which is about the seventh before the Christian era. After that he has Eochaidh Areamh in his proper place, namely, about half distance between Duach and Conair mor. Eochaidh Feidhloch he placed just before the latter and in the old genealogies he is put down as his brother, whether or not that were so.

The sum of those whom Tiernach allowed to have been kings of Ireland of the race of Labhradh Longsech, down to and including his Cathair mor can be counted in the history and among them he appears to have included the few kings of the clan of Ruidhri, which were for this space, as if he understood said Ruidhri to have been of male descent from his Labhradh Longsech, whom he seems to have thought had introduced a dynasty in his person, whose descendants so long held the government of the country.

Before Conn Cead-Cathach Tiernach has seven kings of the Cruthni or Picts to have ruled Ireland, which to my mind is the same as to say that seven kings of the Scots ruled there. But he seems to have had in his mind some variety or class of the Scots; for those men he refers to were of the descent of Olild Aron and Duach Dalta Deagh, although he might have thought differently. My main tabulation will show the filiation of five of these; but the whole seven I take to be, as in his conception: Feidhlimidh Rechtmhar, son of Tuathal Techtmhar, son of Fiachaidh Findalaidh, son of Feredhach Find Fectnach, son of Crimthan Nia Nair, son of Lughaidh Riabh-n-dearg with his grandfather Eochaidh Areamh. Whether or not Tiernach knew their male descent they were such Scots as the country produced and of a piece with those who had preceded them at Tara, of the dominating race which he has referred to.

But we are to remember in this case that the name of Cruthni sometimes became attached to a family in those ages through female descent and so should not be properly thought to have interfered with the line of the descent as ordinarily thought of.

Of those sorts of Cruthni we have a remarkable instance given in the genealogies in the appendix to Skene's Celtic Scotland. Here we are informed that through the marriage of Corc, King of Munster, who was the sixth in male descent from Mogh Nuadhat, to the daughter of Feredhach, King of the Picts of Alban, his sons named Carbri Cruthnechan or the Pict and Mani Leamhna, when they came of age settled in Alban on their mother's inheritance and so became the ancestors of the peoples of the Lennox and of Magh Gherghin, or the Mearns, which afterwards, in the general mind, were of course, not distinguishable from the Picts of male descent. Another brother of theirs named Cronan, it is said, became ancestor of the Cruthni of the kingdom of Emhain. You see, therefore, any number of Picts, so called, might have arisen from Pictish mothers, and still they be in their father's line real Scots.

Moreover, Tiernach says that there were thirty kings from Leth Cuind from the time of Lughaidh-Riahb-n-dearg, the grandson of King Achy Areamh, which Lughaidh lived about 75 years B. C. to Diarmid, the son of Fergus Kerbeol, who died about 566 A. D. For this period, coming as it does within the properly historic times, this number can be arrived at as correct by a reckoning in the histories.

O'Flaherty calls Cathair Mor the last of the Lagenian line of kings on the throne of Ireland. By this we are to understand him as saying that Cathair Mor was the last king of Ireland of the race of Labradh Longsech. But I see no reason why the Lagenians should have now taken it into their heads to give up to others than their own race the throne of Tara, which they had held so long. Considering their past it might be thought an act of very remarkable self-denial on their part. He says that of Cathair's thirty sons there were only ten who left any descendants after them! In many respects the character of King Cathair resembled that of Ughan Mor. The latter had twenty-two sons and three daughters, and amongst those 25 children he had Ireland divided into equal parts! Upon the celebrated Will of Cathair Mor Vallancy, and the historical critics used to like to comment. I, for my part, have sometimes reflected that our Cathair Mor must needs have been as great and as real a monarch of Ireland as was our Ughan Mor before him! Some of the historians make our Cathair Mor to have been slain by the Lugenians of Tara; others by Conn Ced Cathach. The former are more likely to be correct than the latter; for Cathair Mor did not live in the time of King Conn, but was five generations later. They have doubtless, hit their mark better, who have connected Nuadhat Nect, Cathair's tenth ancestor, with Conair Mor, the 4th ancestor of Conn.

And, by the way, if you count up that genealogical list of Cathair Mor, from Nuadhat Nect to Ughan Mor, inclusive of those two, you will find it to contain just 21 names, the same number contained in the line of Conair Mor, from the latter to Ughan Mor, these two inclusive; and the same number exactly in the line of Mac Conn from Ferulni mc Edbolg, corresponding to Conair Mor, to Ith, these two inclusive. This is quite natural, you see, there seeming nothing forced or artificial about it

Here are landmarks, for example: Conair Mor; Ferulin; Nuadhat Nect.

Now, between Conair Mor and Aengus Tuirmac there is just the same number as between Ferulin and Eosamhan in the other column; and as there are between Nuadhat Nect and Fergus Fortamhail in the other. Also between these last points mentioned and Ughan Mor there are just the same number in each.

By writing the name of Fiachaidh Findalaidh as Fiachaidh Find, occasionally giving the genitive for the nominative, as Fiathach Find, some early transcribers have availed to make in print, two men out of one, for these two varieties of form refer to the same man who was ancestor to the historical Dal Fiathach race of Ulster.

In a foot note to p. 118 of Keating's history of Ireland, put there by the translator, we get the geographical limits in Ireland, at least, of some of those tribes of kindred origin of which we have been speaking. It is as follows: "Dal Ariadhe (Daul Arree) was co-extensive with the present county of Down; and Dal Riada (*i.e.*, in Ireland), with the present county of Antrim." Whether or not this were so for any age or length of time it is seen the Dal Fiathach race is distinguishable from the Dal Araidh and from the Dal Riada. They were, of course, all of kindred origin, the Dal Araidh tracing back to Rudhri mor.

This Ruidhri whose name is seen in the left-hand column of the three I gave for illustration and comparison I do not understand to have been himself king of Ireland, but he was King of Ulster, or Ewania, and when the sovereignty of the island came into the hands of his family in the person of his sons that clan held it for several reigns at intervals before and after the Christian era. How the Degadians attained to power at the time they did in the face of the power of the clan of Ruidhri is perhaps to be explained by their superiority at the time in military strength.

The Ogygia, however, presents an item (II. 149) which perhaps may be taken into account in connection with the circumstances of this case. The words are as follows: "Queen Mesibocalla, the granddaughter of King Achy Areamh by his daughter Esa and Conchobar, King of Ulster, by his son, Cormac Conlingas, was the mother of Conair 1st, monarch of Ireland, by King Edarscol." Again: "Edania, the daughter of Eadar, lord of Eochraidh, after whom Benn Edair, near Dublin was called, had a daughter by King Achy, named Esa, who marrying Cormac Conlingas, King of Ulster, had by him Mesibocalla, King Eadarscoll's queen."

But the old Saxon Scotch Chronicles say that Caractacus was son to a daughter of Metellan, his father being named Cadallan, son to Cadall. And Mr. Beauford calls Conair mor, son of Trenmor, *i.e.*, son of great strength, instead of son to Eadarscol. But since that a comparison of Fordun and DeWyntoun's lists with those of the Irish histories evidently shows Caractacus and Conair mor to have been identical, those two accounts, since they represent the same thing, in somewhat different ways, must be plainly reconcilable.

As to Cadall and Cadallan I have explained above in a general way, why these forms may have come to have been introduced; but Caractacus or Caratake is not Cathair or Conair any more than Cadallan is Eadarscol or Cadall Eoghan. Only back to Cadall, which implies his father's father, do the old chronicles take their Caractacus genealogy. But it is in the Gaelic we are to look for the explanation of those word-forms and not in the Welsh or Cambro-British in which the forms do not appear.

The Gaelic Cadal (note the d unaspirated in this case) means 'sleep,' Cadalan, diminutive of Cadal, a short sleep 'a nap.' Then we have the same word with the d aspirated, Cadhal, meaning Cail, cabbage, colewort; and the same word contracted into Cal, 'sleep,' slumber, Calain, a couch, bed; Call, a house, church, hood, veil. And then old Gaelic Cadall (d unaspirated) a battle, Cadallan, a little battle, a skirmish. As applied to a man these terms would mean respectively and literally a warrior, commander, with the diminutive or offspring of the first implied in the second case. Sleep would appear to me to be of the same ancient root as slap, *i.e.*, Saxon Sleap? And Slap implies battle, war. The root of sleep would also imply rest, a place to rest in or sleep; a lodge, hut, house.

The commonest word in the Gaelic for battle is Cath and the two forms Cathal or Cathmhail and Cathair or Cathfhair, being occasionally translated into our name Charles, shows that they were understood as equivalents in meaning, when used as a personal appellation, at least to some extent.

The Gaelic Sgealp (they have the combination Sg usually for Sc) means a slap with the palm of the hand, *i.e.*, our word Skelp, a smart stroke, then the sound of the blow given, a howl, squall, yell, etc. Sgalan means a stage, scaffold, hut. Sgail, a shade, shadow, spectre, ghost; a veil, covering, a pretense; a cloud.

One of the meanings of Neul or Nial is cloud, *i.e.*, something which obscures, renders dark, covers. Consequently De Wyntoun's Edarste-Nyl, for Eadar-Scol, would mean the Steidh-neil or stead-cover, *i.e.*, house cover or roof of Eadar; but as a personal appellation it would mean the 'chief man;' for Ste or Steid would be here for Saxon Stead, properly the wall, gall, inclosure and Nyl would mean the daemh, dome or covering of such inclosure. The appellation would also imply in it the idea of intelligence, the particle ed (here in the fuller form Edar), meaning wisdom, intelli-

gence, knowledge, being the root of our word teach and the first component in the older Edbolg, which we identify with this, in the equivalent list of names of our ancestors.

Although they say the name EadarScol means an interpreter, being, as they suppose, from Eadar, interposition and Sgoil a school, whence Sgoilear, a Scholar, still I see no good reason why it should not be understood to have not only this but any of its root meanings also, in which it would stand as a historical equivalent for their Cadallan. And then their Cadall, Cadhal, Cachal or Coll would have to fit on to Eoghan, as well it might, seeing that Eoghan is occasionally spelled Eachal and Eochan as well as Cathmhael or Cawill means primitively 'leader.' Or, would the name Eadarscol have been assumed or given in this case consequent upon the man's marriage with the great-granddaughter of Eadar above mentioned? Eadarscol would thus mean the child, clan or kin of Eadar; or Eadarste-Nyl, the chief of the house of Eadar.

As to the man Metellan, whose daughter the chroniclers say was the mother of Caratake, I may say that I have met with no such form of name as Metellan either in the Gaelic or Welsh. But, considering the circumstances of this case a person might think it had been put down by mistake for Maelaedhan, *i.e.*, Mil-edh-an, being the diminutive of Miledh and meaning the son of a Milesian, Gael or Scot. It may, however, have been formed from the root meiteal, metal, so that Metellan would thus mean, as we would say, 'a man of metal,' meaning a spirited, courageous person. This Metellan, whatever may have been the form of the name he went by, is put down as ninth lineal descendant in the male line of Fergus 1st, so that he must have been understood as a Gael, and, therefore, the first explanation I have given of the form of name they have given him, although it might appear to some the most unlikely, would not be without probability in its favor, as conveying first the proper root idea, and secondly the idea intended to be conveyed by the appellation.

When the ancient Saxon Scotch Chronicles, in so far as they bear on our subject, are fully compared with those of the ancient Irish upon the same subject there will be really fonnd to be no difference between them, as to the matter under consideration. Both lines of history have evidently been much mystified, but careful investigation and comparison throws off the veil.

The Scotch genealogical list of Fergus, the son of Erc, as given by Andrew de Wyntoun, serves as an indicator of the descent, in which a person would think the channel had been made so broad in places as to admit the sailing of other craft besides that of the line of Fergus; but still this is not so in fact, for although he gives 14 names from Fergus II. to Conair II., these two included instead of 10 which is the proper number; and 39 between Fergus and Aengus Tuirmac, these two included, instead of 27, the proper number, still, this filling up, as may be understood by a study

of the word-forms, in their connections was done by the putting into the list of epithets of these men, which perhaps were used to have been applied to them in addition to their real names, and which he employed to fill out his meter. In giving the three parallel columns of names to the extent of which I give them after our list proper I had in view other considerations besides the important one of the comparison of numbers of descents in periods, namely that they might serve to illustrate the subject, which in parts I had to explain in connection with my list; for, firstly, in reading over some Gaelic histories as concerning the origin of Fiachaidh Fermhara, who is represented as brother of Enna Aighneach and son of Aengus Tuirmac,* I thought I had noticed some things which, at least, the modern mind would not be likely to pass over without some investigation and criticism. But as I have been able to find no variation in sentiment in the ancient authorities as to the fact of the descent in this case, I concluded that if there were found even some verbal differences as to it these must be reconcilable in some way. How this stands will appear as we proceed.

Secondly. I have thought that I had detected some variations in the ancient accounts in relation to the origin of the clan of Deaghaidh, through which in the male line the descent is reckoned; and, although I have been able to find no variation in the accounts as to the fact itself of the descent being from Aengus Tuirmac to Deaghaidh and from the latter to Conair II., still there appeared to me such variations in the history at this juncture that I deemed it absolutely necessary to make a general examination of it, and to give a general exposition concerning it here, in which as a result my conclusions will be plain.

As to the origin of the clan of Deaghaidh I found in O'Halloran's History of Ireland, under the head of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh, as follows: "He had a younger brother called Deaghaidh, both of whom the Book of Munster declares to have been as gallant and intrepid heroes as Ireland then produced. The same authority acquaints us that consequent upon a dispute about the succession Duach had his brother's eyes put out. Hence Duach was called Dalta Deaghaidh or Blinder of Deaghaidh."

"O'Flaherty," he continues, "treats this as a fable, pretending that Duach had no brother, and that he got the epithet of Dalta Deaghaidh from the generous reception he gave to the exiled Deaghaidh and from his adopting him as his child. But neither the Psaltar of Cashel nor the Book

* Aengus Tuirmach Teamhrach, *i.e.*, Aengus Tuirmac of Tara, has been entered in the histories in Christian times under the form Enos:

The Annals of Cluan Macnoise speak of him as follows: "Enos succeeded and was a very good king. He left two goodly and noble sons, Enna Aighneach and Fiagha Ferwara. The most part of the kings of Ireland descend of his son Enna. and the kings of Scotland, for the most part, descended of Fiagha, so as the great houses of both kingdoms derive their pedigrees from them. He was of the Sept of Erewon and reigned 32 years," the four Masters say sixty, "and then died quietly in his bed at Taragh." Notwithstanding this he may not have been king of Ireland but his son was.

of Lecan, which he quotes on this occasion, justify his assertion. To the reverse, the first is my authority for what has been said."

O'Halloran appears here to err by misconception, for no history of which I have knowledge says that Duach adopted Deaghaidh; but, on the contrary, they give to understand that Duach had been called Dalta Deaghaidh because he himself had been adopted by Deaghaidh.

Let us hear O'Flaherty upon this subject: "Duach did not obtain the name of Dalta Deaghaidh, that is, the blinder of Deaghaidh, having had no brother, although some fabulously declare he had; but he obtained this appellation because he was the favorite of Deagh, the son of Sen of the Erainans. So the book of Lecan has extracted from the Munster Book; Gilla Caemhan and O'Duvegan's Books assert the same. But Fiach, the sailor, the son of King Aengus Tuirmac of the Heremonian descent, had a son, Olild Aron, who obtained lands in Ulster, from which surname his posterity were denominated Eranans, a different race from the more ancient Eranans of the Belgian origin, and afterwards distinguished into the Deaghads of Munster and the Dalfiatachians of Ulster. Therefore, Deagh, the descendant of Olild Aron, being expelled Ulster by the sons of Ruidhri, obtained a principality in Munster, while his foster son, Duach, had the sovereignty of Ireland, and after the death of Duach he was declared King of Munster; as his posterity have governed it after, both alternately and in conjunction with the Hiberians; the former governors of the North and the latter of the South of Munster." (Ogygia, vol. II, 142.)

One thing appears evident, namely, that at this time Duach (who he was will become more clear before we get through) by some combination of circumstances favorable to his side had won the sovereignty out of the hands of the Clanna Ruidhri, who had held it now for several reigns.

Speaking of the same Duach Keating says: "The reason why he was called Duach Dalta Deaghaidh was the following: Carbri Rosglethan had two sons, Duach and Deaghaidh were their names There was a rivalry between them as to which of them should be King of Ireland; for they were both qualified to be candidates for the royalty in mien, person, achievements and valor But Deaghaidh, who was the youngest of the two, sought to supplant Duach, his elder. When Duach had noticed this he sent a messenger for his brother, and Deag thereupon came to the place where he was, and as soon as he had done so Duach had him seized and caused his eyes to be put out. Hence he got the cognomen of Dalta Deaghaidh or blinder of Deaghaidh. This Duach fell by the hands of Factna Fathach, son of Cas," a descendant of Ruidhri. A very circumstantial story of Keating, it must be confessed, if eventually we find it to be mainly allegorical. But, on the other hand, under the head of Conair mor, Keating says: "The reader must now understand that the Eranaidhe tribes of Munster are of the posterity of this Conair, as are also those of the Dal Riada of Alba, and that it was at the time of Duach Dalta Deag-

haidh that the Eranaidhe came into Munster, whither, according to the Psaltar of Cormac, son of Culinan, they had been driven by the tribes of Ruidhri, who had vanquished them in eight battles. They afterwards acquired great power in Munster from the time of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh to that of Mogh Nuadhat; so that according to the Book of Munster, when the race of Ebhir gained the supremacy of that principality for themselves they drove the Eranans into the extreme territory of Ui Rathach, now Iveragh in Kerry, and the isles of West Munster, and thus they remained until the time of Mogh Nuadhat, by whom they were finally expelled."

These two quotations in connection with O'Halloran's assertion of the Book of Munster having been his authority for what he said might be taken to indicate the probability of Duach having had a brother named Deaghaidh and also that it was in the time of this Duach that the Erawnaidh of Ulster, of the line of Olild Erawn, emigrated to Munster, that is, provided that on the summing up of the whole evidence on the subject there should appear reasonable probability that said Duach had had a brother named Deaghaidh, whom he most selfishly and cruelly blinded in order to prevent him from supplanting him in the government; and the fair way then to decide upon it would be that there were two men named Deaghaidh connected with King Duach, the one being his brother and the other the then chief of the Erawnaidhe of Ulster, who with his people and their chattels, after they had assisted him to the sovereignty, had come and made their abode in Duach's quarters, namely, in Tuath-Mumham, *i.e.*, Thomond or North Munster, called after the Degadians, it is said, the province of Curo Mac Dairi, *i.e.*, of Cyrus, the son of Darius; for there appears in the Scottish genealogy of Fergus, the son of Erc, just at this place the name Deaghaidh, to whom they trace, in connection with the Irish list.

The Book of Munster, which is understood to be the same with the Psaltar of Cashel, is the principal authority given both by Keating and O'Flaherty for the emigration of the Erawnaidhe into Munster in the time of Duach and for the report of Duach's having blinded his brother. But O'Flaherty (the Book of Cluan Macnoise and the Annals of Donegal, quoting from Gilly Caeman's Poem, written in the twelfth century, being his authority), says as follows: "Deaghaidh, the son of Sen, the descendant of Olild Erawn and Aengus Tuirmac, King of Ireland, through his son Fiachaidh, of the race of Ereamhon, was beat into Munster from Ulster, from whom King Duach was designated the foster child of Deag." Ogygia, vol. 1, 172. Whether or not there was a historical foundation for the story of the emigration at this time from Ulster into Munster, either of a large or a small body of people, it would appear as altogether more probable that Duach, during his life never was given the appellation Dalta, although he may have had the appellation Deaghaidh, as a title of

honor and respect given to him in connection with his proper name Duach or Edamh or Daemh or Edhamhrach, all the same.

The translator of Keating's history, referring to the expression 'blinder of Deaghaidh,' used by Keating, says: "Dalta can scarcely admit of the forced meaning given to it in this case by our author. It is the common Irish word to express fosterling or *Alumnus*, and it is to be questioned if a single other instance can be shown from Irish writings in which it has ny reference to blinding. O'Flaherty shows from the Book of Lecan, from O'Duvegan's Book, and from Gilla Caemhan's Poem, written in the twelfth century, that Duach had no brother named Deaghaidh, but that he was called Dalta Deaghaidh, because he was the Alumnus or foster son of Deaghaidh, son of Sen of the Ernaans of Ulster. See, also, O'Donovan's Notes on the Four Masters."

This gentleman's view will be found to be most consonant with reason, in so far as the word Dalta, in connection with the case, is concerned; when it is known that the Gaelic word for 'blind' is 'dall,' whose present participle is 'dalladh,' 'blinding.' 'Dalta,' 'diminutive,' 'daltan,' is their common word in use for 'foster-child.'

O'Flaherty starts out under the head of King Duach as follows: "Duach of the Heberian line, blind of an eye." And Keating, on page 141 of his history of Ireland, in giving "an enumeration of the most famous and noble persons of the Tuatha de Danaans," reckons among them Eochaidh Garbh, the son of Duach Dall; which tends to show that the Duach we have now under consideration was the one meant; for by looking in the middle column of the three parallel columns of names which I have given for comparison and illustration, you will find Eochaidh Garbh, whom I have identified with Ferulni, *i.e.*, "the man of the sun," *i.e.*, perhaps a priest of Baal, having, doubtless, this office united with his chieftaincy, set down as son of Deaghaidh Teamhrach.

In the same enumeration we find 'Begreo, the son of Carbri Cean-Chaith, the son of Tabharn;' but Carbri's father is set down generally in the histories as Dubhaedh or Dubhthach, and consequently we find Tabharan to equal Daebharchon or Dubharchan, and so Duverin to be the same with the old word Tarn, a lake, from which our word tarnish, to make dull, duff, dun, or of the color of water. But the list given of the ancestors of King Lughaidh 'Mac Conn' clears this subject from such ambiguity as might be otherwise thought to be connected with it, for in the exact place, tracing back in that list from our Conair II., we find 'Edhamhrach or Deaghaidh Teamhrach,' which plainly shows Deaghaidh to have been only an honorary appellation of Duach or Edhamhrach, in addition to his proper name, and this same man to have been monarch of Ireland and of male descent from Olild Erawon or Eramhan. The old lists represent this man's descent as being from one Ebher, a brother of Eramhan. But this latter form is made up of Er and amhan; and this Er is evidently but a contrac-

tion for Ebhir or Emhir; and the two names, as so understood, are most likely to be but variations of the same name, referred, in this case, at least, to the same man. For it is most likely that in the early ages Ebhir and Ebhiramhan, the one being the diminutive of the other, were wont to be used for each other. Iar, Iarr or Earp, which is the same, means the west, and many other things as a dwelling or city, Latin Urbs, root Earb; and this Earbh is a transposition of Ebhar, of which Er is a contraction, arising from the pronunciation, Ewar. Eramhan is for Ebharamhan and this the diminutive of Ebhar and used for it. Earp is Europe, the western country.

That Duach Dalta Deaghaidh was of male descent from Earamhon and Aengus Turmac implies the genealogical line of the Munster royal houses, so-called, to break at this Duach. In some places O'Flaherty mentions the difficulty he experienced in trying to find the steps in the Eberian descent; we can now perceive the reason, namely, the steps of the descent were not to be found in the line in which he sought them. Any one, therefore, can see the boon we possess in the list of the ancestors of Lughaidh Mac Conn, so called, monarch of Ireland, which shows in generations the exact time this family of Gaels has been in the British Isles.

By certain marks I have noticed in my progress in the Irish history I can (independently, I think, of the course taken by Vallancy, Beauford and that class of investigators), if not identify yet at least classify the Partholians and Nemedhians with the people they call the Heberians. For instance, Partholan and Ebhir are represented as having had each four sons of exactly the same names respectively, Er, Orba, Ferann and Fergna. As to the significations of these, Er, means head, chief; Orba, inheritance, patrimony; Fearann, land, a farm; Feargna, chieftainship, superiority; and Eargna, the same word, wanting the digamma, meaning knowledge. In commenting on this subject Mr. Skene has also remarked that we have a reproduction of two of the sons of Partholan in Ruidhri and Slangi, two of the leaders of the Ferbolgs.

Nemedha from Nomae or Momae and this from the old Celtic Mou or Nou, a country, and Mam or Mae maternal, whence Momae or Nomae, original people, aborigines; Mumha or Mumhau, Munster, the land of the Ebherians, the mother country. (See Beauford in Vall.) But I would consider it too narrow a view to be entertained that all the Scots of the British Isles must needs have sprung from Ith and Labhradh Longseach and Olild Erawn. The people of Ith appear to have been the conquerors of the country, in what they term the Milesian invasion, whose government they held in their own family till the invasion of the Anglo-Normans in the twelfth century A. D.

The so-called Ebherians need no more think in the partial way in which they have been accustomed to think concerning those matters; for if they be of the royal stock of Munster they are, thus, of the royal stock of Ire-

land; there being, in effect, only one royal line, that called of Earamhon, *i.e.*, Olild Erawn; and the house which held the sovereignty in succession with their very near kinsfolk in the male line were esteemed the royal kinnel of the island. Some people might look upon Brian, King of Ireland, who fell at Cluan Tarbh in 1014 A. D., as having introduced a new dynasty in his person; but he was not thus thought of by the Irish nation. He is entered in the genealogic list as 31st descendant in the male line of Duach Dalta Deagh, the list mentioning no intervening one of his line as king of Erin but many as kings of Munster. The story about Brian dethroning Melsechlan, becoming king of Erin himself and getting killed in battle in 1014 A. D., appears interesting. The Irish, however, defeated the Danes at Cluantarbh without the loss of their king, and Brian and Maelsechlan ua Nial, in the same person, occupied Tara for several years after that battle.

The history represents Factna Fathach a descendant of Ruidhri, who appears in the history next aftor Duach, as the father of Concobhar Mac Nessa, King of Ulster. Some have thought this Conchobar to have been identical with Conair mor, but the chronology admits not of this, there being three or four generations between Factna, in range with Uar, son of Deaghaidh and Conair mor. This, too, makes the accounts of the Irish histories appear not the less reasonable, which have queen Mesibocalla, the wife of kind Edarscol and mother of Conair mor, to have been granddaughter of King Eochaidh Areamh by his daughter Esa and of Concobar, king of Ulster, by his son Cormac Conlingas. For Factna, 'the wise,' would range in generation with Uar, son to Deaghaidh; Conchobhar, his son, would range in generation with Olild son of Uar; Cormac Conlingas, son of Conchobhar, would range in generation with Eoghan son to Olild; and Mesibocalla, daughter of Cormac Conlingas, would range in generation with Eadarscol and be of an age to be marriageable with him. This would clearly also indicate Conair mor to have been third in descent from Achy Aremh which although it might appear too distant, considering the collocation of the names and the chronological computations of Keating yet appears, reasonably to bear out the historic representations of the Irish historians, exhibiting, as it may be supposed fairly to do, the exact number of generations between Achy Areamh and Conair mor.

The age we are now contemplating was emphatically that of the Irish heroes. There doubtless is myth obscuring the history in places; but even in that preChristian age there must have been considerable intelligence not only in Ulster, as connected with Emania, but throughout Ireland; and so there may be supposed to be such a reasonable thread of history left apparent as will enable the unprejudiced investigator by close and patient application, and a comparison of a reasonably fair number of authorities on those periods, to separate the chaff from the wheat in the narration.

But as to the possibility of the name Conair being a form of Conchobhar or exchangeable with it I have made inquiry of a gentleman brought up

in the Irish language and a teacher thereof and he informed me there was no likelihood of the name-forms Conair and Conchobhar having been used or mistaken for each other; that they are understood as different names, the last being pronounced Crunacher and the other being related to the form Curi, genitive Conrigh or Coneri; a primitive form of which would be Cathair, whose component parts are Cath, battle and fear, a man; and that Cathair must be equivalent to Conair, which is compound of Cean or Cathan, pronounced Cawn and fear; being in effect the same. In these compounds the f being aspirated and quiescent does not appear.

With respect to the three columns of names, in their natural relation from father to son in each column, which I give for the purpose of illustration and comparison of the numbers of descents there may be in parallel lines of descent for the same period I may say that the number of ancestors, which are put down definitely in the histories for Ruidhri mor is ten, which makes the tenth, Ollamh Fodhla, to be of the same generation of Ughain mor. The appellation Ollamh Fodhla, signifying the philosopher or sage of Erin; and Carbri, the appellation given to his son, signifying merely a prince or king's son, and used, doubtless as a cover to his real name, might perhaps all be taken as pointing to the identity of Ollamh Fodhla and Ughan mor. If then Ollamh and Ughan were identical with our Ith, at what point of the Ithean line, which, as containing the oldest forms, we may consider the main line, are we to suppose the line of Ruidhri mor branched out? With respect to this, in consideration of the whole case, a reasonable supposition would be that the father of Ruidhri mor may have been either that Ereamhon, standing in the middle column, who is the Olild Aron or Ereamhon in the Scottish list of our ancestors, or a brother of this Erawn, namely, Irr; if we be allowed to suppose he had a brother of that name; for the Irish histories claim their Ruidhri mor to have been in male descent from one Irr, the brother of their Erawon. This, then, would give an independent line of descent to the Rudricians from the grandson of Aongus Tuirmac, which grandson lived in the twelfth generation before the Christian era.

This hypothesis regarding the parentage of Ruidhri, would of course, imply the identity of all the men represented by all the names in the left-hand column down to the father of Ruidhri, whom it supposes to have been a brother of Erawan rather than this man himself, with the men represented by their corresponding names in the middle column.

When Tiernach states that, in the time that Cimbaeth, son of Fintain reigned at Emhain, Eochaidh the father of Ughain reigned at Tara he says in two foot-notes in regard (1) to Cimbaeth, "By some Liccus is reported to have reigned" (at Emhain); and in regard to the father of Ughan (2) he says: "Praescripsimus Ollam ab Ugain regnasse," which last may perhaps, be translated as follows: "Ollamh, the father of Ughan has been reported to have reigned." Or if we have to follow the regular Latin

construction it would be: "By Ughan Ollamh has been reported to have reigned." Ab in the Gaelic means a father and Tiernach may or not have intended that meaning for it in this Latin sentence. In Latin Ab is usually the preposition 'by' with the ablative.

A farther attempt at identification of the left-hand list, therefore, with the main Ithean column is not to be looked for; and whenever that line of descent got a king of their men on the Irish throne after Ruidhri it simply indicates for that time their superiority in genius, persuasive language, but especially in military strength to the representatives of the main line of the monarchy, or descendants of Erawan. To the clans of Ruidhri pertained the kingdom of Emhania or Ulster.

Referring to the middle and right-hand column of the three parallel ones I may first, remark that supposing the name forms Ith and Ughan to represent the same man, then Ith as a personal appellation, would stand for Eth or Ethach, *i.e.* Eochaidh; and Ughan or Ewan was among the Gaels esteemed in effect the same name as Eochaidh, especially in the very early ages. De Wyntoun's tabulation of the names which I follow here marked 'Eochaidh of the bushy hair' father to Catan and then pushes his 'Usue mor' back six places farther; but his putting in those six names here between Aengus Tuirmac and his Eochaidh Altlethen, which names or forms do not appear in any of the Irish lists, shows that he followed here a somewhat different course than they, for their part, seem to have had in view; and the system he followed shows that he had a distinct idea in his mind of what he was about and must have had good ground for his proceeding here.

However, comparing De Wyntoun's list in this part with the genealogical list of King MacConn and with the course of the events of the Irish history I would regard De Wyntoun's Eochaidh, the father of his Catan, as really the first of his list proper; and would consider that in his prefixing all the names he has prefixed to that proper list he may have given too much credit to the old lists he found before him and without having sufficient evidence of their real historical relation of natural descent of father to son in each case, as seemed represented in the list; and, therefore, that he may not have paid enough of attention to the remark made by Tiernach at the start of his history: Omnia Monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaoth incerta erant — "All the historic records of the Scots to the time of Cimbaeth are uncertain." This Cimbaoth is put down as foster father of Ughan Mor and king of Emhain or Ulster; but the name Cimbaoth (which is the Persian name that the Greeks have rendered Cambyses, and which I do not find again in the Irish history, I have thought indicated in this case a relation foreign to Ireland, more especially as Tiernach noticed in a footnote that some wrote it was one named Licus, who then reigned at Emhain instead of Cimbaeth. This does not prevent, however, that Cimbaeth, son of Fintain, may have then reigned at Ewain as one of a new dynasty, just established at Tara.

But as de Wyntoun has his Eochaidh to have been father to his Catan, occupying the exact place of Ughan in the Irish list, I would consider it natural to decide this Eochaidh to be for Ughan and this for Ith, and that as these three forms are but variations of each other they are likely intended to represent the same man.

As I have said, De Wytoun has retained the Aengus Tuirmac of the Irish list, giving him six ancestors which do not appear in their list, and making his father, Eochaidh Foltlethen, as according to their list, to have been his seventh ancestor, thus putting him in the place of Ughan mor, back of whom Tiernach does not go. The word Ith, pronounced ü, signifies either a district or tribe or, as an adjective, good, answering to eo and originally was an appellation for water. It means also wheat and the goddess of the filling ears of corn, for whom among the Greeks, doubtless, Ceres. Iodh or Iodhan means a collar or a ring, as Iodhan Morain, the collar of Morann, son of Main. As a personal appellation the name in the old Gaelic was, doubtless, Aedh, which generally is translated Hugh; and, of course, Aedhan or Iodhan would be their Ughan.

Aedh means the sun and also fire, the holy fire of the Baalim or Zoroastrians. In the compound Ith or Ethbaal the first component of the word means the same as the second, as is usually found to be so in the Gaelic and Phoenician compound words. Either of these forms of name would signify a priest-king, a chief who united in his person the office also of a priest.

And now with respect to the six names down to Aengus Tuirmac, I will proceed to give such explanation of them in the two corresponding columns as I consider necessary.

First, by Catan, No. 74, de Wyntoun would likely have had reference, first, to the ancestor from whose name was derived the clan designation Cathan or Conn; and secondly, to the harbor or harbors (Cathan; Cuthan or Cuan) in which the Fomorian ancestors were accustomed to rendezvous with their fleets, or in which they were making preparation for some particular expedition he had in mind, say their great Milesian expedition, so called. Lughaidh, in the right-hand column, corresponding to Catan, means, for one thing, 'a sea chief.'

His Ture, No. 73, would point to the tower, Tur or Tor, of old called Tor-Inis, and now Tory Island on the northwest coast of Ireland, where the Fomorians had their headquarters for sometime, it appears, while dominating therefrom the island.

I will give from Keating the account of this so far as I judge it necessary:—

"Conaing, son of Faebar, from whom is called Tor-Conaing off the northern coast of Ireland and who kept a fleet and presided at Tor Conaing, now Tor-Inis or Tory Island, with Morc, the son of Daela, exacted the tribute of Ireland from the Nemedians. The amount of this tribute

was two-thirds of their children, corn and cattle, which had to be presented to those two chieftains every year on the eve of Samhain (All-hallows) upon the field of Magh Kedni, between Drobaeis and Erni. The place received the name of Magh-Kedni from the frequent usage of paying the tribute there. The Fomorians imposed still another tyrannical exaction on the children of Nemedh, namely, three measures of cream, flour and butter which were to be sent from every hearth to Morc and Conaing at Tor-Inis; and this tax was levied throughout Ireland by a female steward, named Liag," etc. — "At length anger and impatience seized the men of Eri, by reason of that tribute and taxation and they rose up to give battle to the Fomorians." — They then demolished the tower or fortress upon Tor-Inis and there Conaing fell with his children and kindred. However Morc, son of Dela, arrived soon afterwards at Tor-Inis, from Africa, with a force of sixty ships. Upon this the clans of Nemedh fought the Fomorians again upon the same ground. In this second battle they nearly all either fell by the hands of each other or were drowned; for they did not preceive the tide coming in upon them, such was the fierceness of the fight. Morc, son of Daela, escaped with a small portion of his people *and with them he took possession of the island.*"

He then goes on and relates how most of the Nemedians, *i.e.*, the natives, expatriated themselves, 'leaving ten warriors to rule the remnant of their people who staid behind under the thraldom of the Fomorians.' Whether or not this refers to the great Milesian conquest of Ireland so called, I must say that although it is not altogether free from a mythic coloring it gives, as far as I can find in the whole history of Ireland, the most definite statement as to a conquest of that country by foreigners.

As to the number of ships in the fleet of the sons of Milesius O'Flaherty gives that number at 120 sail, while Keating gives it at 30, and Pedro Mexia (in his History Imp.) gives it at 60, which is the number here said to have been brought in by Morc in his second fleet to Tor-Inis; so that there cannot be anything definitely determined from the number of ships they give to the fleet of the Milesians.

It might, however, be expedient for us to suppose that Morc (*i.e.*, Marach, Mariner), son of Dèla with his fellow commander, Conaing, son of Faebhar, possessed 60 ships with which they carried on their first battle, in which they were defeated by the Nemethae or natives, and Conaing perhaps slain: That then Morc returned home with the remnant of the fleet, and returned, perhaps in some or many years after with 60 sail more well crewed and armed, with which he finally succeeded after strenuous and long battling in subjugating the island to his yoke: And that by the time the conquest was finally accomplished Morc may have had say 30 ships left fit for service, so that the varying accounts as to the number of the ships the Milesians brought to the conquest of Ireland might by some be thought thus reconcilable.

The form Mal, No. 73, corresponding to Ture in the other column signifies a soldier, a prince, a leader; a man who has to do about war on land.

Fere-Elmael, No. 72, would indicate chief-man. It is one of DeWyntoun's peculiar construction. Its place in the list makes Edhamhan or Ewan, the corresponding form in the other column, to have been with some likelihood the proper name of the man. From the accounts which have come down to us it is entirely preposterous to think that there should have existed contemporarily in the island for a long course of ages three or four royal houses, each of which had as good a right to the throne as any of the others and each of which supplied it in turn, as would appear to be represented in the history.

The procedure of this Gaelic monarchy, when it became fixed in the island, was, doubtless, according to esablished law and reason, as to the occupation of the throne; nor do I think that in this respect it could have been very much different in ancient Ireland than it is in such procedure in the old established monarchies of Europe in the modern ages.

Our Fyere-Anroet, No. 71, simply fills the place in the list of the man, whose proper name we suppose to be Lughaidh, as appearing in the other column.

In like manner Fyere Roet, No. 70, would fill the place in the list of the man whose proper name was Mathsin, the good chief, or priest.

And Fere-Cataroet, No. 69, would fill the place of him whose proper name may be supposed to have been Sin, the chief or the priest-king

As to No. 68, Aengus and Eosamhan were forms, which in the early ages were used for each other. They mean alike good angel, or good cave, tomb, temple, or house. Tuirmac, 'son of the tower,' as connected with Aengus, again directs our attention to the tower. Edhamhan, No. 67, was also interchangable with those two foregoing forms, but is usually put into the form Euna or Enna. This was the same man they called Fiach Fermhara.

His son Eramhan, No. 66, who has the additional name of Olild, called Olild Eramhan in the other list, appears to have been a quite important figure. It was in the time of his children that the sons of Ruidhri mor attained to the monarchy.

Mr. Beauford states this Olild Aron to have been a conqueror of Ireland, having, as he said, led an army into the country from the Mull of Cantyre and Galloway in Western Caledonia. The way I would consider this explainable would be that he may have quietly led in an army from his territories in North Britain to enable him to accomplish a design he had formed of possessing himself of the home government of Erin; for there is no doubt that his family carried on a government of somewhat limited geographical extent in Western Caledonia, as the ancient name of Galloway in Southwestern Caledonia was Brigantia, called so after Breogan, the tenth ancestor of this Eramhon. He may have been acting as viceroy in

those countries, when he took it into his head to put himself at the head of affairs at home. His father's name being entered in some of the old lists as Fiach the Mariner may indicate that the old man had sailed about a good deal — perhaps not as a Fomharach — and that this Eramhan may have been born in Caledonia. He was of the twelfth generation before the Christian era, which would leave his time say $12 \times 33\frac{1}{3} = 400$ years, by which he would die, say about 375 or 380 B. C. This is about correct, too, for the Scotch historians inform us that his grandson, their Fergus 1st, came to the government of Scotland about 335 B. C.

It was the descendants in the male line of this man whom I find mainly to have held possession of the government of Erin until the partial conquest and occupation of it by the Anglo-Normans, in the last quarter of the twelfth century A. D.

As to our No. 65, it is seen that he whom Fordun and Buchanan has put down as Ferchard and the Irish Chronicles as Feredhach is entered in our list of MacConn as Lughaidh Feidhloch. The form Feidhloch is, of course, an epithet; and as to Lughaidh or Gaedhal and Feredhach they, doubtless, would coincide in the signification of leader or Toiseach, while, perhaps, both implying in their roots the idea of a priest.

I would think also that there might be implied in the forms Lachthna or Luchthain, No. 64, some sacerdotal meaning, if not rather that the form meant a mariner, *i.e.*, Lach-thain or Luch or Loch-thain, sea captain, as our Forga or Fergus 1st, to whom it answers in the list, was a great sailor, having gone back and forth from North Britain to Erin several times (which in the way navigation was carried on at that early period in those quarters and about those coasts and islands, must have been quite risky) until, as we are informed by the chronicles, he was finally drowned, his vessel having been wrecked on the coast of Ireland at a place called Carrick-Fergus, *i.e.*, the crag or rock of Fergus, after his name. So Fordun, Buchanan, et al.

The Irish form Forga or Fergo of DeWyntoun corresponds to the Gaelic Fear-ghae, *i.e.*, 'the sea,' or as a personal appellative, 'man of the sea;' and the form Fearghus of Fordun and Buchanan means, in all respects, the same, being compounded of Fear, a man, and the full form gaes, meaning here 'the sea.' This corresponds to Lachthna or Luchthani, as above. "Morghae, corruptly Fearghae, the ocean," Beauford.

The form Nuadhat, No. 63, which corresponds to Maen in our list means literally 'a sacred prominence' having reference, perhaps, principally to the 'high places' dedicated to Baal or the sun; but as a personal appellation it would mean a holy man or priest of Baal. This would be one of the meanings of Maen, which is Math-ghamhan, literally 'the good or sacred blacksmith,' having reference to the Phoenician Cabiri or sacred blacksmiths. This Cabiric or Phoenician religion was that of those countries for nearly eight centuries after the age we are now considering. The

Mathgamanai were the sacred blacksmiths, the priests of Vulcan (Baalgean), who had to do with the sacred fires, the Sun, in which it was conceived the Logh (Logos) chiefly dwelt. Mathghamhan, or Mathdhaemhan would also mean 'good house,' meaning church, temple. And Nuadhat equals Naemhaedh-at, meaning the heavenly place, *i.e.*, a temple, Naemh means heaven and also a ship, for the ark or ship was the ancient temple. The form Noah would, from its derivation mean the 'sacred ship,' *i.e.*, the ark or a church and also as applied to the man of the church, a priest.

Of course those foregoing, as personal appellations, mean also a chieftain as do Deargthini, No. 62, and Deagh Dearg, No. 61, corresponding in our list respectively with Arondel and Sen. Deargthini would mean for one thing 'red fire,' perhaps, as representing the sun; also the 'cave' or 'house of the fire,' doubtless, as representing a temple of the sun, whether a cave or a round tower, whether in a subterranean or on a 'high place.' As applied to the man of the temple it would signify a priest. Arondel would mean son or rather descendant, dal, of Eramhan. Deagh Dearg would signify good cave or house, meaning temple. Also, translating Dearg 'red' it would signify the 'red day,' meaning the sun. 'Dagh-dae among the Tuatha-Dadanans was an epithet of the Sun, the god of fire, the bonus deus.' The name Sen or Sin which we have in another column has generally reference to a military chief, Toiseach, leader. The form Sean or Seun means a charm for protection, and as a verb 'to defend by the power of enchantment.' Speaking of 'John, the forerunner of Christ,' Vallancy remarks: 'He was also called Sean, that is, the blessed; he who can defend from the power of heathen enchantments.' Of course, these different forms of name, as applied to the same man, might have been given as implying different ideas had of him without the idea intended to be conveyed that they were meant to be equivalents in meaning in all cases, although they are generally found to be so.

Any one moderately well acquainted with the ancient Gaelic literature will at once recognize the old pre-Christian form Edhamhrach, No. 60, as the equivalent of the Duach, or Dumhrach of the Christian ages. This man was also called Deaghaidh of Teamhrach, which indicates the supposed two men, Duach and Deaghaidh, to have been identical and the epithet "of Tara" would point to his kingship of Erin.

Uar, sometimes spelled Hiar, No. 59, which we have in the next place, corresponding to Ferulin, is for Ciar or rather Cuir, whose proper genitive would be Conair or Conari, Ferulni in connection with Eochaidh Garbh in another form is spelled Fer Ani, perhaps the pronunciation being about the same in both cases, both meaning 'man of the Sun' or a priest-king. The form Siar or Iar, sometimes appearing, means West

or back; which clearly corresponds to Culin 'back,' roof, chief, as in Ferulni, and is also a contraction for Garbh.

It may be kept in mind that we are now in the line of the very ancient kings of Munster, extending from Duach Dalta Deaghaidh, who was of the sixth generation, B. C., to and including Mogh Nuadhat, who was identic with the historic Conair II. It has been said that Munster, during this period of nine generations, was divided into two kingdoms of North and South Munster, the government of these portions alternating between three families called of Ith of Ebir and of Eramhan. But I do not find that any such condition of affairs had place here. There appears throughout this period, at least, to have been but one kingdom of Munster and but one line of kings for it in this space, who were in male descent from Duach Dalta Deaghaidh, king of Ireland; and these kings, it is seen, were of the stock and line of Eramhon, descended from Ith in male line; the former being the same with Emhir, so that you have the whole three families, comprised in one; and this family furnished the kings to Munster, which was integral under their government and also the kings to Erin.

You will understand, therefore, that for this space, the same men have been called in the histories by three different forms of name in order to accommodate the mythico-historic idea of the three lines of descent in Ireland, and especially in Munster for this time.

No doubt, the object of those who in Christian times arranged this plan of history for that country was, first, the promulgation of a more generally magnificent idea of the country both at home and abroad, more especially in regard to its greatness and its probable strength, in being unconquered by any foreign power during such a long antiquity; and, secondly, because they conceived that such a publication must tend to the unitization of the Irish people, north and south, east and west, and the cultivation in the people of all its sections of a friendly and co-operative disposition towards each other, in which the national idea should prevail in breasts glowing with patriotism for their ancient land, far above all sectionalism and clannal distinctions. The foundation plan of their scheme of history has, however, been based largely upon their ancient historic poems, which are to a considerable degree vague and indeterminate, and it is not impossible but that in the carrying out of their historical plan, there may have been too much assumed or taken for granted in places.

Olild and Sithbolg, No. 58, are the two next corresponding forms, meaning in each case, for one thing, 'the man of the high place,' and for another, 'a man of peace,' *i.e.*, a priest. Muredhach Muchna, is in another column a correspondent to these forms, and would, doubtless, mean 'Muredhach the Pacificator,' with perhaps an allusion to some local idea entertained of the man, for which it is sometimes not easy to account.

It might be thought strange how it could happen that the forms Daire and Eoghan, No. 57, should correspond in meaning to each other. Well, Daire means for one thing 'an oak' and so does Eo or the large Eo, (Ogygia II., 208); Eoghan meaning for one thing, son of the oak, *i. e.*, a druid, which is one of the meanings of Darius. You see the two forms coincide in this meaning. The oak was sacred to the druids. In another column this man is called Mogh Febis, which would mean literally 'a man of superiority,' or 'goodness,' a good or excellent man.

The next corresponding forms, No. 56, are Eadarscol and Edbolg, each of which forms meant for one thing in ancient times 'an interpreter of Science.' In another column the corresponding form is Loch mor, which would mean here 'the great intelligence.' Loch has implied in it, with all the other ideas it contains, the cosmical one of order, setting in order, imparting intelligence.

Our No. 55 is Conair or Cathair and Ferulin, which we have met with before. In another column the correspondent appellation given is Euna Munchaein, *i.e.*, Ewan Munchaein. In the ancient times Ewan or Eoghan would have been deemed an equivalent for Conn, perhaps Conan and Conair. Munchaein would contain the meaning unexpressed in the foregoing forms 'of the gentle house' or 'of the house of mourning' or 'of the house of kindred' in which significations it would equal Clan Craebh.

Our next correspondent forms No. 54, Daire and Dergthini may have been sufficiently explained already. I will say, however, that Dearg, meaning an oak and those ideas therewith associated must have arisen from an inflection of Daire, *i.e.*, ordinary, modern genitive darach, whence, that is, from the ancient genitive form, arose Dearg, the literal meaning being 'of shade,' whence meaning a cave, a dark (dearg) shady place. Deargthini is then the name Daire with the addition of tinne 'of fire' or 'of the sun.'

In the process of mystification in the Christian ages they have represented the Deargthinians, so-called, as being of different origin than the so-called Darinians; but they were of the same descent, as must needs have been seen by the historical critics. "The Deargthinians," says O'Flaherty, 'the descendants of Lughaidh, the son of Ith.' (Ogygia, vol. II. 144); while at the same time they had laid down the Darini, as of the line of Mac Conn's ancestors.

Our next form is Carbri, which in one of the three columns is represented by Dearg. I think that, as a personal appellation, Daire would mean a chief or leader rather than a king, which it is said by Vallancy to mean. Dearg must be here an equivalent for Lughaidh in its various senses of leader, priest of Lugh or the sun, etc. Carbri means a prince.

Our next correspondent forms, No. 52, are Mogh Lamha, or as the Scots write it Moghallamh, Latinized Mogallus, which might be translatable 'great chief,' and MacNiadh, translated 'son of the hero.' Doubt-

less the meaning of either form would have been understood of the other in a local sense. The corresponding form in another column is Mogh Niadh, that is, great hero. This man flourished about the year 75 A. D., nearly four centuries before Christianity was well introduced in that country, so that in attaining to the meaning of the names of those men one must think directly of the character of the religion and the social institutions amidst which they were. The form Mogh, Mugh or Mag had anciently the meaning of a priest or druid or magus, whether or not any such signification was understood of it in these connections.

The corresponding forms in No. 51 are Conair and Conn. The form Conn of this man's name arose from his proper name Eoghan after Mac, that is, MacEoghan is pronounced MacCawn or MacEown, written MacConn. In my exhibit thus far I have not had opportunity of showing who particularly the man was who was called King MacConn, from the fact that he is not in the line of the ancestors of the kings of North Britain. He is Fiachaidh Suighdi, brother of Eochaidh Finn, called otherwise, respectively, Carbri Musg and Carbri Righada. The way his name is expressed in the old lists has left one generation unexpressed in the genealogy as reckoned through him to Ith: For example, Lughaidh McConn MacNiadh is properly Lughaidh, son of Eoghan, son of Eochaidh, three generations where they usually express only two.

It is likely that Vallancy would have translated our Moghallamh, 'great Lama,' as he did Lughaidh Lamhfhada, 'Lughaidh, the tall Lama.' The Lama of Thibet, in Central Asia, corresponds, I believe, among his people, as to religious position and relation, somewhat to the Pope among the Europeans. We cannot fully represent to our minds the religious opinions and general social and political conditions of those ancient peoples. "Mogh Lamha, otherwise Eochaidh, King of Munster," says O'Flaherty; which shows Eochaidh and Eoghan to have been interchangeable forms in those early ages. And that the form Conn and Mac Con has arisen from the form Eochaidh is further proved by the Gaelic form Muredhach (*i.e.*, Mur Eochaidh), being our English Morgann, which I find the Gaels most generally to spell Morcunn or Morchund.

Says Keating in his History, p. 317, speaking in reference to this period: "Olild Olum, who had a reign of sixty years, is the first king of the line of Ebher, who is named in the Reim Righraidh (Royal Roll) as having ruled the two pentarchates of Munster; for previous to the banishment of Mac Conn by Olild the sovereignty of Munster was possessed by two races, namely, the tribe of Darini of the line of Lughaidh, son of Ith, from which sprung Mac Conn; and the tribe of Deargthini, of the blood of Ebher, of which came Olild Olum. And whenever the sovereignty of Munster was possessed by the tribe of Darini, the brehonship and tanistship was possessed by the tribe of Deargthini; and, again, when the kingly power was in the hands of the line of Deargthini, the tanistship and bre-

honship was the right of the former race. Thus it continued until Mac Conn's ambition ascended above the brehonship of Olild Olum."

This Olild Olum is said by Keating to have been son to Mogh Nuadhat and to have been, at first, named Aengus. His filiation is, doubtless, correctly given; and as to the form Aengus it was anciently spelled in such a way as that it may or not have been an equivalent for Eoghan and Eochaidh.

But to come to our point, it will be noticed that although Keating says at the start that Olild Olum was the first of his line who had been entered in the Royal Roll as having been King of all Munster, still his language afterwards definitely implies the integrity of that principality as to its political constitution, previously to Olild Olum, the only division noticed being on the one side, that of the brehonship or judgeship with the tanistship, and on the other side the sovereignty of the principality. And, according to the ordinary laws of those old monarchies, the tanistship was always supposed to belong to the oldest son of the actual sovereign, providing such son to exist, to be of age and competent; or, failing this, it pertained to a brother, a brother's son or the nearest of kin in the male line who was competent. It will be seen that Keating's language does not at all imply the division of Munster into two principalities of North and South Munster; nor does he mention the 'Degadians of the Heremhonian stock, for whose accommodation, as might seem implied in some writings, such a division had been made nine or ten generations previously. For, as I have quoted elsewhere, Keating, under the head of Conair mor, says: "It was in the time of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh that the Eranaidhe came into Munster, whither, according to the Psaltar of Cormac, son of Culinan, they had been driven by the tribes of Ruidhri, who had vanquished them in eight battles. They afterwards acquired great power in Munster, from the time of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh to that of Mogh Nuadhat, by whom they were finally expelled." This refers to the exact period of the nine or ten generations we are considering. But still this is very early, Mogh Nuadhat's death being put down for about say 125 to 150 A. D. The discovery, however, being made that the appellations Duach and Deaghaidh refer to the same man does away with the idea of two races, such as Ebherian and Eramhonian, in this case, as if pertaining to two ancient lines of Kings of Munster; that is, whether or not there may have been a remarkable immigration of people from Ulster to Munster in the time of said Duach Dalta Deaghaidh. For, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that in the case of a member or leader of a very important tribe, having become elevated to the sovereignty of the island, he would be disposed to give all the advantages he could to his own tribe; and from the position of Duach in the line of the Kings, as given by Tiernach, I would judge him to have had perhaps a strong opponent to overcome in his attaining to the sovereignty, at that time in the house of Ruidhri. Other opponents of any note need not be thought of in the case.

Speaking under the head of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh O'Flaherty says, as before quoted, concerning this juncture: Therefore Deaghaidh, the descendant of Olild Aron, being expelled Ulster by the sons of Ruidhri, obtained a principality in Munster, while his foster-child Duach held the sovereignty of Ireland and after the death of Duach was declared king of Munster; as his posterity have governed it afterwards, both alternately and in conjunction with the Heberians, the former being governors of the North and the latter of the South of Munster." Ogygia, II. 142–3.

All this we have had before; but I thought it necessary to sum up all that might be thought of any weight bearing on this juncture of the subject.

It is noticeable, too, that when the men intervening between Deaghaidh and Conair II. are mentioned as kings of Munster, they are not entered usually as being of North or of South Munster but of Munster.

After the accession of Conn Cead-Cathach Tiernach, in his way of putting it, gives to the men of Munster 75 years in the government of Ireland at Taragh. This time was doubtless taken up in three reigns: that of Conair II. or Conn, that of his son and that of his grandson. I know not why Tiernach should class Conn among the men of Munster in particular, for there was really only one regular royal line at this time for Ireland, namely, the house of the descendants of Conair mor; but the history had evidently been systematized according to a certain plan, in the interval of nine or ten centuries between Conn and Tiernach; and the latter appears to have followed in his classification that regular plan or scheme laid down in the history.

When Mr. Beauford relates that it frequently happened "that when the same person was distinguished by several appellations," he adds, "our ancient historians, not properly attending to this, have committed great errors in relating the transactions of early periods by asserting the same action to have been performed by several different people, which in reality was performed by one only, thereby throwing their history and antiquities into too distant a period."

"A similar error has also been committed," says he, "by not fully considering the dignitary names of the chiefs, who, on their election to the government, constantly obtained the name appertaining to the clan over whom they presided."

"The only dignity hereditary among the ancient Irish," he continues, "and also with all the Celtic tribes was the kings of the several principalities; they were elected from the eldest dynasts or chiefs of the Cantreds and were solemnly inaugurated, according to the custom of the tribe. On their advancement to the kingly dignity or captainship of the sept they immediately adopted the general name of the tribe or people over whom they reigned, in the same manner as the dynasts did that of their several districts."

This will show why Feidhlemidh Rechtmhar should have been called

Conair II. and several other names; and why Tuathal Techtmhar should have been called Moghallamh, and what not else.

Speaking of the Kingdom of Meath, he says: "This district was for several ages governed by the chief of the eldest sept or tribe of the Bolgai, inhabiting the present county of East Meath; in consequence of his seniority, he was not only denominated King of the Eremonii (*i.e.*, the inhabitants of Eremhan or the Province of Leinster), but monarch of the whole Island and from him all the subsequent Kings of Meath and monarchs of all Ireland were obliged to derive their origin to obtain the dignity." Vall. Coll. III., 263.

Dr. Chs. O'Connor strongly controverted the position taken by Beauford in relation to a precedency for Leinster over the other provinces. He claimed that Beauford had no proof whatever for what he asserted in relation to this; and the sense of it which he himself would convey amounted to this, that the individual who for the time was monarch of Ireland understood himself as representing in his person the whole island and as in Tara not for the purpose of favoring or disfavoring any one province or person of the Kingdom at the expense of justice; but there as a minister of justice to give equal rights to all. This, of course, is the general idea, which is consonant with reason; but it is not unreasonable, on the other hand, to conclude that there may have been Kings who varied from the line of justice and pursued in their administration a partial, selfish and unjust course.

Mr. Beauford informs us that "Conair mor originally built the palace of Taragh," "called Bruighin Da Dearg, the habitation or Rath of the Caves, from its containing several caves under the platform." But I see not how this can be so; for there was doubtless a "palace and parliament house of some sort here from the first arrival of the Scots in the country; this monarch may have enlarged and systematized and fortified the premises according to a plan of his own, somewhat different from the previous arrangement. In saying that Conair mor was chief of a colony of Caledonians, he only told part of the story concerning him. He was, of course, chief of Caledonians, and so was his ancestor Olild Eramhon before him; but he united with this so-called Caledonian chieftaincy the regular and Orthodox Kingship of Erin He was fifth in descent from Duach of Tara and great-great-grandfather of Feidhlimidh Rechtmar.

Besides Conn, Feidhlimidh is said to have had two sons, named respectively Eochaidh Finn and Fiachaidh Suighdi. If we allow two men for the three names it will be sufficient. In speaking of Fiachaidh, Keating remarks that "though he had acquired a territory in the district of Temhair he had never succeeded in making himself monarch," an assertion which was not true in regard to himself whether or not it was true in regard to his children and grandchildren. This Fiachaidh is said to have been ancestor to the tribes called the Deasies of Munster and his brother

Eochaidh to the tribes called the Fothartaigh of Leinster. Lines of descent from those two brothers to the extent of five generations down and pointing towards those Fothartagh and Deasies are given below: —

Feidhlimidh Rechtmhar, monarch of Eireann.

Eochaidh Finn mc.,	Fiachaidh Suighdi mc.
Aengus Meann mc.,	Fiachaidh Righfhada mc.
Cormac mc.,	Fathadh mc.
Carbri Niadh mc.,	Dubhin mc.
Art Corb mc.,	Dubhin mc.
Fergus Tarbri mac.,	Diarmaid O'Duibhne mc.

The Genealogy of Mac-an-Pherson Vic Gillachathan Mor.

Eochaidh Muinreamhar mc.,	*Duibhne Foghluimte mc.*
Eirc mc.,	*Duibhni Glic mc.*
Fergus mc.,	*Duibhne Gaisgeil mc.*
Muiredhach mc..	Ferithar Uar mc.
Eochaidh mc.,	Duibhne mc.
Baedhan mc.,	*Duibhne Misneich moir mc.*
Colman mc.,	Arthur.
Sneachthain mc.,	Ferithar Ollamh mc.
Fergus mc.,	Duibhne Foltdhearg mc.
Feredhach mc.,	*Duibhne Diadhaidh mc.*
Ferchard III. mc.,	*Duibhne Boidheach mc.*
Ain Ceallach mc.,	Ferithar Fionuruadh mc.
Muiredhach mc.,	Duibhne Dearg mc.
Diarmaid mc.,	*Ferithar Fileanta mc.*
Galbraith mc.,	Duibhne Donn mc.
Gillachathan mor mc.,	Diarmaid MacDuin mc.
Neachthain mc.,	Duibhne Fiacal-Fhionn mc.
Teadh mc.,	*Ferithar Fionn mc.*
Suibhni mc.,	Malcolm mc.,
Muiredhach mc.,	Archibald mc.
Domnald mc., called the Caimhghilla mc.,	Duncan mc.
Malcolm mc.,	Cathlain mc.
Gillachrist mc.,	Archibald mc.
Ferchard mc.,	Duncan mc.
Tseadh mc.,	Dougal mc.
Leoid mc.,	Archibald mc.
Disiabh mc.,	Cathlain mor mc.
Suibhni mc.,	Sir Neill mac., married to a daughter of Robert Bruce, 1350–1400 A. D.
Lachlan mc.,	
Neill, A. D., 1467, mac.	

In giving the genealogy of the house of Campbell of Argyle in this right-hand column I had to insert eight generations in intermediate places of the steps given in the genealogy of that family in Buchanan of Auchmar's Book on Scottish Genealogies. Wherever I inserted a name it was in effect the family surname, and this I put in italics. Buchanan was correct, doubtless, as to the genealogy of that family, which he gave his sanction to; and I believe that I have inserted the proper number of names and in their proper places for the generations which existed in the time represented within the extremes of the list given.

A daughter of King Cormac Ulfhada is said to have eloped from her husband, Finn Mac Camhail, the then chief of the militia of Erin, with Diarmaid O'Duibhne, he being esteemed in his day a very handsome man; but I see not how this could have happened; for he is in the sixth generationed down in succession from Feidhlimidh Rechtmhar, while Cormac is only third in succession from the same Feidhlimidh, so that the lady with whom he should have eloped must needs have been two generations his senior. Cormac Ulfhada, the same with Cormac, son of Aengus Meann of the list of the preceding page, was third in descent from Eochaidh Finn and is put down in Keating's history for a reign of forty years. Aengus, his father, is the same with him called Fergus dubh-dedhach, who succeeded the monarch Fiachaidh Suighdi (*i.e.*, MacConn). But Cormac evidently had a good deal of trouble during the time he reigned, arising from some members of his own clan of Eochaidh Finn; for it is noticed by Beaufort that Aengus, whom they represent to have been a son of Fiach Suighdi, but who was doubtless a grandson of Eochaidh Finn, and a cousin of Cormac, marched to Tara suddenly at the head of an effectual force, entered the palace and slew Kellach, the son of Cormac; and, aware that any corporeal defect incapacitated for the occupation of the Irish throne, deprived Cormac of an eye. It is more than probable that the length of Cormac's reign was considerably abridged by this accident and that he either became a voluntary exile or had to depart the country; for Ulfhada is interpreted "Ulster afar," but may mean "distant from Erin." Keating has it that it was consequent upon the safe conduct Aengus had given to a gentleman having been violated by Keallach that Aengus so acted in this case.

The posterity of Feidhlimidh Rechtmhar, through his son, Eochaidh Finn, held the monarchy of Erin after said Eochaidh, excepting in the one case of MacConn and perhaps one or two others for short spaces.

Most if not all, too, which has been written concerning the marriages, intermarriages, etc., of the daughters of Conn Cead-Cathach must necessarily be fictitious. And, besides the subject of the genealogy has been rendered obscure by their confounding in the history two persons to whom the name of MacConn appears to have been given, and who appear to have been kings of Erin. But MacConn as well as Conair is simply the clan name which the chief assumed on his becoming king of Erin.

O'Flaherty represents Eoghan mor as having brought in an army from

Spain, by means of which he accomplished his purpose of acquiring all of the government of the country he could. Keating represents him as a Munster man who drew most of the army he needed for his purpose from Leinster, from his foster-father who resided there, and was son of Cathair Mor; but who, I may say, if he ever did live, could not have existed till about five or six generations after the time of said Eoghan mor. Neither of these historians appear to call Eoghan mor MacConn, nor to call him King of Erin. But I see from O'Flaherty (Ogygia II., p. 357,) that he is entered King of Erin in some of the old historians; and I conclude he must have been entered for that office under his clan designation of Conair or MacConn. The MacConn who brought the foreign army into Erin was the son of Eoghan Mor, not himself. But some of his deeds are ascribed to his father as, in a contrary way, some Irish historians call Malcolm IV, king of Scotland, "Ceanmor," although that title did not pertain to him but to his great-great-grandfather, Malcolm III. A consensus of the historical statements on the subject points to Eoghan Mor as the MacConn to whom the genealogies trace back and to Lughaidh Lagha (hero) "brother of Olild Olum" (Keating, p. 317, note; p. 324), as the "Lughaidh MacConn" (*i.e.*, Lughaidh, son of Eoghan), "King of Erin," who brought a foreign army into the country and conquered the government out of the power of his elder brother, Olild Olum. The sense is, too, that Feidhlimidh Rechtmhar and his two sons, Eoch Finn and Fiach Suighdi, are respectively Eoghan Mor, Olild Olum and Lughaidh Lagha; or, respectively, Conair II, Carbri Righfhada and Carbri Musg.

The war represented as having been waged between Mogh Nuadhat and Conn Cead-Cathach hath an allegorial interpretation, rather than real, so far as pertaining to Ireland. It had, however, a real existence elsewhere, namely, in certain chains of events arising from political, but especially from religious differences, which had place in the very early pre-Christian ages between the Northern and Southern Scythians, or the Touranians and Persians, the ancestors of the Irish in Central Asia. In relation to those two great divisions of the Scythians, one author says: —

"Various causes contributed to split this great body into distinct nations. Commerce, conquest, and above all, innovations into their ancient established religion by the construction of Towers to contain their sacred fire," etc. In the Persian detail of the religious war they acknowledge the Scripture name of Magog instead of Tour or Turk. When Farasiab or Afrasiab, the Scythian King (whose name they translate Father of the Persians — Ab, father and Farsi, Persians), overran their country in consequence of this innovation of the Fire Towers, they tell you that when they had at length driven him back to Touran or Scythia, north of the Persian Empire, a wall or intrenchment was built between them called Sead Jagioug' u Magioug, *i.e.*, the Intrenchment of Gog and Magog. 'By *Jagiug* and *Magiug*, they mean,' says D'Herbelot, 'the North and South people of the same Nation.' 'Some Asiatic historians,' says the same author, 'carry this wall beyond the Caspian Sea, on the west; others so much towards the East, as to give room to think it is the same wall that separates China from the Moguls.'

"It was," says Vallancy, "evidently a division between the original *Mogh* or *Rad*, the Magi or fire worshipers in Towers. The same intrenchment is said to have been made in Ireland from Drogheda to Galway on the western ocean; it was named Esker * Riada or the Magi's division, dividing the kingdom of Ireland into two equal parts; the Northern half was called *Leith Cuinn*, and the Southern half *Leith Mogh*, *i.e.*, the Magi's portion; and most of the Fire Towers of Ireland were in the division of Leith Mogh or of the Magi's half."

The principal leader of the Tuatha da Danaans in their wanderings was the celebrated hero Mogh Nuadhat, usually styled Argiodlamh, *i.e.*, of the Silver-hand. As applied to the ancient Irish king, Eoghan mor, this name could, of course, have only an allegoric application; but it is found to have a real reference to Zerdust, the first, or Zoroaster, whose name in his own language, the Persian, signifies Gold or Silver hand; whose doctrine of fire-worship early spread over a great part of Asia and whose time, according to Playfair, was about 600 B. C. This was seven centuries before our Eoghan mor.

Now, with regard to the Tuatha de Danaans, it can be made plain that this designation has reference not only to a religious sect of those ancient Gaels or Scots, but to the people themselves. It is, in fact, a very ancient title of those people, as we find the first Persian dynasty on the historic records entered as the Pish-dadian, whose duration is said to have been 2989 years, ending about 500 — 600 B. C. I think it must have reference to dynasties of priest-kings; for this dadian is evidently for the later form de dana-an, which means God Almoners, dana (Latin Dona), meaning gifts in the way of alms, and Pish, Puish or Paish, being for Budh, for which Tuath or Tuatha; that is the more modern form Tuatha de Danaan is for the ancient form Puish Dadians. Speaking in reference to this, Mr. O'Brien, the author of the 'Round Towers,' says as follows: "All oriental writers, when referring to Budha, who was born at Maghada in South Bahar, state that he was the son of Suad-dha-dana; and Suadh and Tuath were but disguises of each other and both resolvable into Budh. Tuath is but a modification of Budh, the final dh changed into th, 'and the initials b and t being always convertible.' The expressions De Danaans meaning God-Almoners, if we prefix to them severally Tuath and Pish they will become Tuatha de Danaans and Pish de Danaans, both fairly representative of each other, meaning God-Almoners, and, by convention, Magic-God-Almoners." "Pith is the usual method of pronouncing that term; nor is it except when followed by a d that it assumes the other garb. But as dh in the former instance was commuted into th, so th in the latter is still further into sh," etc.

This author is, doubtless, correct in the main as to what he here states and especially so in his saying that Pish and Tuath are used for each other as prefixes to Danaan; but I may say that the idea in the expression has

* Eascra, a rocky ridge; Read-aire, a priest; Persian Rad, a Magus.

especial reference to the ancient Holy Ship, the Ark, the Church; the Pish, Budh or Tuath, etc., being to the Danaan in a like relation as you may conceive the mast to be to the ship; which perhaps our author did not have an entirely clear conception of.

Caiomurs or Cai-amrath, the chief of the Emirs, is put down as the first King of the Pish-dadian dynasties of the Persians; this man they represent as having been a great reformer and great-grand son of Noah. What has been said, however, is enough to show that Tuatha de Danaan was, as Bolgae, a very ancient national name of those Scythians or Scots and had not reference altogether to a religious division of this people, although in some of the late ages it was doubtless given some such specific reference.

Now, supposing for illustration, their Milesian expedition to have been about the time of Ughan mor, from the reckoning before given in generations we know pretty near what its leader's date was; and between their Niul, who was, according to their account in command of the fleet of Pharaoh at the time of the Israelites exodus from Egypt, they have (as I would understand from De Wyntoun's reckoning between Milesius and Breoghan) about twenty-four generations between their Milesius and their Niul, which might leave the exodus to have taken place at the time of the going out of the Hikshasu from Egypt, which was, say from 1500 to 1540 B. C. Bishop Usher reckons the time of the Israelitish Exodus at 1491 B. C., while Baron Bunsen seems inclined to the date of 1320 B. C. One of the earlier dates is of course better for historical purposes, as it may have historical reference to the departure of the Hikshasu in the time of Tuthmosis III.

Reckoning then from the Christian era to and including Niul (supposing their Niul for the purpose of the reckoning to have been an individual man) we have about 46 generations, which at the rate of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years for the average would leave the said exodus to have taken place or the said Niul to have lived in about 1533 B. C. ($46\times33\frac{1}{3}=1533\frac{1}{3}$). This is an approximation and leaves out of the account the names given in the old Gaelic lists between Ughan mor and Miledh Esbain, which I will now exhibit and remark upon.

The following is the old list back from Aengus Tuirmac, by which you can reckon back from Ughan mor:

68. Aengus Tuirmac mac.
Eochaidh Foltlethen mc.
Olild Cas-Fiaclach mc.
Conla Cruadh-Cealgach mc.
Iaran Gleo-Fathach mc.
Melgi Molbhthach mc.
Cobhthach Cael Breagh mc.
Ingani mor mc.

76. Eochaidh Buadhach mc.

84. Olild Olchaein mc.
Siorna Saeghalach mc.
Dian mc.
Deman mc.
Rothechtach mc.
Maen mc.
Aengus Oll-Buadhach mc.
Fiachaidh Labhranni mc.

92. Smirgoll mc.

77. Duach Laghrach mc.
Fiachaidh Tolgrach mc.
Muiredhach Bolgrach mc.
Simeon Breac mc.
Aedhan Glas mc.
Nuadhat Finn Fail mc.
83. Gialchaidh mc.
93. Enboth mc.
Tighernmas mc.
Follamhan mc.
Ethrial mc.
Irial Faidh mc.
Erimhan mc.
Gallamh or Miledh Esbain.

By reckoning up here you will find the number of names from Eochaidh, put down as father of Ughan mor, to Gallamh, these two included, to be 24, which is about the number between Ughan, considering him for illustration as Miledh Esbain, and Niul, these two included; that is, taking the reckoning of De Wyntoun between his Miledh Esbain and his Breogan, it is just the same. A person would think from this that the Milesians had come direct to Ireland from the exodus of the Israelites, at which their history says their ancestor, Niul, was present as admiral of the Egyptain fleet: but on such an assumption what is to be done with the other 24 generations, which, we see, they include in their reckoning back to that exodus? The general result of investigation would, perhaps justly, lead to the conclusion that the time of Ith or Ughan was that of the celebrated Milesian invasion and that the names given in the list back from Ughan, as pertaining to Ireland, were of men of the same race as pertaining to Asia, whether or not that list indicated a continuation of the chain of the ancestry in Asia. If, then, this list back from Ughan to Gallamh be accepted as the continuation of the chain of the ancestors, whether in Asia or in Ireland, that is, in the eastern or western Eirean, that list from Gallamh back to Niul will needs be rejected as superfluous, either one of the lists being fairly supposed to contain the number of generations which is sufficient to fill up the space. The ratio of three generations on the average for a century being pretty well established as sufficient for the Christian ages there is no good reason why it should not be deemed a fair average for the preChristian ages also.

The following is the list given as of those from Miledh Esbain to Niul, these two being supposed included in this list: —

List from Miledh
Gallamh or Miledh Espaine mac.
Myli mc.
Veande mc.
Broge mc.
Breoghan mc.
Bratha mc.
Deaghatha mc.
Arcadh mc.
Allod mc.
Nuadha mc.
Ninnuall mc.
Febric Glas mc.

Adnamhan mc.
Eber Glun Fionn mc.
Lamh Fionn mc.
Adnoin mc.
Tath mc.
Eochamhan mc.
Beoghamhan mc.
Eber Scot mc.
Sru mc.
Esru mc.
Gaedhal Glas mc.
Niul mc.

Phenius Pharsaidhe.

Genealogies of Partholan, Nemedh, The Firbolg, and Tuatha de Danaan

Genealogy of Partholan. Fathacta, a descendant of Magog, son of Japhet Gadel.
Framant mc.
Esru mc.
Sru.
Sera mc.

Partholan mc.

Genealogy of Nemedh. Tath mc.
Pamp mc.
Adhamhan mc.
Nemedh mc.

The Genealogy of King Carbri Ceann Chaidh of the Firbolg.

Starn mc.
Beoan mc.
Erglan mc.
Simeon mc.
Orthect mc.
Gostenn mc.
Otorb mc.
Tribuadh mc.
Tecta mc.
Loch mc.,
Daela mc.
Gennan mc.
Rindal mc.
Erondealbh mc.
Oris Eclonnach mc.
Lughni Liath Chean mc.
Tath Tedmennach mc.
Dithchon Uaridneach mc.
Ruidhri mc.
Dubhthach mc.
Carbri Ceanchaith mac.

Genealogy of the Tuatha de Danaan.

Iarbanel the Prophet mc.
Beothach mc.
Ibaath mc.
Bathach mc.
Enna mc.,
Tabarn mc.
Tath mc.
Aldae mc.
Indae mc.
Ordan mc.
Edarlamh mc.
Echthach mc.
Nuadhat Argedlamh mac.

King Carbri Cean-Chaith corresponds in my general tabulation with King Crimthan, son of Lughaidh and father of Feredhach Findfectnach; and if you reckon back from Carbri you will find Starn (*i.e.*, Si-Tighearn, Sea-Chief) his ancestor, son of Nemedh, to correspond in generation with Ughan Mor and Ith.

Also, in the genealogy of the Tuatha-de Danaans you will find by tracing down from Iarbanel, their ancestor, son of Nemedh, who corresponds in generation with Ughan and Ith, that Nuadhat Argiodlamh, whom they enter as their king, corresponds in generation with our Nuadhat Argthech in the direct line of Ith. I have thought that Argthech may have been written for Argiodlamh, the latter meaning Nuadhat of the Silver Hand and the former the Silver or Monied Nuadhat.

Those people called Firbolg are also discovered to be Fomorians; I see that Gann and Genan, two of their chieftains, are classed under the latter designation where they fall fighting against the Nemedians at Ros Fraechain. (Keating's Histr. p. 124.)

It is very clear, taken all together, if what is given in the histories indicate even with approximate correctness, that the peoples called Firbolg Fomorian, Scot, Milesian, Gadalian and Tuatha da Danaan are the same people, their commencement in the British isles being indicated by the place of Ith or Ughan in the list.

There is also enough given on the page last referred to to indicate the Nemedians to have been the natives, who had a government already established in the island and with whom the Fomorians had to wage war repeatedly before they succeeded in establishing themselves in the country.

But our Nemedh is here made father to Starn and Iarbanel, the ancestors respectively of the Firbolg and the Tuatha de Danaan, which may appear the same as to say that he was ancestor to our Milesian or Scot. The appellation Nemedh would mean the leader of a multitude, of a nomadic horde, such as pertain to those Eastern countries, whence those people had immigrated to the isles of the West.

Our Scots or Milesians, then, may have descended from some Nemedh far back, but who is placed here in the genealogy as the father of the Sea-Chief, Starn, Learmon, Ughan or Ith.

It is reasonable, however, to conclude from the indications given that those people here called Nemedians and Partholians may have pertained to the British isles for ages anterior to the time of our Ith and may have been of male descent from the same ancient Scythic stock as he. And while our Ith or Ughan indicates an influx of *foreigners* from the eastern countries to the isles of the West, the direction in which the genealogic index points backward would simply show that the island was then replenished with a robust and stirring body of inhabitants from the same old source which had furnished its former population.

The genealogy of the Tuatha de Danaan in the last table is from Keat-

ing, but there is another table in the Irish history which traces back this tribe to Chus, the son of Cham. It is as follows: —

Noah.
Cham mc.
Chus mc.
Fedel mc.
Pelest mc.
Ephice mc.
Uccat mc.
Sadhal mc.
Siopurnach mc.
19 Starn Fiacla mc.
Mercell mc.
Larcogh mc.
Galamh mc.
Liburn mc.
Blosg or Plasg mc.
Ciolcadh mc.
Niadh mc.
Eathlan mc.
Breas mac.

The Reim Roighree informs us that the Tuatha de Danaans were of the family of Chus, the son of Cham; and from Bochart we collect that Dedan, son of Rhegma, son of Chus, settled in or about Oman, which is seen on the map situated on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf. But there is recorded also a Dedan, descended of Abraham, whom some expositors report to have settled at Dedan in Idumaea and thought to have been the same mentioned in Jer. xxv:23, and in Gen. xxv:1–5. But I cannot at this day distinguish a Dedan settled in Oman, in that very primitive age, from a Dedan settled in Idumaea in a much later age. I, however, would consider it not improbable that the Dedanites may have given the old name to their new settlement in Phoenicia, when those people had migrated from the Persian Gulf to Palestine and Idumaea. For the apparently two pairs of brothers, named Sheba and Dedan, the first given being said to have been descended from Chus and the second from Abraham, the lines of descent are given as follows from the Bible: —

Genisis, Chapters x and xxv.
Noah.
Shem, son of
Arphaxed, son of
Sala, son of
Eber, son of
Peleg, son of
Reu, son of
Serug, son of
Nahor, son of
Terah, son of
Abraham, son of
Jokshan, son of
Dedan and Sheba, sons of

Genesis, Ch. x:
Noah.
Cham, son of
Chus, son of
Raamah, son of
Dedan and Sheba, sons of

In the one case Dedan is the twelfth in descent from Noah and in the other the fourth. But, as it says in connection with the Dedan, grandson of Abraham, that he was father of the Assyrians (Asshurim, Gen. xxv:3), who are said in Genesis, ch. x:6–12, to have descended of Chus; and in

Gen. x:22–24, these Assyrians as well as the Elamites or Persians, Lydians, etc., are said to have descended from Shem, I would think it looks very like as if the forms Shem and Cham were but variations of each other; and that Chus and Abram may have been but different names applied to the same person, the one, whichever that was, being given to him merely on paper, the other the real name of the man, applied to him during his life. I will remark, however, that in regard to the records of the ancient Egyptian monuments and literature Mr. Brugsch Bey has found the Jewish or Israelitish nation to be entirely undistinguishable from the Phoenician; while some of our very able and particular Biblical ethnologists have not been able, with so much distinctness as they wished, to locate our Arphaxed and his clan, put down in the ancestry of Abram. Some, doubtless, would like to know how many sons our investigators are ultimately going to allow the patriarch Noah to have had, whether one, two or, wholeheartedly, three.

As to our Breas the authorities state him to have been a Fomorian, and generally agree that he was the first king of the Tuatha de Danaans in Ireland. Blosg or Plasg being among his ancestors is said to indicate his descent from the Pelasgians, whom we know to have had a national existance in the later ages under the appellations of Greek, Italian, Etruscan, or Tuscan, etc. This they understand, also, from the words of Homer, whom they call a Pelasgian Greek writer, and from whom are the following words, as translated from his language: —

> "Parent of gods and men, Pelasgian Jove,
> King of Dodona and its hallowed grove;
> King of Dodona, whose intemperate coast,
> Bleak winds infest and winter's chilling frost
> Round thy abodes thy priests with unwashed feet
> Lie on the naked earth."

The Greek writers do not agree as to the location of the oracle of Dodona. Some will have it in Thessaly, some in Epirus, others in Thesprotia, Chaonia and Molossa, and some say that it was so called from Dodanim, the son of Javan and grandson of Japhet (Gen. x:4). But Dodanim is plural of Dodan and represents a nation, as Kittim, Tarshish and Elisha, in the same verse, represent each a nation, which, however, does not hinder, but that these nations may have been called so after, say, Daedan, Chith, Elisha and Tarshish, sons of Javan and grandsons of Noah. The few steps given of this descent are as follows: —

Noah
Japhet, son of
Javan, son of
Daedan, son of.

Although Flaherty says that the Firbolg entered Ireland from South Britain, and the Tuatha de Danaan, in a long time after, from North Bri-

tain, still there is no need of our agreeing with him in this or of our supposing that they came to that country from Britain or that both of these names did not pertain to the same people of the one so-called Milesian invasion. In those opinions I do not find that he has any support from the original Poems on which he pretends to found and I think him to have had somehow confounded in his idea certain immigrations from South and North Britain to Erin, spoken of in the chronicle of Richard of Cirencester, with his invasions of that country by the Firbolg and Tuatha de Danaans.

In the history of Armenia by Moses Choronensis we find the Bolgi or Bolo under the name of Acrad. This in Arabic is the plural of Curd, *i.e.*, the Curdi of Curdistan; and in the Persian History they are said to have descended the Euphrates and Tigris and settled in Cutha or Nabatha of Babylon, that is, says de Herbelot, about the Nabathean Fens, and here they were distinguished by the name of Zohak. "Some," says the same author, "have thought they were originally Chaldaeans, the Cashdanim of the Hebrews and Arabs." The Nabathean Fens are said to have been called Cutha and an ancient king of Babylon is there said to have cut many taps or canals from the Euphrates into the Paludes, and from thence into the Tigris. In the Irish Cuth or Cuith is a canal, a ditch, foss, cut, or tap, and this Chaldaean and Irish Cuth is in the Arabic Cush. "Amraphel," says Dr. Hyde, Gen. Ch. xiv., "was king of Shinaar, not in Chaldaea or Babylon, but Shinaar of Mesipotamia," now written Sinjar, the Singara of Ptolemy. Here then we have a Shinaar in the Asiatic Mesipotamia, and a Shinaar in Meroë, the Æthopic Mesipotamia, as well as a Shinaar in Chaldaea or Babylon.

The Armenians have been wont annually to celebrate their Mion, Armion or Breith, *i.e.*, their Covenant of God with mankind, and hence Ar-mion-ia, the name of their country, literally means the 'Country of the Mountain of the Covenant.'

Ararat is a Scythian name for the Mountain of the Ship, for Art or Aorth or Arth is a ship and Ar or Aurth a mountain. And so Arthur is for Arth-fhear and means a ship-man, a sailor, meaning thus the same as Feargus. The Irish have their king Cormac mac Art, the latter being for Arthur, which may or not have been the name by which the father of this Cormac was called; but I find him entered in the history as Fergus, although he is said to have had two brothers also named Fergus. The father of this Fergus is entered by Keating as Finchadh, by Flaherty as Imchadh, his grandfather's name, according to the latter, being Finchadh. As to the name of the father of Fergus, it is likely Keating was the more correct, for Finchadh might be regarded as a transposition of Eochaidh Finn, as well as Imchadh of that of the father of Eochaidh Finn, namely, Eochan, *i.e.*, Conn or Conair, called also Feidhlimidh Rechtmhar. And Oghamhan, put down by both as father of Finchadh is simply a slight

mystification of Eochaidh, the proper name of Moghallamh, the father of our Conair, and son of Fiachaidh Findalaidh. De Wyntoun appears in his Tabulation to have understood his Carbri Righada as the historical Conn Cead-Cathach as well as the Irish in their making Cormac, "grandson of Conn." I suppose the said Conn to have been father of Righada.

One author says that the Phoenecian Hercules was called Melicartus, *i.e.*, Melek-Arth, the king of the ship, the ship-master. It is thought probable that Ararat was originally Avrat, the letter Vau being mistaken by copyists for r, from its form in the Hebrew being nearly the same.

In ch. li, v, 27 of his Book, the Prophet Jeremiah records the Mountain of the Ark of the Covenant as follows: "Set up the standard in the land; blow the trumpet among the nations (Goim); prepare the nations against her; call together against her the Kingdoms of Ararat, Mini and Aschenaz." For the Heb. Mini the Chaldee has Har-Mini, the Mount of the Covenant. Referring to the Egyptian Monuments Brugsch Bey says: "The inscriptions do not mention one syllable about the Israelites." (Egypt under the Pharaohs, vol. II. p. 99.) And at p. 210 of the same volume he says: "And as to the mention of the Fenekhe (Phoenicians) I have a presentiment that we shall one day discover their most intimate relationship with the Jews."

Extract from Richardson's dissertations on the languages, etc., of the Eastern Nations, p. 47:

"The reigning families of Persia, previous to the Arabian conquest, are comprehended, by their historians, under four dynasties or families; the the *Pishdadians*, the *Kaianians*, the *Askanians* and the *Sassanians*. The Persians, like other people, have assumed the privilege of romancing on the early periods of society. The first dynasty is, in consequence, embarrassed by fabling. Their most ancient princes are chiefly celebrated for their victories over the Demons and Genii, called Dives; and some have reigns assigned to them of 800 or 1000 years. Amidst such fictions, however, there is apparently some truth. Those monarchs probably did reign though poetic fancy may have ascribed to them ages and adventures, which the laws of nature reject. We dispute not the existence of our English Arthur though we believe not in the Giants and Magic of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The Dives may have been savage neighbors conquered by the Pishdadian Kings and magnified by tradition as being of a supernatural species. The Gods, the Titans and the heroes of the Greeks; the Giants, the Savages and the monsters of Gothic romance, seem all to have originated from similar principles; from the wild irregularity of fancy and that admiration of the marvelous, which, in various degrees, runs through the legends of every darker period of the history of mankind. The longevity, at the same time, ascribed to this race of monarchs, may either have been founded on some imperfect antediluvian idea, or may be resolved by supposing families instead of individuals; and that the Caiumars, the Ghemshids and the Feridouns of the East were merely successions of princes,

bearing one common surname, like the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars of the West.

With the second dynasty a more probable system of history seems to commence; yet still the era of Kaicobad, the founder of this house, can not be precisely fixed. Though historians differ, however, with regard to the chronology of this prince in one point which may lead us to ascertain it with tolerable accuracy, they appear in general to be unanimous. Darab, the younger, dethroned by Alexander, is called the 9th sovereign of this line. He was assassinated about 300 years B. C. If 30 years are allowed, therefore, as the medium of each reign or 270 for the nine kings, Kaicobad's sovereignty may possibly have commenced about 600 years before our era, which will comprehend the whole of that period of Persian history for which we are indebted to the Greeks. Sir I. Newton, it may be objected, with other chronologists, have allowed but 20 years to a reign and made that the universal standard for all nations; but, with submission to those learned men, nothing carries with it a stronger tendency to unhinge all chronology than such an unmodified system.

The Kaianan dynasty being supposed then to commence nearly about 600 years before the birth of our Lord this brings us to the reign of that King of the Medo-Persians, called by the Greeks Cyaxeres, which, according to Sir I. Newton's conjecture is supposed to have begun in the year Nabonassar 137 (about 610 before Christ). From this period till the Macedonian conquest we have, therefore, the history of the Persians as given us by the Greeks; and the history of the Persians as written by themselves. Between those classes of writers we might naturally expect some difference of facts; but we should as naturally look for a few great lines, which might mark some similarity of story, yet from every research which I have had an opportuuity to make, there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire. The names and numbers of their Kings have no analogy; and in regard to the most splendid facts of the Greek historians the Persians are entirely silent. We have no mention of the Great Cyrus nor of any King of Persia, who in the events of his reign can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no Croesus, King of Lydia; not a syllable of Cambyses or of his frantic expedition against the Ethiopians. Smerdis Magus and the succession of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, by the neighing of his horse, are to the Persians circumstances equally unknown as the numerous assassinations recorded by the Greeks. Not a vestige is at the same time to be discovered of the famous battle of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Platea or Mycale; nor of that prodigious force which Xerses led out of the Persian Empire to overwhelm the States of Greece. Minutely attentive as the Persian historians are to their numerous wars with the Kings of Touran or Scythia; and recording with the same impartiality whatever might tarnish as well as aggrandize the reputation of their country, we can,

with little pretense to reason, suppose that they should have been silent on events of such magnitude; had any record remained of their existence or the faintest tradition commemorated their consequences."

From this learned Orientalist's researches it is claimed we have two points established in favor of the Irish records, first that they were not copied by Irish monks, either from Greek or Latin authors, for no transaction of the Grecians at this period, as asserted by their writers, appear in the Irish history; secondly, it corresponds so much with the Persian history that it must have been brought with them from Asia and in point of time there is a great coincidence. We also learn from these researches that some writers of national history, in early times, made it a point not only to mystify, but to directly falsify in order to satisfy their national vanity: and that this custom of mystifying and falsifying history was not peculiar to any one nation, but was in a greater or less degree common to all. Those Irish annals informs us that Mogh Nuadhat or Nuadhar was the leader of this colony into Erinn, which although we translate Ireland, some think refers to Iran of Persia; and they reckon this event to have taken place Anno Mundi 3303, or, as they think, about 705 years B. C. Whether this event be taken as referring to the real Milesian invasion of Ireland or to some invasion of the Asiatic Iran from Touran, the time given for it may be distantly approximative. Rome was founded about 747–753 B. C., which must have been close to the time of our Milesian invasion.

Gushtash, that is, the model Labradh Longsech, or horse-eared prince, is proved by Dr. Hyde to have been the Darius Hytaspes of the Greeks; and he concludes his time to have been about 519 B. C. A person would be apt to think, whether or not there were anything in it, that the mention of horse-eared prince in connection with Labhradh would have been designed to indicate his descent from the Asiatic Æthiopians, who inhabited the districts of Caramania and Gedrosio, on the East of the Erythrian Sea, as Herodotus states that those people were accustomed to adorn themselves with a horse's ears. They appear to have been the Scythians who in early times emigrated to India from Aria.

The Touranians are, in the Irish history, frequently called Frange or Farange. The Arabs always call them Faranagh. The English translator of Keating will have this to be France, whence he has his Labradh Longsech bring an army into Ireland. He confesses however, that some say the Frange, to which Labradh went, was Armenia.

"The Pelasgi (says the authors of Histoire de l'origine des langues de cest Universe) must be allowed to have been one of the most ancient nations in the world, and, as appears from their colonies in the earliest times, very numerous and powerful. With regard to their origin the learned are not agreed. Some make them the descendants of Peleg, who have very probable arguments on their side; others deduce them from the

Canaanites and Phoenicians and others suppose them to have been of a Celtic original."

But this all amounts to the same thing; for Peleg, which evidently is a form of Bealg or Bolg, is in the list of the ancestors of Abraham, who himself was of Chaldean origin, having emigrated from Ur of the Chaldees to Palestine. The Phoenicians (so-called by the Greeks) emigrated to Palestine from Chaldaea and from the coast of the Erythrian Sea and the name of the race in Palestine, as expressed in the Egyptian language, was Chal, Chaldaea being simply the dae or country of the Chal or so-called Phoenicians. Moreover, the Celtai were that branch of the Arians, called Scolotai, Sacai or Sythians from whom the Chaldaeans were descended. The place of Peleg in the list of the ancestors of Abraham would indicate a considerable antiquity.

In looking after the origin of the family name MacHeth, which I may say is an equivalent for MacDuff, I found the Gaelic name Seach, or Seachan or Seaghan or Seachlan to be for Alexander, *i.e.*, Al-Sheach-dhair. (See vol. III., Vall. Coll., Preface, p. xxxvii.) Persic Sikender, Alexander, Sikender Name, the Book of the life of Alexander, the Great. Aineh Iskender, Mirror of Alexander, which means the same. The name MacHeth, therefore, of which so many historians have sought the origin, arose from the Gaelic form of the name Alexander, as Aenghus MacSheagh or MacSheathagh, would be their Aeneas McHeth, pronounced MacHay or MacCay.

Usue, the form de Wyntoun gives for Ughan, in the case of Ughan Mor, causes me to think he may have had in mind for it the form Ith, which is for Iuth, a form which had as one of its significations in English "Use" or as a verb "to use," Latin Utor, root Ut, doubtless for Iudh or Aedh. (See Edward Lhuyd's Archaeologica Britannica, in which he compares in parallel Lexicons the Ancient languages of the British Isles). I have no doubt this was the original form of the name Jute, of that race, for example, which came into South Britain with the Saxons from Northern Europe and settled in Kent (Latin Cantium, Gaelic Cann or Conn), a name which, perhaps, they gave to the country after their own clan's designation. (See Humphrey Lhuyd's Cambria). Iuth and Iuthan and Iughan are used for each other, as Iuchair for Eochair, a key, and Iughan for Eoghan, a man's name; Iudh for Aedh, a day, *i.e.*, the circle of the sun, the zodiac, the Sun; and so after Mac, Clan or the like, the an would generally he added as sign of the genitive and we would have MacIughan, or MacAedhan or MacEoghan, etc., all pronounced MacConn. The clan Ith is, thus, the clan Conn or Conair.

Speaking of the Irish Clan Mac Conmara, "of the line of Emhir," Keating (in Preface, p. xxxii.), says "the tribe name of that family is Aedh," and MacAedhan, would, as we see, be pronounced MacCun. Now, Conmara is another form for Morgann, or Morcunn, and I find in our history

that among the Scotch the Clan Morgann is Clan Aedh, and Morgann, No. 29 of our list, is turned by the historians into Constantine, which is proper. Conmhara is, perhaps, for an ancient genitive form of Emhir, *i.e.*, for Caenmharaigh or Cunmhara, genitive of nominative Caedhmhuir, which means chief of the sea, just as Morgann. Aedh, with C prefixed Caedh, is for Caedhan, Ceann or Conn.

According to the Irish list, as mentioned before, their Duach Dalta Deaghaidh descends from Emhir, brother of Eramhan, and is made ninth in descent from their Rechtaidh Righdhearg, whom they make contemporary of Ughan mor. It has been shown that the line of Rudhri mor is carried back in Keating just for ten generations, to Ughan mor. And in fact the lines of the Bolgai, the Tuatha de Danaans, etc., appear to have centered here, as shown above. The Irish historians may have had in mind that the line of the ancestors of their Duach centered here also. But that line of Emhir, so-called, tells its own story to any one who takes pains to examine it chronologically and by comparison with the line of MacConn, as mentioned before, in my speaking of O'Flaherty's difficulty with it.

The beginning of the investigation into the subject as to who that MacBeth was, who is mentioned in the history in connection with the death of Duncan, King of Scotland, would be apt to lead one to suppose that said MacBeth was MacBoidhe, son of Maelbrighdi, whose son, as we have noticed before from the Annals of Ulster, had been put to death by Malcolm II.; that is, the investigator would be apt to hastily conclude that said MacBoidhe had compassed or connived at the death of Duncan, the son of Malcolm, in retaliation for the death of his own son by the father of Duncan. But further investigation shows that such conclusion would not be justified by the circumstances of the case.

Andrew de Wyntoun, in his Oryginale Cronykil of Scotland, vol. I, p. 216, speaking of the MacBeth who slew Duncan in 1040 A. D., calls him "Syster Sowne"* of Duncan; that is, his nephew, which shows that he did not have in mind, as that person, MacBoidhe, the son of Kenneth, who was Duncan's uncle. Speaking on the same page in relation to his MacBeth, he says: —

For til his eme he was rycht fals,
Dat browcht him up rycht tenderly.

Which, translated, is: —

For to his uncle he proved right false,
Who had brought him up right tenderly.

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* This shows who Duncan was: If, as according to Fordun and the mystifiers, Duncan had been son to a sister of Thorfin's mother, *i.e.*, to another daughter of Malcolm II, by one Crinan then would Duncan and Thorfin have been first cousins.

This, therefore, in the mind of de Wyntoun, did not refer to an uncle of Duncan, as MacBoidhe, brother to Malcolm II.; but to Duncan's nephew, namely, to Thorfin, the sun of Bethach, daughter of Malcolm II., by Sigurd, the Norwegian earl of Orkney, who doubtless was called by the Scots, as an endearing appellation, MacBethaigh after his mother; that is, his full name to the Scots would be Thorfin MacBethaigh, after the name of the Scottish princess, who was his mother, or Thorfin or even MacBethaigh Mac Finlaoich, that is, Thorfin the son of the Norwegian, as the Scots called Norway Finlochland, and, as a matter of course, a Norwegian would be with them Finlaoch. But by the Norwegians he would be called Thorfin, the son of Sigurd. It is not at all likely that MacBoidhe, the son of Malbrighdi, lived till 1057, his brother, Malcolm, having died in 1034, at which time Thorfin, his grandson by his daughter, was about 26 years of age, he having been born, as according to the deductions of Skene, in 1008–9, and been put into the hands of his maternal grandfather, to be brought up, upon the death of his father Sigurd in 1014.

"When Sigurd went on his expedition to Ireland," says Skene, "which ended so fatally for him, he had sent his son Thorfin by his second wife, the daughter of Malcolm, king of the Scots, to his grandfather; and, though he was only five years old at his father's death, the king of the Scots bestowed Caithness and Sutherland upon him with the title of Earl and gave him men to rule the domain along with him." This, which is the bringing up that de Wyntoun refers to, Skene gives in Celt. Scot. 1, 389, as from the Orkneyinga Saga and Collect. de Rebus Albanicis, p. 340.

When Malcolm II. died and Duncan succeeded him, the latter "seems to have considered," says Skene, "that Thorfin, having become Earl of Orkney, he might resume possession of Caithness or, at least, demand tribute from it. Thorfin, on the other hand, considered that it was his inheritance from King Malcolm, through his mother, and that he had obtained it before Duncan inherited the kingdom. Thus, says the Saga, they became open enemies and made war on each other." In speaking of the issue of the final battle of this war, in p. 403 of the same vol., the Saga says: "King Duncan then brought forward his standard against Earl Thorfin and the fiercest struggle took place between the Scots and the Norwegians; but," says the Saga, "it ended in the flight of the king and some say he was slain. Earl Thorfin then drove the fugitives before

him through Scotland and laid the land subject to him wherever he went all the way south to Fife."

If it were true, as some have said according to the foregoing, that Duncan was slain in this battle or immediately consequent thereupon, then, all the circumstances considered, it is reasonable to charge his death to the account of his nephew, Thorfin, whether or not the latter was himself the slayer. It is evident that Duncan's death happened in or near the time of this battle. Thorfin having been the real king of Scotland for 17 years after this date, excepting that part of Scotland extending from the northern boundary of Fife to the English border, which remained, with Cumbria, in the possession of the children of Duncan, was, of course, the MacBethaigh, who reigned for that interval of 17 years, and who was conquered in 1057 by Malcolm Ceanmor, the son of Duncan, with the help of the Angles.

One authority, Marianus Scotus, tells us that in 1050 MacBethaigh visited Rome, paid his respects to the pope and distributed much money among the poor at Rome; but, according to the Saga (Anderson's edition, p. 43), Thorfin visited Rome in that same year "and saw the pope, from whom he obtained absolution for all his sins." "This," says Skene, "is either another instance of the confusion of Thorfin with MacBeth or they went to Rome together for the same purpose." Celt. Scot. I, p. 407, Note.

Under the head of grants made to religious institutions by King MacBethaigh, is the following in the Chronicle of Mailros, p. 114, etc:. —

"Cum summa veneratione et devotione Mackbeth rex contulit Deo et Sancto Servano de Lochlevyn et hermitis ibidem Deo Servientibus Bolgyne, filii Torfiny, cum omni libertate et sine onere exercitus regis et filii ejus, vel vicecomitis, et sine exactione alicujus sed caritatis intuitu et orationum suffragiis." of which the translation is as follows: —

"With the profoundest devotion and veneration King MacBeth bestowed upon God and St. Servanus of Lochlevin and upon the hermits now there serving God, Bolgyne, presently pertaining to the son of Thorfin, with all liberty and without burden from the army of the king and of his son or lieutenant, and without exaction of any kind; but for the purpose of the oversight of charity and religious instruction." The son of Thorfin being here named in the dominions of MacBeth, and seemingly as his viceroy in a cer-

tain district of the country, might fairly be understood as indicating that the same man was known by the two appellations of MacBethaigh and Thorfin.

"On the death of Alex. III., in 1285, Bruce and Baliol, descendants in the female line from David, a brother of Malcolm IV., appeared as competitors for the crown and supported on each side by a considerable party in the kingdom. Edward I. of England, being chosen umpire in the contest, arrogated to himself in that capacity the feudal sovereignty of Scotland, and compelled all of its thanes to swear allegiance to him as their feudal sovereign. This done he adjudged the crown to John Baliol, but as his own feudatory. Baliol, soon after, renouncing his allegiance, Edward again invaded Scotland and caused his abdication in favor of himself. Another defender of the country's liberties soon arose in the person of Wm. Wallace, who, though placed in difficult circumstances, gained many remarkable successes over Edward's forces until finally betrayed into the hands of Edward, he was put to death with great cruelty. Now, again, Bruce appeared as champion and made such headway against his enemies that he was eventually crowned king of Scotland in 1306 A. D. On his death in 1329, while his son David was a minor, Edward Baliol, the son of the above John, by the help of the English became king, but soon found himself displaced by young David Bruce, who, by the help of his friends in Scotland and France, attained to the throne. On his death in 1370, in 86 years after the death of Alex. III., the crown passed to Robert, the Steward." Thus it is in the history which is largely allegorical. The name Steward at once suggests this. The histories make the office of the "great Steward of Scotland" to have been hereditary in the family of Robert II., the first of the house of Steward, so called, for several generations before his time. But it was hereditary in that family in the sense of their being the regular line of the kings of Scotland. The great Steward of Scotland was the King himself, and Robert II., the first of the house of Steward, so called, was son of Alexander III., so that it is only on paper the regular line of Gaelic kings ceases with Alexander III. That line was continued on in Scotland and governed England in the persons of its kings James I. and II., Charles I. and II., and its queen Ann. There may possibly at this period have been claims on the Scottish Kingdom by some Normans of South Britain, who were in descent from some of its kings; but if

at this time the throne of Scotland was occupied by any one who was not of the family of its legal line of kings it could only have been for a comparatively short period. The "King Robert Bruce" whose death, in his old age, is entered by the histories in 1329, is represented as grandson of the Bruce, who in 1285 was contestant with Baliol for the crown. What a number of generations (names) in such a short time! The historical connection under the names Bruce, Baliol, etc., is largely allegorical, and this Robert II., the first of the so called Steward house, was the actual Bruce. De Bruis or "of the Brush," could only have been an epithet in addition to the real name of the man. Some might think Robert, called the second, but really the first, to have been grandson on his mother's side to old Bruce, "the claimant," but it is as likely he was in this manner grandson to MacDonald, "laird of the Isles," or to some other man, while being son to Alexander III. As to Robert III. Burton says: "John was the name given to him at his baptism,"—"but this appellation being in disrepute on account of having been borne by John Baliol he adopted the popular name Robert, which had been borne by Bruce." In the genealogies they give to James I., the name Gilchrist, *i.e.*, Servant of Christ. James II., they have Seach, which doubtless was his real name, as our Shaws of Sauchie are sprung from his son, James III., said in the history to have been killed in the battle of Sauchie Burn.

My researches since my last issue (it is now 1888 A. D.) have enabled me to give the *continuation* of the genealogical list, from Ith, No. 75, the point to which we got before. This will carry the line back to such a distance as to indicate clearly for a long period and from an early date the course of the history. And then I will give the line back from Ith so as to include James III., the last king of Scotland in the genealogy given, as confirmatory of the correctness of what I gave before and illustrative of other points. And in reference to this whole matter I may say that Ughan mor, otherwise called Ith, the first of this line of men who dominated in Erin, had a son Lughaidh or Laeghaidh, but whose name is put down in the list of kings as Laeghair; and that from this Lughaid MacUghan, pronounced Luie or Laerie MacConn, have descended the kings of Erin whether under the name of Eremon (Leinster), of Ebher (for Munster and Connaught), or of Irr (for Ulster and Connaught); for all these were honorary names given in the histories to kings who were exactly of the same line of descent, there

being only one line for the island, father to son, etc., after the arrival of said Ith or Ughan.

2. In the 26th name of the list, counting down, beginning with Ughan mor, we meet with another Lughaidh MacUghan, called also Lughaidh MacConn; who is said to have wrested the government out of the power of his brother Eochaidh, called Carbri Righada, by means of a foreign force he introduced to the island and reigned for 30, or, as some say, for 50 years. The line of kings, however, who came after him, both for Erin and North Britain were of descent from his brother, Carbri Righada. It is to be borne in mind, then, that the list given of the line of the ancestors of this 2nd Lughaidh MacConn is the list proper of the kings of Erin before him; and that the list of the kings of Erin after him is in descent from his father Eoghan mor, *alias* Conn of the 100 battles, through his brother Eochaidh Finn, *alias* Carbri Righada.

3. From this Carbri Righfhada to Fergus, the son of Erc, these two exclusive, there are seven in succession, and from the latter to James III., the last king in the list given, in Scotland, inclusive, there are 30, in succession, more.

First of this family in Erin.	Ith, *i.e.*, Bili, *i.e.*, Iughan mor, *i.e.*, Miledh Espain, No. 75, son of		
2 kings in Spain.	Breoghan, son of,	76.	
	Bratha, son of,	77.	
6 kings of Gaethulia, now called Algeria.	Degatha, son of,	78.	
	Arcadh, son of,	79.	
	Allod, son of,	80.	
	Nuadha, son of,	81.	
	Ninual, son of,	82.	
	Febric Glas, son of,	83.	
Scythian conquerors of Gaethulia.	Adnamhan Finn, son of,	84.	From these conquerors of Gaethulia are derived, in male line, the Goths, from whom, in the same way, are the Germans.
	Eber Glun Finn, son of,	85.	
	Lamh Finn, son of,	86.	

6 chiefs in Crete and in Scythia about the Black Sea and the Danube, the Don and the Volga, on the Caspian.

Adnoin, son of, 87.
Tath, son of, 88.
Eoghamhan, son of, 89.
Beoghamhan, son of, 90.
Eber Scot, son of, 91.
Sru, son of, 92.

2 chiefs of the district of Campacirout, near Heliopolis, "Lower Egypt."

Esru, son of, 93.
Gaedhal, son of, 94.

In this section of twenty names, there are those of at least some kings of all Egypt, Upper and Lower.

Mernra, *i.e.*, Sethar, *i.e.*, Nial, son of, 95.
Sethos, son of, 96.
Amenophis, son of, 97.
Sesotris, son of, 98.
Schaighre, son of, 99.
Sesochris, son of, 100.
Nefercheres, son of, 101.
Cheres, son of, 102.
Sethenes, son of, 103.
Talas, son of, 104.
Binothris, son of, 105.
Kaiechos, son of, 106.
Bethus, son of, 107.
Semempsis, son of, 108.
Miebidos, son of, 109.
Usaphaidos, son of, 110.
Venephes, son of, 111.
Kenchenes, son of, 112.
Athotis, son of, 113.
Aahmes, *i.e.*, James, *i.e.*, Jacob, *i.e.*, Menes, son of, 114.

Up to this point the list is chronologically historical.

One or two less than the No. of places in this section, say 8 or 9, may represent the No. of generations of the Abrahamites or Aurităe who dominated in Egypt prior to Menes.

Isaac,
Abram,
Terah,
Nachor,
Serug,
Reu,
Peleg,
Eber or Abr-am,
Salah,
Arphaxed,

For seven places here between Salah and Isaac there are to be reckoned at least 47 ordinary generations; for, in the history of Babylon, the place of Nimrod, the son of Cush, corresponds to that of Salah, the son of Arpachshad, in this list. Between Nimrod,

Shepherds, Pastors, in Valleys, near Streams.

Schem,
Noah,

Stem of the Israelitish Phœnician ancestry; male line. Asiatic: World-wide.

Lamech,
Methuselah,
Mehujael,
Irad,
Enoch,
Cainan,
Schaedhamh
God.

whom they reckon their first king after the Flood, and the Median conquest of Babylon in 2234 B. C. (*i.e.*, about one century before Menes), there intervened 86 reigns, which, all reckoned at the average reign of 18 years, as, according to Sir I. Newton's deduction, gives 1566 years, and this number divided by $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, the ordinary length of a generation, gives almost 47 generations. ($87 \times 18 = 1566 \div 33\frac{1}{3} = 47$ almost.)

The foregoing statement is based upon the history of Babylon as connected with Gen. X, 7–10, in which last Nimrod might appear to be the sixth son of Cush. But some have thought it meant him to have been sixth in descent from Cush, a supposition which that list referred to before, that traces the genealogy of the Tuatha de Danaan back to Cush might be thought to support:

Gen. X, 7–10.	An MS. vellum said to be 800 years old at least and to be in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.
Noah	Noah
Cham	Cham
Chus	Chus
Seba	Fedel
Havilah	Pelest
Sabtah	Ephice
Raamah	Uccat
Sabteckah	Sadhal
Nimrod	Sopuirneach

If now, we may understand the five names enclosed in brackets in the two columns to be simply dialectic representations, if not variations of each other, that is, to stand for the same men respectively, then we shall hardly find the last name to present any difficulty to our identification of the two lists; for, in the old Gaelic, Sopuirneach (so, good, puir, a man, neach, a horse) means the mighty hunter, literally "the good horseman," the same which the word means also in the old Persian; and this is an epithet by which Nimrod was well known in sacred and profane history.

But the principal point here to observe is that this discovery

might seem fairly to imply that each name in the list from Jacob to Shem, both inclusive, represented on an average, seven successive generations. For, if we multiply the 86 generations by an average reign of 19 years, which my researches into ancient history makes at least as near the fact as Sir I. Newton's 18, we shall get 1634 years, which divided by $33\frac{1}{3}$ gives a small fraction over 49 generations as a quotient; and we have seen above that the 86 reigns multiplied by an 18 years' average gives about 47 generations for seven names. Consequently the 12 names from Jacob to Shem the latter included, would, on this basis, equal 84 successive generations of men between Jacob and the Flood, ($12 \times 7 = 84$). Would the patriarchs under consideration have lived on the average seven times the average length of human life, now? Moreover, and secondly, I may observe that the name Arphaxad, spelled Arpachshad, *i.e.*, Arpach-Scheth, in the original, is a name arising to the Cushites from local circumstances; for Cush is the Baylonian Cuth, which is Scuth or Scheth; and these people attained the name Arpach-Scheth from their inhabiting, in a very early age, before their invasion of the Nile's or even Euphrates' valley, the mountain of Arpachitis, situated in Kurdistan. Kurd is equivalent to the Gaelic Cadhair, a hero, a city. Cush, that is Cuth; that is Scuth; that is Scheth or Schaeth; that is Aeth,* which means in Egyptian a *heart*, for which Latin Cor, root Cord, which is Kurd. The Cushites or Æthiopians are originally Asiatics, as implied in the Bibical story of the Flood, the Babel and the migrations thereafter, who in progress of time descended from their Scythic mountains and stepps, settled the valleys of the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile, the two Mesopotamias of Asia and of Africa, built Nineveh, Babylon, Thebes, Memphis, Saba, in Ethiopa, afterwards called Meroë, etc.; they are the Shemites or Chemites.

In explanation of the connection I make with the line of kings of ancient Egypt, I may say there is no doubt in my mind that

* Aeria, Aethiopia and Aethia were formerly names of Egypt. In the old Egyptian, Ath or Aeth signified a heart and rib a pear, whence the Greeks likened that country to a Δ (delta). Says Horus Apollo: Egyptiis $A\theta$, vel $\dot{\eta}\theta$ est Cor; that is, in the language of the Egyptians Ath or Aeth is a word signifying a heart. The root of Cor is Cord, in which we see the form Curd for the name of the same people. By Ptolemies tables Athribis is in the centre of the nome of that name, whence it was called Athrib-is or the heart of the pear: Cor-pyri quia in medio pyri. Hence Leo Africanus writes the name Errif or Alribh, the l and r being the same in Egyptian; and in Scripture the name Rahab often occurs for Egypt.

their Nial, who in their lists generally is made to be son of Phenius, but in one very old list I have seen is put down as son of Nionnual, (*i.e.*, son of the child or children of Nial) is the celebrated Neilos of the Egyptian lists, whose name some histories connect with the taking of Troy, but who lived over a century prior to the capture of that city. Herodotus calls him Proteus and connects him in his story with the Tyrian quarters at Memphis. This man was great-grandson to Sesostris, which last died, according to Eratosthenes' reckoning, in 1461 B. C., which would leave his great-grandson to die about a century later. I, however, do not find that Old Tyre (Troy) was captured before 1262 B. C., which would be a century later still or two centuries after the death of Sesostris. In the time of this latter and his descendants down to the children of this man Egypt sent out many colonies. Of these the Athenians, the Lacedemonians or Spartans, the Colchians and Caphtorim of Palestine are not the least remarkable. Not only the Dorians and Ionians among the Greeks, but the Romans of the stock of Æneas are derived from the Egyptians, though, perhaps, not all from Sesostris. According to Rollin, Cecrops, an Egyptian, founded the kingdom of Athens in 1556 B. C., which, by Eratosthenes' reckoning, would be the 5th year of Sesostris, at which time he was carrying on his campaigns beyond the borders of Egypt. Would Cecrops (Sesar-ops) have been Sesostris or a kinsman of his whom he made his viceroy? Rollin also makes Gelanor, king of Argos in Peloponnessus, to have been dethroned and expelled his kingdom by Danaus, a brother of Sesostris; but he makes the successor of this last in 1474 B. C. to have been Lynceus, the son of Ægyptus, *i.e.*, Sesostris, which would indicate Danaus to have been only viceroy at Argos for his brother. There is no doubt Greece was conquered by Sesostris, that man of ships as well as cavalry, and that it was in his time well replenished with Ægyptian colonists. That the Macedonian family of Alexander the Great were descended in the male line from the ancient Egyptian kings there is no doubt. This family attained to the sovereignty in Macedonia, according to Rollin, in 794 B. C. And from the son of that Neil we are treating of sprang the Goths.

Their Gaedhal, son of Nial, the Irish history might appear to confound with a Gaedhal, son of Etheor, *i.e.*, Sethir. But in doing this they are simply affecting to make two men on paper out of the one real man, for Nial is only another name for Etheor or Setheor,

as we know in the history of king Neilos, but is entered in my Egyptian list as Mernra, "the beloved of Ra," and moreover the river Nile is also called Sethar, pronounced Schehor.

In regard to the origination of the ancient Ogham Alphabet there are in an old book I have in my hand a series of questions and answers in the old Gaelic as follows: —

1. "Who gave the sounds to the letters?"

"The Chief of Thebes(Don Tebi). He studiously applied himself to the Gaelic dialect when he was a chief in the government with Fenius after he had left the school."

2. "Who continued to take care of the school?"

"Gaedhal, son of Ethor, son of Toe (Thoth) son of Barachain of Maratime (grecaibh) Scythia."

3. "Where was Gaedhal born?"

"In Egypt."

4. "In what place?"

"In the plain of Ucca, in the nome or division of Iare-Tairrigh, in the South of Ægypt (*i.e.*, in Thebais).

"In this way was this book begun, first by Fenius and afterwards by Maire, son of Nema continued by Gaedhal, son of Ethor, at the time all the children of Israel came into Egypt."

5. "Who explained the Ogham and why was it so called."

"Ogham was so called from Ogham, who was also named Soim. He explained the Ogham."

Soim is Sem or Shem which signifying the Sun and being also the Scythian and Egyptian name of Hercules, much confusion has arisen from mistaking the philospher for the God and vice versa; for Ogham is their Som with the Egyptian article, O, prefixed. This name was written Oughjom, Oudsom, etc., as the proper name Enephres was written by Eratosthenes Ouenephres, whence the Latins turned it into Venephres.

They tell us Ogham is derived from guam, wisdom, and is also called Soim, otherwise Ceann faela or head of the learned. The two first are Egyptian names of Hercules, the latter the name of the inventor of letters according to the Chinese: It is probable that Ceann, in the expression Ceann Faola, is a variation of the Egyptian Chan or Chun, a name of Hercules, written also Seona by the Gaels of the British isles. To Chan or Shonie they were accustomed to offer the first fruits of their produce.

The Egyptian name Ghjom is written with the letter Genga or

Giangia and is sometimes pronounced hard as our g before a and u; sometimes soft as gh, sometimes as ds, dts, and sometimes as s, whence Jablonsky conjectures Ghjom and Som to be the same word

Our Ogham or Soim is above called Don Thebi, lord or King of Thebes. The 26th King in Eratosthenes' list is called Semphrukrates, *i.e.*, the strong King of Chem or Egypt: Our Nial or Mernra occupies the 26th place and is in some authorities called Seth necht, or the strong Schethir. Eusebius calls him "a very powerful man." Some of these may have been esteemed of great erudition, mighty in books, in the sciences and arts of their day, whence they would have given to them the name of Schem or Thoth? Som in the Hiberno-Scythian and giam in the Tibetan means wisdom, as Giam-jang, the God of Wisdom, the son of God.

Our Ogham is said to have taken to wife a woman named Lam, a name which implies a wicked, foolish woman. Hence, Euripides says Lamia was an infamous name, dreadful to mortals. She is said in the history to have been Sci-an Oghma, the helpmate of Ogham: Secan or Sekenet, assistant, whence the Egyptian Schi and Schimi, a wife.

But this helpmate was named Lam or Lamia, which signifies a horrid monster; hence doubtless arose the Grecian story of Hercules having begotten Scythes, the progenitor of the Scythians, in connection with a monster, half woman, half serpent; a fable which, according to D'Ancarville (Recherch sur l'origine des Arts de la Greece) gained ground wherever the Scythians went from Scythia to Tartary, China and Japan. The passage is, of course, allegorical, the sense being that Ogham or Hercules, the God of eloquence, espoused Suchan, or Kulam, that is, eloquence. "In the Egyptian speech Dsom, Som, or Chom, or Sem, id est, Hercules." Jablonsky, (Panth. Egypt. p. 186–7). The name Pammes, fifth in the list of Eratosthenes, read backward is put into the form Sem-phos. Jackson says that his name by interpretation is Herakleides, or a descendent of Hercules. He is also called Herakleides by Eratosthenes; and the 26th king before mentioned is called both by Eratosthenes and Jackson Hercules Harpokrates. This last form is equivalent to the Irish Aire-fo-creat, the first two parts signifying titles of dignity and honor, and creat signifies knowledge, science, wisdom, also a sieve, and writing, literary characters.

It is singular that in Horapollo the Egyptian symbol of wisdom, science and learning is a group of a sieve, a bull-rush (of which paper was made) and a stylus or pen: Creat, doubtless, had the same signification in Egyptian, but phach-rat in the latter language and pocrat or boc-ract in Irish signifies lame in the foot; and from the double meaning of the Egyptian word Jablonsky observes that Harpocrates is always represented lame. All this would indicate that Egypt was for some ages a home of the Scythians.

Under the 4th of the above questions we find our Gaedhal was born in Ucca, in Upper Egypt, that is, in the Thebaid. It is, doubtless, from this local designation that Uchoreus, the 15th successor of Menes, as according to Diodorus, derived his name. "It appears also," says Vallancy, "that Niul's proper name was Ethor, who was the son of Toe or Taith, who was Fenius or Thath as we have proved," V. 70. In the time of Jeremiah, 600 B. C., Thebais was called Pathros, and had then a portion of Israelites inhabiting it. "The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the Jews which dwell in the land of Egypt, which dwell at Migdol and at Tahpanhes and at Noph and in the country of Pathros." Jer. lxiv. 1. "Pathros, id est, in Thebaidem, quam præcipue afflixerat Nebuchadnezzar." Bochart Phal. p. 276.

Ucca signifies a ship and also a port, and so is a fair representative for Theba, a ship, and Taph, a port, whence Tahapanes. The Thebaid had many ports as well as Piha-Chiroth. The Irish history informs us that their ancestor Niul (one of the meanings of which name is a son) a son of Phenius, erected a school at Piha-Chiroth and during his residence there his wife brought forth a son whose name was called Gaedhal. Sir I. Newton thought the Uchoreus of Diodorus to have been Maeris. But I see not how Newton could have made such a mistake, for that author has Uchoreus to be the immediate predecessor of Ægyptus, after whom he makes Maeris to be 12th in succession. Uchoreus was the father of Ægyptus, that is, of Sesostris the Great, from whom Maeris was perhaps 5th generation in succession, but the 8th successor on the throne. I have, however, some reason to think the Maeris, or "beloved of Ra," who made the Lake of Maeris in the Fayoom, was the son and immediate successor of Sesostris, the No. 21 of my Egyptian list, and that he effected this vast work by means of the labor of prisoners of war. Under question 2 Gaedhal is called "Son of Ethor, Son of Thoth, Son of Barachain." This gives us

to understand that Sethos or Sethir, the grandfather of Gaedhal, was known as a wise man, Toth, which is Phenius=Kneph and gives his great-grandfather as Barachain, *i.e.*, Son of Achan, Chon or Sethos, which last was the name of Sesostris the Great. Barachain here refers to Amenophis, the son of Sesostris. Hence we have the following pairs of names equal to each other: —

Sesostris

Barachain son of	= Amenophis son of
Toth son of	= Sethos, *i.e.*, Phenius, son of
Etheor son of	= Mernra, *i.e.*, Neil, son of
Gaedhal son of	= Gaedhal son of

So far as to the list upward; now we give it downward: —

75. Ughan mor,	*i.e.*,	Eochaidh,	*i.e.*,	Ith,	*i.e.*,	Ughan mor.
74. Cobhthach,	*i.e.*,	Cathan,	*i.e.*,	Lughaidh,	*i.e.*,	Laeghair.
73. Melgi,	*i.e.*,	Ture,	*i.e.*,	Mal,	*i.e.*,	Olild Ani.
72. Ireo Gleo Fathach,	*i.e.*,	Fyre Elmael,	*i.e.*,	Edhamhan,	*i.e.*,	Labhraidh-Loingsech.
71. Connla Cru Chelg,	*i.e.*,	Fyere Anroet,	*i.e.*,	Lughaidh.		
70. Olild Cas Fiacl,	*i.e.*,	Fyere Roet,	*i.e.*,	Mathsin.		
69. Eochaid Foltlethan,	*i.e.*,	Fere Cataroet,	*i.e.*,	Sin.		
68. Aenghus Tuirmac,	*i.e.*,	Aengus Tuirmac,	*i.e.*,	Eosamhan,	*i.e.*,	Aengus Tuirmac.
67. Fiach Fermhara,		etc.,	*i.e.*,	Edhamhan,	*i.e.*,	Euna Aighneach.
66. Olild Eron,		as in	*i.e.*,	Eramhan,	*i.e.*,	Labhradh.
65. Feredhach,		left hand column.	*i.e.*,	Lughaidh,	*i.e.*,	Blathacta.
64. Forga,	*i.e.*,	Fergus,	*i.e.*,	Luchthani,	*i.e.*,	Beothacta.
63. Maen,	*i.e.*,			Nuadhat Argthech,	*i.e.*,	Eosamhan.
62. Arondel,	*i.e.*,			Deargthini,	*i.e.*,	Rioghnan Ruadh.
61. Sen,	*i.e.*,			Deagh Dearg,	*i.e.*,	Finlogha.
60. Deaghaidh,	*i.e.*,	Duach Dalta Deaghaidh,	*i.e.*,	Deagh Teamrach,	*i.e.*,	Fintain.
59. Uar,	*i.e.*,	Eochaidh Garbh,	*i.e.*,	Fer Ulni,	*i.e.*,	Finn.
58. Olild,	*i.e.*,	Muredhach Muchna,	*i.e.*,	Sithbolg,	*i.e.*,	Eochaidh.
57. Eoghan,	*i.e.*,	Mogh Febis,	*i.e.*,	Daire,	*i.e.*,	Trifinevna.
56. Edarscol	*i.e.*,	Loch Mor,	*i.e.*,	Edhbolg,	*i.e.*,	Lughaidh.
55. Conair,	*i.e.*,	Euna Munchaein,	*i.e.*,	Fer Ulni,	*i.e.*,	Crimthan.
54. Dairi,	*i.e.*,	Deargthini,	*i.e.*,	Daire,	*i.e.*,	Feredhach.
53. Carbri,	*i.e.*,	Dearg,	*i.e.*,	Lughaidh,	*i.e.*,	Fiachaidh.
52. Mogh Lamha,	*i.e.*,	Mogh Niadh,	*i.e.*,	Mac Niadh,	*i.e.*,	Tuathal.
51. Conair,	*i.e.*,	Mogh Nuadhat,	*i.e.*,	Conn,	*i.e.*,	Feidhlimidh.
50. Eochaidh,	*i.e.*,	Carbri Righfhada.				
		49. Fiachaidh Cathmhail, son of				
		48. Eochaidh, son of				
		47. Cruthluath, son of				
		46. Fiachaid, son of				
		45. Aengus Feart, son of				

Buchanan of Auchmar — Fictitious List.

	44. Eochaidh Muinreamhair, son of	
	43. Erc, son of	
	42. Fergus mor, son of	
	41. Muiredhach, son of	
	40. Eochaidh, son of	
	39. Baedhan, son of	
	38. Colman, son of	
	37. Sneachthain, son of	
	36. Fergus, son of	
	35. Feredhach, son of	
	34. Ferchard III., son of	
	33. Ain Ceallach, son of	Sealbhach mc.
	32. Muiredhach, son of	Dungal mc.
Kenneth II., *i.e.*,	31. Cathmhail, son of	Gregair mac.
Gareth, *i.e.*,	30. Domnald, son of	
Doire, *i.e.*,	29. Morgund, son of	
Kenneth, *i.e.*,	28. Domnald, son of	
Muredhach, *i.e.*,	27. Ruidhri, son of	
Banquo, *i.e.*,	26. Maelbrighdi, son of	
Fleance, *i.e.*,	25. Malcolm II., son of	Gillacomgain mc.
Walter, *i.e.*,	24. Dunchadh, son of	Lughaidh mc.
Allan, *i.e.*,	23. Malcolm III., son of	Maelsnechthain mac.
Walter, *i.e.*,	22. Alexander I., son of	
Allan, *i.e.*,	21. David I., son of	
Walter, *i.e.*,	20. Henry, son of	
Alexander, *i.e.*,	19. William, son of	
James, *i.e.*,	18. Alexander, II., son of	
Walter, *i.e.*,	17. Alexander III., son of	
Robert II., *i.e.*,	16. Aengus, son of	
	15. John, son of	
	14. Gilchrist, *i. e.*, son of	
	13. Seagh, son of	
	12. Seagh, son of	
	11. Adam, son of	

Etc. See p. 2.

THE SCYTHIANS.

The Irish distinguish two dialects in their language, the *bearla Pheni*, and the *bearla Thebi*. In the first of these dialects the Brehon laws were written: it was the dialect of the learned, as distinguished from the others, and contained many Arabic, Syrian and other foreign terms among its home words. I may remark that Mr. Bryant, in his "Mythology," in classing Sesostris among the mythical personages, cannot have sufficiently considered our Ægyptus, who was at least as real a personage as Mr. Bryant was, and also undeniably the great Sesostris. I will, however, quote him, at some length, in regard to the Scythian races in general, on whose origin and progress he bestowed more extensive and particu-

lar study than he did upon the history of Ægypt, which in its chronological order he must have found to be so exceedingly intricate and difficult to understand as to disgust him with the whole subject and to cause him to leave it with such a misapprehension of it as he may have thought was correct.

Extracts from Bryant's Mythology (vol. IV, p. 83, etc.) upon the ancient Scythians: —

"Scythia," says this erudite author, "is an unlimited, undefined term under which Grecian ignorance sheltered itself; — whatever was unknown northward was called Scythian, whereas it is notorious that this vast tract of country, called ignorantly Scythia, was possessed by people essentially differing from one another. Mithridates had twenty languages spoken within his territories, most of which were ignorantly deemed Scythic. According to Timosthenes there were no less than three hundred, which had each their particular language; yet we speak of the Scythians collectively as of one family and one language and this the Titanian or Celtic. The true Scuthai or Scythians were undoubtedly a very learned and intelligent people; but their origin is not to be looked for in the north of Asia and the desert of Tartary: their history was from another quarter; for how can we suppose one uniform language to have been propagated from a part of the world where there was no such variety? The greater part of *these* nations, commonly styled Scythic, were barbarous to the last degree; there are no monuments or writings remaining nor any upon record, which can afford us the least idea of their being liberal or learned.

"The Huns and Ovares were of these parts, who overran the empire in the fourth century; but their character had nothing in it favorable. Procopious says that they neither had letters nor would hear of them; so that their children had no instruction. In short all the Tartarian nations of old seem to have been remarkably rude; I say of old for there have been in later times remarkable instances to the contrary.

"As we have been for so many ages amused with accounts of Scythia; and several learned moderns, taking advantage of that obscurity in which its history is involved, have spoken of it in a most unwarrantable manner and extended it to an unlimited degree; it may not be unsatisfactory to inquire what the country was and from whence it received its name.

"It is necessary, first of all, to take notice that there were many

regions in different parts of the world so called. There was a province in Egypt* and another in Syria† styled Scythia. There was also a Scythia in Asia Minor, upon the Thermodon above Galatia, where the Amazons were supposed to have resided. The country about Colchis and Iberia; also a great part of Thrace and Mœsia: and all the Tauric Chersonesus were styled Scythic. Lastly there was a country of this name *far in the east* of which little notice has been hitherto taken. It was situated in the great *Indic ocean*, and consisted of a widely extended region called SCYTHIA LYMIRICA.‡

"But the Scythia spoken of by the ancient Greeks, and after them taken notice of by the Romans, consisted of those countries which lay upon the coast of the Euxine; and especially those upon the north and northeastern parts of that sea. In short it was the region of Colchis; and all that country at the foot of Mount Caucasus as well as that upon the palus Mæotis and the Borysthenes, was of old esteemed Scythia.§

"As the Greeks were ignorant of the part of the world which lay beyond, or had a very imperfect knowledge of it, they often comprehended this too under the same denomination. Many, however, did not extend their ideas so far; but looked upon the coast above specified to have been the boundary northward of the habitable world. Hence we read of extremum Tanaim, ultimam Scythiam and Caucasus, *the boundary of the world.* And although upon the return of the Greeks, who followed the fortunes of Cyrus, the younger, some insight might be supposed to have been gained into those parts; yet it amounted to little in the end, as no correspondence was kept up and the navigation of the Bosphorus was seldom attempted. Hence it happened that till the conquests of Lucullus

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* *Σκυθιαχη χωρα*, Ptolemy, L. 4, c. 5, called also Macaria, which signifies a fertile, arable soil.

† Arrian Peripl: It was in the district called Sacaia or the county of the Sacæ—not far from Bethsan or Scythopolis, near Jerusalem. There was another Scythopolis in Libya. Steph. ex Polyhistoire. Scythopolis in Palestine, which is said by some to have been situated eight miles from Jerusalem, the Jews called Beth-shan, which the Christian Fathers translate the house or city of the enemy, claiming that these people were enemies to the Jews. But the circumstances of the case being considered in connection with the obscurity of the subject of their origin from Egypt might suggest to some that those Scythians were the Jews themselves and that their city, Jerusalem, was Beth-shan, meaning the ancient house or city?

‡ Ptol. Geogr. L. 4, p. 121.

§ Acc. to the Scholiast in Pindar they were of the Cuthites, or Scuthai; descended from that body transplanted thither from Egypt by Sesostris.

and Pompeius magnus these countries were, to the northeast, the limits of geographical knowledge; and even of these parts the accounts were very obscure and imperfect. Yet, however, unknown they had lain for ages, there was a time when the natives rendered themselves very respectable. For they carried on an extensive commerce *and were superior in science to all the nations in their neighborhood; and this was long before the dawning of learning in Greece and before the constitution of many principalities into which the Hellenic state was divided.* They went under the names of the COLCHIANS, IBERIANS, CIMMERIANS, HYPERBORIANS, ALANI. They got footing in Paphlagonia upon the Thermodon, where they were called Amazonians and Alaronians; also in Pieria and Sithonia near Mount Hœmus in Thrace. These were properly Scythic nations; but the ancients, as I observed, often included under this name all that lay beyond them; whatever was unknown even from the Cronian and Atlantic sea one way, to Mount Tabis and the Corean sea on the other. The ancient writers of Greece, says Strabo, used to include all the northern nations in general under the name of Scythians and Celto-Scythians.

"In this they went too far; yet the Scythic nations were widely extended and to be met with on very different parts of the globe. As they are represented of the highest antiquity and of great power and as they are said to have subdued mighty kingdoms and to have claimed precedency even of the Egyptians, it is worth while to inquire into the history of this wonderful people and to sift out the truth if possibly it might be attained. Let us then try to investigate the origin of the people denominated Scythians and explain the purport of their names:

The solution of this intricate problem will prove of the highest importance as we shall thereby be able to clear up many dark circumstances in antiquity.

"To me then it appears very manifest that what was termed by the Greeks Σκυθια, Σκυθικα, was originally Cutha, Cuthai, Cuthica and related to the family of Chus. He was called by the Babylonians, and Chaldaeans Cuth and his posterity Cuthites and Cutheans. The countries where they at times settled were uniformly denominated from them; but what was properly styled Cutha, the Greeks expressed with a sigma prefixed; which, however trifling it may appear, has been attended with fatal consequences.

"As the Scythic colonies were widely dispersed I will take them

in their turn and show that they were all of them Cuthic; that the people upon the Indus were of the same origin as those upon the Phases and Thermodon; and that the natives of Boetica in Iberia were related to both. That the Bœotians and Athenians were in a great measure Cuthian I have endeavored already to prove, and what I term Cuthian was by them undoubtedly styled Scythian.

"Epiphanius who has transmitted to us a most curious epitome of the whole Scythic history, gives them this appellation. Those nations, says he, which reach southward from that part of the world, where the two great continents of Europe and Asia incline to each other and are connected were universally styled Scythic, according to an appellation of long standing. They were of that family, who of old erected the great Tower (called Babel) and who built the city of Babylon,* by which we learn that the Scythians were the Cuthites and come from Babylonia.

"They were the Ellenic or Cuthite Shepherds who came into Egypt; many of them settled in Armenia and at Colchus and also upon the Palus Maeotis. Some of the fathers, from terms ill understood, divided the first ages into three or more epochs; and have distinguished them by as many characteristics: Barbarismus, which is supposed to have preceded the Flood: Scuthismus (of which I have been speaking) and Hellenismus or the Grecian period; writing the word '*Ελληνισμος* or Hellenismus with an aspirate so making it relate to their own country.

But how was it possible for an Hellanic era to have existed before the name of Hellas was known or the nation in being?

"Hesychius intimates that the name related to the fountain of day: and in a secondary sense to the fountain of wisdom. The people styled Hellenes are descendants of Hellen, son of Zeuth, and by this title are denoted people of intelligent and enlightened mind.

"From Babylonia the Hellenes came into Egypt; and were the same as the Auritae or Cuthite Shepherds, who so long held the country in subjection. Hence, we read of Hellenic Shepherds and and Hellenic princes who reigned in the infancy of that nation.

"The Cuthite Hellenes who came into Egypt introduced their arts and learning; by which that of Egypt was styled Hellenic and

* Epiphan. Advers Haeres. L. 1. p. 6.

the ancient theology of the country was said to have been described in the Hellenic character and language. This had no relation to the Hellenes of Greece, being as I observed before far prior to that nation.

"The Grecians suppose that by the Hellenic tongue was meant the learning of Greece, and that the Hellenic characters were the letters of their own country. But these writings were in reality sculptors of great antiquity; and the language was the Cuthic, styled by Manethon the sacred language of Egypt." Thus Mr. Bryant.

It seems plain, as intimated by Hesychius, that the Ellenes or Hellenes derived their names from an appellation of the Sun, which is that Phœnician or Hebrew name El, found in Sanchuniatho's history, and in the book of Genesis. The full primitive form of El would be Gaedhal, equivalent to El-Gaedh, the God or the Good. El is the Chal in the word Chaldaea, which sometimes has the form of Baal, Bel or Bael. In our word Ball it conveys the idea of roundness, the world being round. The Hebrew or Phœnician El conveys the idea of firmament, including sun, moon, stars, etc., all, as it were, set in a roof, as anciently conceived. In the old Saxon, Hel is a house, strictly a roof; helan to roof, cover over, which is the idea of (Chal, Ceiling) firmament. The word hell in our language has had a fearful meaning given it in theology; its literal meaning is, however, simply a covered, roofed place. Considering the first part of the original word the Greeks were correct in putting the initial rough breathing before El, which makes it equal to the Chal of the Babylonians or Hebrews. We have the idea of house in our word Cell and of something upraised in our word Gallery. Such is the meaning of the word Chal abbreviated El, and in the word Chaldaea the second part of the compound means the same as the first. The latter is in full the Gaelic daemh or daebh, often found abbreviated dae. It is the root of our word day and the root de of deus, God. It is an old name for the sun, so that the sun is another word for the day. It is also the original of our word dome, which we find in the Latin domus, a house, strictly a roof, and as applied to the celestial dome it takes in the whole firmament, sun, moon and stars, just as Chal, El or Bel.

Now, our word Cuth is properly Gaedh and Chal is, in full, Gaedhal; but the dh or th is sunk on account of its being silent and the g is the original of the c. Moreover, Gaeth is equivalent

to Schaeth or simply Seth, pronounced Scheth or Schah; and this Seth, so far as has been discovered by Rawlinson and others, is concluded to be the most ancient name for God among the Cushites. When, therefore, Hesychius or Bryant states Hellen to have been the son of Zeuth, *i.e.*, Gaeth or Cuth, and the Greeks state him to have been the son of Deucalion, it is seen from the foregoing to be more than probable that they both refer to the same man as being his father, the latter using the full classic form of his name, the former a well known variation of one of its components. Bryant says that Deucalion, Prometheus, Zeuth, (Gr. Zeus) and Xuth (Chuth) were the same person. But those different forms of name for the same person evidently arose in different ways from local differences in the use, or spelling of the name and from spelling of it backward or forward as coming from the hieroglyphs; for instance, the m, b and g being to a degree mutable we have daigh, daebh and daemh for Gaedh and so we have the God Dagon worshiped at Gath (Gaeth) whom Bryant finds to be not only the fish God but the same with Seth, the Sun, and Saidon to be the same as Dagon. Our author also discovers that one branch of the Cuthites were called Peresians from their worship of the Sun under the name of Pares or Perez and that these came to be called and are known as Persians; but it is not probable that they worshiped the sun in any other way than as symbolical or illustrative of the deity. And in the same way, speaking of Ham, he says that "being the Apollo of the east he was worshiped as the Sun and was also called Sham and Shem." "The author of the Chronicon Paschale speaks of Chus as of the line of Shem and Theophilus in his treatise to Autolycus does the same by Mizraim. Others go farther and add Canaan to the number," etc. Mythology, vol. 1, p. 82. I cannot conceive how that Ham or Schem, the son of Noah, or Chus his grandson could have been worshiped in the sun in any other way than as symbolical of the diety. The sun, so glorious an object, was thought to represent the deity; the patriarch Scham, as to his moral and Herculean character, was analogously conceived to be a glorious object and this character symbolized by the Sun was a kind of an intermediary idea in their worship of the diety. They, doubtless, were accustomed to illustrate to their people the good character of the deity by the well known good character of the patriarch Schaem.

Of the various colonies and denominations of the Cuthites, we draw from Bryant again, Vol. V. 3, p. 175, as follows:—

"We may I think be assured that by the term *Scuthai* are to be understood *Cuthai*. They were the descendants of Chus, who seized upon the region of Babylonia and Chaldaea; and constituted the first kingdom upon the earth. They were called by other nations Cuseans, Arabians, Oreitae, Eruthraeans, Aethiopians, but among themselves their general patronymic was Cuth and their country Cutha. They were an ingenious and knowing people, as I have before observed; and at the same time very prolific. A large body invaded Egypt when as yet it was in its infant state, made up of little independent districts, artless and uninformed, without any rule or polity. They seized the whole country and held it for some ages in subjection and from their arrival the history of Egypt will be found to commence, the region between the Tigris and Euphrates, where they originally resided was styled the country of the Chasdim; but by the western nations, Chaldaea. It lay toward the lower part of the Tigris to the west and below the plain of *Shinar*. This country is said to have been also called *Scutha;* and the author of the Chronicon Paschale mentions Scuthae in those parts, who were so called even in his days. But he supposes that the name Scutha was given to the region on account of I know not what Scythians from the North. Josephus expresses it Cutha and speaks of a river Cutha, which is probably the same as the Choaspes."

Hyperboreans.

"The northern Hyperboreans, who were the same as the Cimmerians, were once held in great repute for their knowledge. Anacharsis was of this family, who came into Greece and was much admired for his philosophy. There was an Hyperborean of great fame called Abaris.

"They were people of the same family who settled in Thrace, under the name of Scythae, Sithones, Paeonians, Pierians and Edonians. There must have been something mysterious in the term Hyperborean; it must have had a latent meaning, which related to the *science* and *religion* of the people so called. It did not relate to the north, as Herodotus conjectures, for Pythagoras, who had been in Egypt and Chaldaea, and who afterwards settled at Croton, was by the natives styled the Hyperborean Apollo.

Pindar manifestly makes them the same as the Atlantians and Amazonians of Afric; for he places them near the islands of the Blest; he speaks of them as a divine race."

The composition of the name Hyperborean, viz., Hiber, west, and boreas, north, would point to the people, who were called by that name, as inhabiting a country to the northwest of Greece and Italy. At an early age Scandinavia, Ireland and other parts of Europe were inhabited by Scuthae, more especially the colonies of Iberia and Baetica in Spain, who went under the same name and had the same ancestral history as those we have mentioned before; those colonies were largely descended from the Scythic Egyptian kings of the line of Menes.

Pliny, Mela, Strabo, Tertullian and others mention some horrid practices of the Sacae and Scythians upon the Palus Maeotis and the Tauric Chersonesus, which, with their cruelty, greatly tarnished their character, otherwise to a great degree noble and good. They were, also, in their religious rites, remarkably brutal and cruel.

Of the Sacae.

"We have shown that one of the most considerable colonies that went from Babylonia was that of the Indi or Sindi; they settled between the Indus and the Ganges, and one of their principal regions was Cuthaia or Cathaia. They traded in linen and other commodities and carried on an extensive commerce with the provinces of the South.

"A large body of them passed inland towards the north, under the name of Sacai and Sacaians; who ranged very high and got possession of Sogdiana and the regions about the Jaxartes. From thence they extended themselves eastward, quite to the ocean. They were of Scuthic race and represented as great archers; and their country was called Sacaia* and Cutha. Their chief city was Sacastan, the Sacastana of Isidorus Characenus. Of their inroads westward we have taken notice before; for they sent out large bodies into different parts; and many of the Tartarian nations are descended from them. They got possession of the upper part of China, which they denominated Cathaia; and there is reason to think that Japan was, in some degree, peopled by them. Colonies

* Steph. Byzant.

undoubtedly went into this country both from Sacaia and the Indus.

"The Chinese were the ancient Sinae and Seres, who were so famous for their silk. There is in Pausanius a very curious account of this people and of their manufactures. He then proceeds to give a minute but accurate account of the silk-worm and the manner of its spinning, which I omit: and concludes with telling us that the country from whence this commodity comes is an island named Seria, which lies in a recess of the Erythrean Sea. I have been told by some, says he, that it is not properly the Erythrian Sea but the river Sera, which incloses it and forms an island similar to the Delta in Egypt. In short some insist that it is not at all bounded by the sea. They say also that there is another island called Seria: and those who inhabit this as well as the islands Abasa and Sacaia in the neighborhood are of the Ethiopian race. Others affirm that they are of the Scuthic family with a mixture of the Indic. The history is, in every part, true. Wherever this great family settled they were superior in science; and though they degenerated by degrees and were oftentimes overpowered by a barbarous enemy, which reduced them to a state of obscurity, yet some traces of their original superiority were in most places to be found. Thus the Turdetani, one of those Iberian nations upon the great western ocean, are to the last represented as a most intelligent people. They are well acquainted, says Strabo, with grammar and have many written records of high antiquity. They have also large collections of poetry; and even their laws are described in verse, which they say are of six thousand years' standing. Though their laws and annals may have fallen far short of that date, yet they were undoubtedly very curious and we must necessarily lament the want of curiosity in the Romans, who have not transmitted to us the least sample of these valuable remains. In Tatianus Assyrius and more especially in Clemens of Alexandria we have an account of those persons who were supposed to have blest the world with some invention: and upon examination almost all of them will be found to have been of Cuthite or Scythian original."

"When these colonies came in aftertimes to be degenerated there were still some remains of their original sense and ingenuity here and there to be found. This was to be observed in the people of Baetica, as I have shown from Strabo, and in the character of Cotys, king of Thrace. The like is taken notice of by Curtius in

speaking of the Pontic Scythae. And the poet Chaerilus has given a curious history of the Sacaean Scythae, of whose ancestors he speaks with great honor, when he is describing the expedition of Alexander the Great: —

> Next marched the Sacae, fond of past'ral life,
> Sprung from the Scuthic Nomades, who liv'd
> Amid the plains of Asia, rich in grain.
> They from the Shepherd race derived their source,
> Those Shepherds who in ancient times were deem'd
> The justest of mankind, (apud Strabonem).

Yet we find that the Sacae by some have been represented as cannibals; from whence we may perceive that people of the same family often differ from one another.

Extracts from an inquiry into the origin and progress of the arts and sciences of Greece, by M. D'Ancarville: —

"This author proves from history that a great Scythian empire did exist with the Assyrian, if not before it; that these Scythians extended their conquests to the Nile, and, returning from Egypt, employed fifteen years in conquering Asia, which they laid under tribute, even to the Eastern Ocean and Caspian Sea and Palus Mal-otis; and that they held this conquest and tribute for the space of 1500 years, till Ninus, the Assyrian king, found means to relieve his country from that impost. He then proves from Dionysius Perige, and his contemporaries, Trogus Pompeius and Diodorus that by the Oriental Ocean is meant the Indian Sea. This would seem to refer to the conquest of Asia by Sesostris, the Egyptian king; but it is quite certain that Asia was not at any period subject to Egypt for 1500 years; nor was it subject to any one government for that length of time. But the narrative continues: — Such an army as the Scythians employed in these conquests, laying a country under tribute for more than a thousand leagues, implies, says our author, that the Scythians must have had money and the knowledge of arithmetical figures; and, accordingly, we find Higinus gives the invention of money to the Scythians. "An Indian king in Scythia invented the money which Erichthonius first brought to Athens." It is supposed the word Argentum here has reference to money, proper, for the verb invenire is always used by Pliny to signify the discovery of an art. It can, however, be proved from history that Scythian money was in use before this time and that it was in the reign of Amphyction that Erichthonius

went into Scythia and learned that art. Amphyction was grandson to Deucalion, who was a Scythian, and hence the connection.

"The Scythians having at different times very remote possessed various parts of Asia, their colonies having frequently changed their names, many lost the remembrance of their origin. Masters of all the countries situated between Caucasus and Egypt, they extended to the Eastern ocean, on the borders of which are situated the *Chinese;* and Japan is the greatest island on its coasts.

"Scythopolis in Palestine was also called Scythica Nyssa. There was likewise a Nyssa in Caucasus and one in Arabia on the confines of Egypt: it appears, therefore, the Scythae gave this name of Nyssa (boundary) to those countries where they rested and left the use of money with whatever people they conquered. This may be proved by the tributes they imposed before the reign of Ninus; for those distant nations that could not furnish tribute in kind, were obliged to pay in money; the resemblance of the forms of the ancient coins of the Arabs, Japanese, Chinese and Greeks probably was given them by the Scythians.

"Money was in use in Arabia when the book of Job was written, of which Moses is supposed to have been the translator; for in Job mention is made of a species of money called Kesitah.* The feminine termination of this word in Hebrew, according to Bochart, implies a female lamb; but he clearly shows it was a piece of money, as is proved also from other sources.

"The invention of coin, or the sort of money discovered by king Indus in Scythia must therefore have been prior to the Scythian conquest of Asia and 1500 years before the reign of Ninus, the beginning of which is commonly placed 2110 years before the Christian era; consequently the Scythian money was current in Asia 3610 years before the birth of Christ.

"The date to which this inquiry carries us back of the existence of money precedes the institution of an astronomical period of the Persians by four centuries only; and at the period here mentioned the Persian kings were tributary to the Scythians; that period commences 3209 years before the Christian era (M. Bailly, Hist. de l'Astrom.). Astronomy was almost as early known to the Chinese, who preserve the use of the obolar coin invented by the Scythians to this day.

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* The word for money in the Persian is Keeseh; in the Irish Keesh, Keesta, or Keesda. It is supposed the root is Ceas, ore, or metal, whence Co-Ceas or Caucasus, remarkable for its mines.

"Herodotus tells us that when Scolotis or Scythes was presented with a bow by his father, he also gave him a girdle, with a clasp, ornamented with a vase or phiala of gold.

"This historical fact presented by so many Scythian nations, by people so very remote from each other, as some of them were, confirms the truth of the tradition. It is a demonstration that before the time of Scythes his countrymen were expert in the casting and working of metals and many other arts dependent thereon. History does not furnish another example of this kind at that period. The discoveries lately made by Mons. Pallus of golden ornaments, utensils and symbolical figures in those countries formerly inhabited by the Scythians, corroborates the assertion of Herodotus. With these phiala they made their libations to their Gods. Xerses used one, when he made his libation to the god of the waters, casting it into his bosom at the conclusion of the ceremony.

"The serpent, the representative of the generative Being, was a remarkable symbol of the Scythians. Hence the story of Scythes being begotten by a god in connection with a woman half human, half serpent. This emblem they carried with them into China and Japan; hence those monstrous figures of dragons and serpents we see on the Chinese paintings and on their edifices; hence the Chinese story of Fo-hi or Fo-ki, their first founder, prince and legislator having been half human, half serpent.

"In memory of their common origin all Scythian nations bore the serpent (which, according to Rabbi Moses, is the meaning of the word Yavah), as their ensign armorial. From them Arrian informs us the Romans borrowed it and gave to their Standard bearer the title Draconarius. Of this name we have formed dragoon, signifying a soldier who fights on horseback or on foot after the manner of the Scythians.

"The Sacae or Scythians were a wise and politic people; having conquered Asia they imposed a tribute, so light, that it was rather an acknowledgement of their conquest than an impost. Asia was then a fief depending on Scythia: It was the first state governed by this kind of constitution and here may be discovered the origin of the Feudal system, brought into Europe by the descendants of these very Sacae.

"From these Sacae are descended the Japanese. They still preserve the name in Sakai, one of their principal cities. The towns

Nang-saki, Amanga-Saki, mark the origin of this nation; as do the names of many mountains, rivers, provinces and etc.*

The Sacae were the inventors of arms and military dress. The short sword called Sahs by the Saxons, signified the sword of the Sacae: as with us bayonet and pistolet denote the species of arms invented at Baionne and Pistoia. The Sacae, by some called Sagae, being the inventors of religious emblems and the first that offered horses in sacrifice, gave birth to the words *sacrum*, *sacrificium*, *sacerdos*. Hence the Greek *Σαγη*, whence *Σαγμα*, the shield and the bag to carry it in, hence also *Σαγος*, Sagum, the name of a military dress with many nations; hence Sagitta, a dart, an arrow; hence Scuthae, archers; — Scythes, qui primus arcus, sagitta rumque usum invenisse dicitur. (Pliny).

If as warriors the Sacæ invented arms and military dress, so as Shepherds, at their leisure, they were the authors of music and musical instruments; the *Σαχαδιον* of the Greeks derives its name from them," and doubtless the Sacca-bouche or Sackbut of the Old Spaniards; to which may be added the Clar-Seac, or harp of the ancient Irish. "But these Sacæ, when they left Armenia, seem to have changed the mildness of their ancient manners; they were no longer the upright and just people so celebrated by the poet Choerilus; they now imitated the Treres and Cimmerians, who in the time of Midas, towards the 21st Olympiad ravaged Asia. These people of the same origin with the Sacæ were the Scythae of the branch of Agathyrsus. These Sacae, following their example, descended from Armenia into Cappadocia and seized upon that part of Pontus nearest to the Euxine Sea (Strabo Geog.). Here they armed vessels and became pirates as their neighbors had done before.

"Our author then goes on to prove that the mythologies of the Egyptians, Brahmins, Chinese, Japanese and all other oriental nations had that of the Sacae as their basis."

THE SAXON CHRONICLE AND OTHER AUTHORITIES.

Well acquainted with the Britains after they had subdued them and become acquainted with their history, the Saxons, in their Chronicle assert that the first settlers of Britain came from Armenia; and that they seated themselves in the southwest of the island. The same

* Scheuchrer's Hist. of Japan and Vall. Vindication of Irish Hist.

Chronicle speaks of Ireland as being settled by the Scotti about the same time. It next records the arrival of the South Scythians by Sea also, in long ships, whom the Armenian Scythians would not suffer to land and they then went to the Scotti in Ireland, who also declined receiving them, but advised their settling in North Britain, which they did; and afterwards the Scotti of Ireland intermarried with them, governed them and gave their name to Scotland; which is legendary and not historical.

The Chronicle brings the Bolgae from the continent to the British Isles and says it was this tribe who first gave Julius Cæsar information of those isles, which is so completely puerile as not to be worthy of notice. Julius Cæsar, as well as other intelligent Romans, was doubtless not only versed in the geography but in the internal affairs of those isles from boyhood up.

Lloyd considered it proved by the topographical nomenclature of South Britain that the Irish possessed that country at a time prior to its possession by the people called Britains, whom they call Armenian Scythians. But, independently of all other existing historic monuments the language and mythology of the ancient Irish snfficiently prove them to have descended from those Armenian Scythians who conquered and ruled in Egypt, on the Pontus Euxinus, &c., and in Spain whence they came to the British Isles.

Le langue d'une nation est tonjours la plus reconnnoisable de ses monumens: par elle on apprend ses antiquitez, on decuvre son origine. — (M. Fourmont, Mem. de literat.)

"The language of a people is always the most recognizable of its monuments: by this one apprehends its antiquity, one discovers its origin." Such is the opinion of that great historian and linguist, Fourmont.

Father Georgi, during his residence in Thibet, finding their mythology was Egyptian and that the Thibetans were descended from the Southern Scythae, accounts for it as follows: "Scythae in Sacris Egyptiarum instructi ab exercitu Ramsis, qui jam annos ante Sesostrim circiter centum, Libya, Ethiopia, Medis, Persis, Bactris ac Scythis politus dicitur." "Scythians were instructed in the sacred things of the Egyptians by the army of Rameses, who already about one century prior to Sesostris is said to have acquired possession of Libya, Ethiopia, the Medes, Persians, Bactrians and Scythians," but lest objection should be made to this assertion he

adds: "fuerunt Colchi Scythae, Egyptiorum coloni:" "the Colchians were Scythae, colonists from Egypt." *

A Brief Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Most Ancient Languages.

The Gaelic or Irish being one of the most ancient languages now extant in the world, I will in the following tables give an exhibit of some of its words, placed in juxtaposition with some of the same or of kindred meaning in other very ancient languages, which may, first, serve to indicate some lines of descent of that ancient people; and secondly, to show that the phenomena of the varieties of human speech presents no opposition to such idea of the unity of the human race as is given in the Bible.

"The Pehlvi dialect of the Persians prevailed chiefly around the Caspian Sea and in the more mountainous dependencies of the empire; it continued to the reign of Behram Gur, in the fifth century, when it was prescribed in a formal edict, and soon after ceased to be a living language." (Richardson's Diss.)

"There were three different dialects of the Chaldaic, according to Abulfarage. That of Mesopotamia, *i.e.*, Aram or exterior Syria; that of interior Syria, spoken at Damasc, and all that country between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, called the Palestine dialect; and the third, the Nabathæan, spoken by the mountaineers of Assyria and the province of Irak or Chaldaea; and this was the most ancient, and that Abraham and his ancestors spoke, and in which the books of Zoroaster, named the Zend, Pazend and Avesta have been written with a mixture of the ancient Persian or Pehlvi." (D'Herbelot.)

The following vocabulary of those Eastern languages is largely drawn originally from the collection made by Anquetil: —

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Eden-anm	edoun	eadhon	explanative.
Ede	asin	da, son	if
Eretzeste	jede-man	ed, to handle, mana, a hand.	hand
Erode / Eoroud	nameh / rad / arowad	naemadh / ruadh	famous
Erem	bandeh	Urra, ara, banoir, bandsglabh	servant. slave.
	bun	bun	root, stock.
Ezaede	hozed	Nasadh / Saoidh	great. / Illustrious.

* Alphabetum Tibetanorum, p. 38.

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Ashtesch	ashté	aseth, osath	peace.
Asp	Sosia	asb	horse.
Eghé	Sareh	Eag, a negative particle	bad.
Amerschen	Amargan	marthannach	immortal.
Eneko	peschanih	Sianisi, an aigh	front, face.
Evé	bala	nav-balach, a giant	high, tall.
Eoschtre	lab	liobar	lip
Esdé		Eadan	forehead.
	Cai	Ce, Cai, Cu, Cua	a king, a giant

This word Cai that signifies in the Pehlvi or ancient Persian a great King or giant is used by the Manx, or inhabitants of the isle Mann, as the title of their magistrates, as "the Cays." It is the Arabic Cai, a prince; Chald. Ceh. Hence Caian, Caianides, the second dynasty of Kings of Persia properly speaking; for it is said on good authority that the Pishdadians, or those of the first dynasty, should rather be thought of as Kings of the Babylonians, Assyrians and Medes than Persians, according to the information conveyed to us by the Greeks about them. The Gaelic Cu has for its genitive Con; but the full form of the nominative is Caeth, pronounced Coi or Caw; and the diminutive or genitive form is Cathan, pronounced Cawn.

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Abesta		beaschna	language.
Enghshé	dounia	domhan	the world.
Ehmaé	Zagh	Magh, Seagh, Seaghlan, a King.	great.
Bereeté	dadrounesche	beirt	carries.
Besch	dau	beith, do	two.
Bantoo	Vimar	baun	dead.
Bonem	bonn	bunn	foundation root.
Te	tou	tu, te	thou.
Tedjerem	Zari	Srai	flowing water.
Khroid	Kheroudj	Cruaidh	hard.
Kh-scheio	malhe	malc, shah	King.
Kh-Schtoum	Schaschom	Seisamh	Sixteenth.
Kh-shoueseh	Se Se	Se	Six
Khoré	Khouroun	Coire	a feast.
Deschmehe	dehom	deacma	tenth.
Neaesch	Neasch	naisch	prayer.
Eschné	eschne	easam	to make.
Vetche	gobeschné	gob, the tongue gobach, talking; beaschna, speech	to speak.
Vesa	Vas	fas, moreover,	much.
Vohone	damma	damp, flann	blood.
Vatem	Vad	fath, bad	wind.
Hereté	Sodar	Suadhaire	a chief.
Hekel	pavan-aknin	achd	but.
Jezaé	jez-banom	geis, prayer,	I pray.
Jaré	sanat	errai, spring; sal, a year,	a year.

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Tchethro	tehahar	ceithre, ceathar,	four.
Pero	rouin	roimh, ria,	before, in front.
Pesano	sinéh	siné	the breast.
Ized	Ized	Sidh	good genii.
Afrin	Afrin	Afrin	office of prayer.
Ana	ana	ana	riches, money.
Aban	anigin	abhan, a river,	the Ized of water.
Ani		an, ano,	water.
Aug-jura		eang	a year.
Asp		asb, easb	a chief.
Aspal	a herbed	absdal, easbal a disciple or apostle.	a priestly order. under a mobed.
Herbed		Urbaid	a priest who took care of the holy fire.
Gah	gah	guih	prayer.
Pothre	poser	pinthar	a son.
Nekah	nekah	nuacor, bride or bridegroom	nuptial benediction.
Neré	neeré	near	man.
Descheno	dasché	deas	right hand.
Dehmo	donm	duine	people.
Denghoo	danacha	dana, danach	learned.
Dkeescho	din	deac, din	law.
Drodjem	daroudj	draoidheacht	necromancy.
Reotchen	roschneh	rushin.	light.
Rané	ran	urran	thigh.
Zeté	aszaed	saith, sath	sufficient.
Zesté	jede-man,	Ed, mad, mana.	hand.
Stree	Vakd	Stri-pach, a harlot.	female.
Streoved	Seroud	Sar, music; Sartonna a teacher of music	he sings.
Sperezé	seper	speir	the heavens.
Seoneschte	Soud Khesteh	Seod Kiste	a treasury.
Ghnao	vakdan	gean	woman.
Freeschté	ferest	foras	an index.
Freire	meh	fearr, maih	excellent.
Fschtane	pestan	paisde, a sucking infant.	a teat.
Keic, Ko	kedar	ci, ce,	who, which.
Gueosch / Goschté	gosch	gusham, to hear.	the ear.
Gamé	zemestan	gim-rah	winter.
Medo	as	mead, wine or honey; as, drink, milk.	wine.
Neomehé	nohom	naoieamh	ninth.
Neeman	nim	neamh	part, half.
Vareeté / Vero	vared / varan	farain, rain	it rains.
Ab	pad	ab, dad	father.
An-schoto	mardom	as-scath, muird	man.
Attonnaton	takhtar	tactaire, a mesenger,	to run.
Anatounaton	neham	nim, nihim	to do, to put.
Ahlobor	aschai	coishe	holy.
Agas	agah	uige	knowledge.
Abodj	tchouz	toiche, bud,	membrum.
Amotia	parastar	modh-freastar / fear-freastail.	a servant.
Avres	peigham	abaris, eloquent, seadham, to talk.	speech.
Azdeman	djoulah	diall, a saddle,	a saddle cloth.
Eod-jert	perahen	Eide, chald, adah,	dress.
As-bachshne	asaieschne	beaschna, shiochain,	quiet, ease.
Bita	khaneh	both, can, cai,	a house.

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Bilai	tchah	bile, water,	a wall.
Banoi	banou	bean	a woman.
Bun		bun	race, family.
Papia	djameh	pape-lin	poplin.
Peidan	peigham	seadham	speech.
Toug	doud	doig, toit, teagh,	smoke.
Tabna	kah	taebhan, straw / cath, chaff	straw.
Tin	andjr	tine	a fig.
	gruteman, the angel of death	Grudeman, the great judge of the grave.	
Denn		duine	people.
Djatoun	ized	sidh	a good genius.
Remane	anas	rimmon	a pomegranate.
Rekita	schagard	reachtaire	a disciple.
Tra	tra	tra	season.
Kad banou		cead bunai	chief of families.
Mreté		Marthuidh	mortal.
Ather		Athar	perfume.
Calliane		laineaeh	rejoicing.
Deirim / Deirimher	deirimher	deirim, drim, druim	a temple.
Daimh		damh	an ox.
Fal	fal	fal	divination.
Os		Os, uas	elevated.
Oschan		Oishin	powerful. the good genius.
Ereezem	del	dil	the heart.
	Shenascha	Seanacham	to know.
Thré	sé	tri, tre, si,	three.
Thrianm	sevin	trian, treas	third.
Oue		Ua, O,	male, son.
Zour		Suir, a river,	holy water of the Zoroastrians.

Not only the Ganges but the Indus was by the Airyans, called Suir. "The river Indus," Pliny tells us, "was by the natives called Sandus; it is now called Seen-dhos, but, when swollen with all the rivers of the Penjab, flows majestically down to Talta, under the assumed name of Soar." (Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan.)

Sethar, pronounced Shur, Sehor or Shaur was another name of the Nile.

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Ath-corono		cearanoch	a priest.
Alka	risch	Ulca	a beard.

End of the Zendic vocabulary. The following is a collection of the Pehlvi, Persian and Irish.

PEHLVI	PERSIAN	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Rouin	peseh	roim, sasach	before, in front.
Remeka	madian	maidhin	female.
Zazra	vehi	sar, sar-vai,	excellent.

PEHLVI.	PERSIAN.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Zakar / Zakeo	ner	near, sca, ascath,	male.
Damia	khoun	damh, blood consanguinity.	blood.
Sakina	kared	skian	a knife.
Schat-meta	naodan	scud, naoi	boat, vessel.
Scheg	djo	sheagal	barley.
Kavid	bouz	gabhar, gabhar-bouc,	he goat.
Kosche	paresta	coisiche, giolla-coise	servant boy.
Kopa	palan	al, pal, copal,	a horse.
Kumra	kumra	comora, cumara	a sheepfold.
Goumeh	garmi	gorm	heat.
Lesan	zaban	lisan	tongue.
Malahi	remak	malach	salt.
Matour	meher	mithr	Mithra.
Akon		cean, can, acan;	chief.
Behist	dara behist / dara naemh — the house of felicity	naemh	felicity, heaven Paradise.

The following are a few words of the Brahminical as compared with the Irish in the same manner:

BRAHMINICAL.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Ishwara	Aesfhara	God.
Achar	Aesar	"
Budha / Xaca	Budh / Seacha	"
Kesee	Ciseal	The Devil.
Oosana or Sookra	Uisean or Sochrai	The Fallen Angel.
Diarmitu, al Dherma rajah	Diarmat, Diarmitu	The God of Arms.
Bhabhani	Bhebhin	Venus.
Gopia	Gubha	The Muses.
Callee	Caili	The Murdering Goddess.
Baran	Bhrain	Neptune.
Soma	Som, Some	Presiding over Trees and Plants.
Syon	Suan	Goddess of Sleep.
Guru	Grua	A Spiritual Guide.
Lukee	Lugh	Goddess of all kinds of corn. Her festival is kept in August. The same as Ith, *i.e.*, Sith. Hence proper name Lughaidh = Sith—each or Seach.
Kartik	Creatach	The consecrated.
Sieb	Sab	The Angel of Death.
Arun	Aruthn, pron. Arun	Phœbus.
Surya	Soire	The rising sun preceded by Arun.
Daghdae	Daghdae	Of the burnt chariot.
Myn	Maoin	Cupid.
Crishna	Cris, crishin	Apollo, the Sun.
Birto	Beart	A sacrifice.

In Irish mythology Daghdae sometimes means the Sun at others Apollo. In the Circassian Daga means the Sun. In Irish history he is named Crios and is said to be the brother of Ogmius. Nion means principally a daughter (nighean) but it also means a son and

children, as Nion Crios, the children of Crios or of Daghdae. One of his daughters was Be-righit, goddess of rhetoric; another Belaighas, goddess of physic; another Dian-ceacht, goddess of grammar and letters. The daughter of Ceacht was Etan (Athena) be-cearda, the goddess of arts and manufactures; and others of them were the goddesses of Goba or Gubha, that is, the Muses. According to Ferdousi Zerdusht descended of the family of Daada, but in the Zerdusht Nameh his ancestor is called Daghda. The ancient Irish deity Daghdae was called the wise governor; and also Cearo; in old Persian Cor in modern Khor, the Sun. From Cear the Sun and the Irish Iosta or Ista, a house, is Istakar, *i.e.*, Persepolis. "Ista," says Richardson, "denotes a place, station, or dwelling (from the Persian verb istaden, to stand, remain, dwell); Khur or Khar signifies the Sun; whence Istakhar, the place or temple of the Sun." "I think I have demonstrated that the Persian empire and the foundation of Persepolis ascend to 3209 years before Christ. Djemschid, who built the city, entered it and there established his empire, the *very day* when the Sun passes into the constellation of *Aries*. This day was made to begin the year; and it became the epoch of a period, which includes the knowledge of the solar year of 365 days 6 hours. Here we find astronomy coeval with the origin of the empire." (Bailly to Voltaire, Letter II). This must refer to an old foundation; for the Persepolis proper of the Greeks appears to have been built after the Persian conquest of Babylon.

Because in the following vocabulary of Hindu, Gypsy and Irish words the Gypsy agrees, to a large extent, with the Hindu, it must not on that account be concluded that the Gypsies speak either the Hindu or the Irish language. The Gypsies, however, appear to have arisen from the Indo-Scythians, long separation causing the differentiation which appears in their language as compared with what may be called their mother tongue. But speaking truthfully that called the Gypsy language is more fitly called a jargon; for from several translations I have seen of the Lord's Prayer from the Gypsy as derived from different countries in which those people dwelt, it appears to have no standard, differing so remarkably in the different countries.

Our Gypsy vocabulary here is from that of Cox, as collected in Hungary; that of Bryant and Marsden in England and that of Grellman in Germany. The Hindu vocabulary is mostly from Gilchrist's

Dictionary of the Hindoo language. As to the origin of the Gypsies Grellman mentions that 178 had written on that subject before him all differing in opinion as to it.

A.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Banor	godocavan } papinori }		Ape.
Gudha	millan		Ass.
Howah. bao. puwan	yarrow, beval calo, prabal		Air.
Bhan. hateh	moshee, mossin, mucia		Arm.
Upur. aopur. barh	apra	uabhr, barr	Above.
Jugna, jugana	ionadass		To awake.
Rag, bowus. chahar, bhus	tschar, djiplo	duslach	Ashes.
Pawng. sjuw. seo	pabuj		Apple.
Kiro. tschoutj. cheeoonta	Kirja	kirog, a beetle	An ant.
Potdjna. aeu. aeurbul, joog	buda, purana	aos (age) aoide (youth)	Age.
Kulhari. Kooharee. P. tubur	tower, tober	tuath	Axe, bill.
Kuffa. ahunkaree. ghumundee (haughty)	gojemen	bomanach	Arrogant.

B.

	Cormali	Cora-mala	Bagpipe.
Dala, bough	bui	duile, leaf	
Ruti, roti. khana	mauro, manru, maro, malum	naran, maran, roisteen	Bread.
Lohu, roodhir. lalee, foorkhee	ralt, rat	Ceara, gal, ruadh, rata lal	Blood.
Beer, bhaee, bhrata	pal	brathair	Brother.
Nala	pashoo, pannee	alt, nalt	Brook.
Pectul	porcherie	prais, umha	Brass.
Kaulhe, pootle	Cauliban, Calo, Kela,	Caili	Black.
Neel	Yack	Nial	Blue.
Cheereah, taer	Chericloe, tschirikh, tshirkli	Tir, fairith	Bird.
Piteh, pet	Per	pit	Abdomen.
Bozu	Lavannah	Lionn, leann	Beer.
Pool, doura	Pargee	Droohad	Bridge.
Dumm, Sans	Beval, dako	Daigh, deaith	Breath.
Kuman, Kumtha, doura	Casht	Caman	Bow.
Ketab, bed,	bill, buchos	bed	Book.
Bhur, nouka	bara	baris, naoi	Boat.
Piteh, peet	domoe	drom	Back.
Jou	give, gib, arpa	arbhar	Barley or Corn.
Dah, pinda, gat } Kaeea }	trupo, teschta	Con, truail	Body.
Bhar, biz	birda, paro	beart	Burden.
Janueor, pusoo, mirg	telel	tlas, piasd	Beast.
Soour, burah	bikerish, krohila		A boar.
Tschali, dhari, chilka	borka, tshjlka		Bark.
Darhee, chimbook, ankree	tschor	an grean, angrinn	Beard.
Pich, hware	gew, buhl	ar gul	Behind.
Tchalti, heea, heera, hirda	Kelin	Chiabh	Breast.
Chokra, lounda, baluk	tschabe, tshaivo	luan, balac	Boy.
Mes, tukhta, pat	pal	pal, pal-maire	A board.
Sutlj, sitka, puttee	dori	dora, a cord	A band.
Mukhen	Kil	macan	Butter.
Genden, gundhuk	Kaudini	ruimh	Brimstone.
Ghunta, Chourase	Kambana		A Bell.
Nunga, Khoola	nango	nochdi, calbh	Bare, bald.
Choura, chukla	bulhaila	bulin, a loaf,	Broad.
Panee, jul, water,	janosal, copanee	bane, baine, gil	Bath, water.

C.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
P. Puneer	Kal, Kiral, Kiras	binid	Cheese.
Koorkee, unga	Chokwan, Koro	Cota, guna	Coat.
Nugar, lok	Soroose	ngar	City.
Gou, gae, goroo	grove, gouvine, guruni	gabnach, gach, ga	Cow.
Teleea, puthur, Cala	Shill, jangar, angar	cual, gual	Coal.
Kocla, ungara	vongur	mionn gual	Cinder.
Dood-dan, dood-kush	tophis, con	mucan	Chimney.
Lurka, baluch	tarno, tshorwo, tshabo	lorga, balach	Child.
Kuch-buch		Coicht	Children.
Koolah, chandee	peng, colah		Crown.
t, Hooddee, t, horhee, Shomni	Chumbo		Chin.
Tshasee, Kafu, piala	Corow, bechari	pheala, bochla	Cup.
Tamba	Carcoban	ban	Copper.
Surmana	iasa vallacai	Sallabhnachd	to command.
Khat		Caiteach	A couch.
Khuree-muttee	gereta	Criath	Chalk, Clay.
Kobee, couve	Shash	Cabaiste	Cabbage.
Kheera, Kukree	boharka	Cucumar.	Cucumbar.
Gal, Kupol	tshan	leath-cheann sulba, mouth	Cheek.
	shin	lí, saine, sainre	Colour.
Khansee, Kassee	ghas	Casach	Cough.
Shikar, uher	Shegari. sidah,	Sealg, Siodhan	Chase / Venison.
Buhadoor, mirza	ritteri	rideri, a Knight	Cuirassiers.
Surdar, Omura	jammadar	Emir al amhra	Commander.
Muzzizam, girja, Kulesa	Kangri	Cong, Ceall	Church.
Ishba, Kothee	isba	iosda	Chamber.
Benka, bankdar, tera	baugo	bogha (bow)	Crooked.
Diw, diu, dewus	davies, devus, dewes	dia	Day.
Kosta, Kookur, Sug	Yacal, Shokel	Sag, a bitch; Cealab, a dog	Dog.
Peena, to drink	peola	baine, water ola, drink	to drink
Mua, mala, mot, mordanee	Moloo, mirabau Moola, moulay	mord, muath Caucasus; mard, malat muah,	Death. Dead.
	rattie, rattigin	reaght	Dark. Night.
Dooara, dur	Wooda	doras	Door.
Tallaw, Khaee	tallo	Cuihe	Dike.
Tub-butter	Shetshhlee	tovandei	Dove.
Guddee, nigur, gul	beng	gul, gulin	Dragon. Devil.
Nala	rundo	neal, naul	District.
Minet	Sik	Tacan (undiligent) mianad	Diligence.
Gehera	gor	gair	Deep.
Snkka	Shuk-rohilo	sic	Dry.

E.

Awk, auk, nyn, chukh naka	havoura, aok, yaka, yok po, aran, yakan	nuc, nuc-ceph, roamek	Eye.
Kawn, gosh	Can Kan	gush, gusham (to hear)	Ear.
Kubhee, suda, nit	Sawjaw	nidhe, siodh-aire	ever, forever.
Zemin	phovee, bhu, pube	budh	the Earth.
Ar. Oogab	Sanwee, bishothilo	Seavoc asalion	Eagle.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Bhoun	yœne, cœnue		Eyebrows.
Khana	challow	Kaihim	to eat.
Khutt	Leil	Ceit, dubh-ceit	Epistle.
Summutscha-ghur	Ker, baua	goir, house, guirm inn	House.
Sara, sumocho	zelo	slan, sar, sair	Entire.

F.

Bap, bab, pita	ming, dad dade, dadi	daid	Father.
Teem, lu	pratcheely, flammus	loo, uloo, ulah	Flame.
p, hool, jobun	rogee, rosee	bla	A flower.
Bunsee, bansree	scholl	Ceol, music bunsa, a reed	A flute.
Dur, turs, d, hak	tresh	Eagla, treas, adversity	Fear.
Jungel	vash	fasac	Forest, wood.
Ag	yog, yag, yajo	agh, daigh	Fire.
Paon, pir, pug	peroe, piro	pre	Foot.
Unglee, ungoosht	Valashtee, Kurzhilo Guzdo, gush		Finger.
b, hura, poor	pordo	borr, complete	Full.
Mukhee		muscin	A fly.
Lurahee	Campan	luireach, a coat of mail	To fight.
Punkh, pur	por, for		A feather.
Lamisu	hawlaw	lamhasach, lamh, (hand)	Feeling.
Jhunda	deeklo	deighl, deighl greine Fingal's standard	A flag.
Much, hlee, muchee	matchee, maishu, mulo	meas, maighre	Fish.
Kohassa, Ke, Kol	Kaeddo	Ceo	Fog.
Moiden	akra	acah, maidhneas	Field.
Peeshe	puzham, pushan		A flea.
Batsheru	deruagresch	greah, a horse dear-groah, a filley	Foal.
Ghost	Mas	maise, maiseach	Flesh.
Bukhtee, b, hag	baxt	faghar, bhfhaghar	Fortune.
Khana, ahar	gaben	airear	Food.
Juta	lashilo, wingro	leath-sealbh	False.
Bhura, poora	perdo	pruite, bruite	Full.

G.

Leurkhee, bandee, Kunea	assegne, assoinee tshe, tschaj	lorg, offspring Caihne, virgin Coint woman bean, female	Girl.
Urra	Chatto	ur	Green.
Khoda, dawa	davila, dewa, dewal &c.	duile, dia, covde	God.
Sun	Suhaike, sonnai, Sonnikey	San, Sanarc	Gold, golden.
Burra	bootse, baro	borr	Great.
Dyunt, dano	borwardo	dana, bold, impetuous	Giant.
Gas	Char, wira	gas, sprouting up	Grass.
Hulla, loukee	dudum	Caul	Gourd.
Bokh, bukra	yesckingingri, ketsha	boc	Goat.
Kele, notsch	Kelli-pen, tschilli-man	Clei, Cleas	Game, Sport.
Bhula, bala	latsho	ba, bil	Good.
Ghur	gur, Kir	gur, gurm (an inn)	House.
Pyther, Kaja, puhuree, tougree	Cumbo, cumbee bar, dombo	pri, bri, coic	Hill.
Ser	Sharrous, shoro, cheru	Saor (prince)	Head.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Gorra, ghassi	gree, gre, Kray	greah	Horse.
Sitar	manchouro	Sitern	Harp.
Sivurg, nubh	ravoo, ravoos, shweto tscheross	neamh	Heaven.
Seenga	Shing	Sinn	Horn.
Bal	bullow, bal, pal, boleau	folt, pholt	Hair.
Tuput, ugin	tattoo	teth	Heat.
Shahed, mud	gwju, mescho	meadh	Honey.
Sassa-Kurr	Shoshi	gearr-fhiadh	A Hare.
Dil, mun, Chit	Sie, si	dil, croith	Heart.
Gibah	geb	giobach, full of holes	Hole.
Sheggar	wezheskro	Sealgaire	Huntsman.
Barri	bharahilo	beart (a burden)	Heavy.

I.

Neaik, choudre	bauro	barr	Judge.
Louh	fashta, trasht	luaidh (lead)	Iron.
Deuw, moret	sino, wocklee, idol dew		Iodhal.
Yukh, burf	Yeko, paha	oighre	Ice.
Deep	wesh	dubha, (aquatic)	Island.
Raoo, b, hoom-pal, raja	Crellis	re, righ, fal	King.
Shabee, kili	Clerin, Clidin		Key.
Gunga	shanga	glun	Knee.
Kissa	ona	Kis, (a purse, a bag)	Knapsack.
Tshinta	prinjerdo	ainte	Known.
Likha, burun	liecaw, shiwawa	bar, a learned man	Letters.
Jeeoora, atma, bolta, heea	gava, geeva, life		Life.
Jhooth	ochano	gaoi or gaoith	Lie.
Jhootha Kuhna	gochoben		To lye.
Bagh, singh	varess, baroping, oroshlana		A lion.
Bolee, banee, bat	romana	bearla	Language.
Huffna, hunfee, Khil-Khilana	fallaw, favva		To laugh.
Runchik, ulop, tenee	bauro, tood, dood	tana	Lightning.
Puttee, palo, dul	patrin	duile	Leaf.
Kar, teha, dhoon, kam	butin	duah, curam	Labour.
Aftara, langur, b, hungta	bango	bacach, lang (ankle)	Lame.
Mukset kurna, oobarna bucha, l. teagna	muk	treigim	To leave.
Letna, lugna, purna	deletshedoman	laidhm	To lie down.
Rag, rag rung	Cala, been	Ceol, bin, rinke (dancing)	Music.
Ma, mama, muhtaree	die, dai	mathais	Mother.
Manoosh, manookh	rome, giorgeo, manusch gadze	modh, mogh	Man.
Man's	mass	mann	Meat, food.
Dhud, doodh	boot, but	did, the pap or teat	Much.
Kul, bihan	milo		Mule.
Bhor, turke	feizrile	feascir, trogain	Morning.
Gustur, doul	goswro	geis	Manner.
Chand	moonah, shon, Shemut, marascha	Cann, Easc	Moon.
dudul, Kuchar	talo, panj, poshi	Currach	Morass.
Duldul, chuhla, Keechur	Schik		Mud.
Gorree	graschni	greah	Mare, horse.
Moouh, mookh, anun	Mus, moi	men	Mouth.
Soodh, chet	rikeweh		Memory.
Bohtat, burhao	but, behjr	buidhean	Multitude.
Peyssa	lowe	piosa, lua	Money.
Henben, Kuthoor	tshori, ropen		Miserable.
Beah, bhonree	luno	lanavnas	Marriage.

N.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Nak, nasika	nock, nak		Nose.
Ginte, t, ho, adadah	boot, gin	eod, nead	Number.
Nuk, nukh	nie	ionga	Finger-nail.
Nya, nuween	nevo	nua	New.
Iat, burun, log	baurisoki	luchd	Nation.
Ratah, rat	rattie, rattigin	reaght	Night.
Gerden, gulla	pehenda	gre	Nut.
Ghar, ghench, munka	men	muin, muinke	Neck.

O.

Purana, puratum	Cashtan, puro	Cais-giallach	Old.
Garna, budhee, byl	gurub, gurni	bol, bolan	Ox.
Tel	tedon, corat		Oil.
Dureeaee, Sumoondur	bauro, panee	deire	Ocean.
Ar. boolot	balano, mako		Oak.

P.

Ral	boyocrot	bioth	Pitch.
B, hugut		buidheach	Religious.
Gooroo, beas	rashee	iriseach (religious)	Priest.
Mangna, munana	moughem		To pray.
Tschan, tukra, tuk	jek, otter	toct	A piece.
Gerrah,	gere, wormo	gaireah	Pit.
Prohlo	brohl		A pear.
Miritz	peperi		Pepper.
Urrizi, urdas	mangwa	Oraid	Petition.
Raja	raja	righ, reis	Prince.
Bulee, bulera	Sorio	balach (a giant)	Powerful.
Derkarhuna	pral	drugaire (a slave)	Poor.

R.

Birrsat	briskanoe, breechind	bhfhras, bior	Rain.
Nud, nuddee, gung, P. dureea	doriobh, doriove	deire (sea) ab (water)	River.
Rut	lolo	ruadh	Red.
Puhar.	bar	barr	Rock, hill.
Arsee, angutri, bank	vannustry yangustry, gulderin	bang	Ring.
Ruputna, rumana	prasthem		To run.
Dugur, rahbat, duhur	drom, podrum	rabhad	Road.
Luhna, jnsnaf	pleisserdum	luacht	Reward.
Issekta, manee	Schoker	muintreach	Respectable.
Tuketa	barwello	toiceach	Rich.

S.

Dschib, sagur, Kala, panee, duh	bawro, panee docyave, Sero	baine, water	Sea.
Kam, dumun	cham, Kam, O Kam	Samh	Sun.
J, hool	Coulce	Caile, black	Soot.
Guwena, luhukna	givellan, giuwawa	gavam	To Sing.
Pureea, put	bar, bare		Stone.
Dhoro, Krjs, furoha oona	harrow, bauro, goro chadum,	cearbh	Sword.
Poal, nalee	pul, pas		Straw.
Chhoora, bhoor		bior, tobhair	Spring.
Bhyna, chan	pan, pen	bean (female)	Sister.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Mitha	gudlo	Mitheac	Sweet.
Ruppa	roop, rup		Silver.
Nag, sanp, surp	Sup Sep	nag	Serpent.
Duah	tooph, thu	deatach	Smoke.
Joota, chumaoon	chawan	Cuaran	Shoes.
Jee, Sut	lesco, thee		Soul.
Bheree-hara, palee	baucoringro	pal, aodhair	Shepherd.
Soojh, drisht	dicken	deacam, to see,	Sight.
Soongh	Shocmalee, Sung		Smell.
Savin	Sapuni	Siabhun	Soap.
Neend, vonghaee	Savanow, Sowawa	Suan	Sleep.
Pureh	brija	praiseach	Soup.
Nun, lon	loon, lon	malah	Salt.
Greekhum	tattabeen	teth (heat)	Summer.
Bull	barrow, bala	bull	Sand.
	T.		
Yeh, ee	acavat	é, an é so, é is this he?	This.
Woh, oos, jis	acavo	Eisean	That.
Ngur, poor	burgau	nagar, brugh / *purin pattan*	Town.
Ral	Chinabar		Tar.
Jeebh	Chive, tschib	Gobhan	Tongue.
Gurij, ghuhur	godüe	Cruim, gruim	Thunder.
Lor, ansoo	panee, swa	baine, a drop	Tears.
Sanch, such, sut	techeben		Truth.
Rookh, gach, brich	rook	rus, trees	Tree.
Dant	dennam, dant		Tooth.
Ponch, dum	pori		Tail.
Tschik, Suwad / rooch, chat	Sik		Taste.
Tschik-routee, pal / deru	tschater, chor	dair (house)	Tent, roof.
Tschur, chor, tehug	tschor	taigh, taghad	Thief.
Jheena, putla, Schano	Sano	tana, sheang	Thin.
Lena	lawa	lamham	To take.
	U.		
Gauw, gaon, gram	gave, gál, yegag	graijen, grainse	Village.
Tschekerin, Hunnya	tschek	coinne (a woman)	Virgin.
Serinda, Sarungee	Schetra		Violin.
	W.		
Panee, neer	panee, panj	baine, noir	Water.
Beiar, bae, bad	beval, bear, balwal	bad, ansa	Wind.
Rindee, istree	romee		Woman.
Mud	moul	mead (wine of honey)	Wine.
Bat, buchun, byn / barta	Ohamo, lab, alo	labhra (speech) ol (said) breithr (a word)	Words.
Tutta, tat, gorm	tattoo	teith gorm	Warm.
Seetkal, jarkal, himunt	shillaloe		Winter.
Khirkee, guwachu	Khowe		Window.
Luhur, bhera	bawro, panee, pleme	bear, bear-esc, buaice	Wave.
Dane	bollopen, boliboo	domhan	World.
Kuah, Koha, baolee	hanik	bual (water)	A well.
Ginn, genhoon	yiv		Wheat.
Kencheva, Keet		Caireog	Wax.
Ojr, oon, roan	puzhum	roin (hair of animals)	Wool.
Para	Sentinella	Phaire	Watching.
Kassi, Khusum, walee	gadsi	Caise (love)	Wife.

The Egyptian language may be regarded as very ancient and as grown up from such a monosyllabic base in Asia as we see now presented in the Chinese. It is mainly preserved in the Coptic. The following Egyptian words are taken from the Nomenclatura Ægypto-Arabica of Kircher and from Dr. Woide's Coptic Lexicon. Agreeing to such an extent with the list of Irish words given it may be regarded as pointing to a connection of the ancestors of the ancient Irish with Egypt under the historic designation of Scythic or Shepherd Kings: —

EGYPTIAN.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Ath	ath	negative particles.
Aiai	ai	increase.
Al	ail	a stone.
Amoi	mai liom	would that.
Amre	amir, Arabic Emir	A prince.
Amre	amra	A pounder, brayer.
An	an	neg. particle.
Ani	an	beauty.
Anoni	ana	luxury.
Aoun	onn	A troublesome thing.
Aono	urra	A pawn, pledge.
Aouon	Uinneog, a window,	To open.
Areh	aire	A servant.
Areghj	earrach	A terminus.
Aghjan	gan	without.
Arika	aireac	A lament.
Aso As ebol	eas boloid	To indulge; indulgence.
Ad	ead	Negative prefix.
Bol, solutio Bol ebol, mitijare	easboloid, absolutio	
Ban	bann	Ugly, foul.
Bots, war	buathas, victory.	
Ouoi	aoi	person.
Adooui	ar doi	morning.
Ash, to crucify	aish, to punish	
Ashai	eis	multitude.
Ashi	ais	to hang, ponder.
Baki, city,	bocan, house boctain, edifice.	
Bari	baris	a skiff, little ship,
Bashi, cow	bois-ceil, a wood cow.	
Besnid of brass,	bes, brass money.	
Bel, water, Bel-ebol, to become liquid	bial	
Besh	buas	naked.
Bir	barr, bearra, beart,	a basket.
Bighji	bach, long-back	shipwreck.
Bok	beac, buacal	serving.
Boki	beac-arna	a maid servant.
Gallon, a bat,	gallun, a sparrow.	
Ebol	ar abo	So apart.
Eioul	ail	A stag.
Emi	eamh, eamhainsi	Science, knowledge.
Mok, mek, study	eamanmaca, school, college,	
Dod	dod	hand.
Erous, a response,	ar	he responds.

EGYPTIAN.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Dom, to adhere	dom-lac, coagulated milk.	
Erfei, temple	aifrion, a sacrifice.	
Erto, a cubit	ortog, the little cubit.	
Ershon	earasaid	A garment, vest.
Esie, elated, proud,	eas, easlabra	Proud words.
Eimine, mine, sign,	mionn, sign letter.	
Ermeine, to sign,	tioma, a testament.	
Timeini, to expose to view,	tiomana, to trade.	
Eida	iod	The Passover.
Ephleou	feilios	vanity.
Enouoi, a course	naoi, a ship.	
Esho,	Uas, Os	above.
Tiehrei	tria	noble, protector.
Eghjeou, a ship	uighe, uigh-inge,	a fleet.
Thaibes, victory	taibh, taibh real,	Laurel of victory.
Thal	tul	a hill.
Theiel, thou killest	teal-mac	a particle.
Thas	tais	similitude.
Thoud, to bring a crowd together,	tuidme, crowd,	conspiracy.
Thou	tua, doi,	wind, north wind.
Thoud, to congregate,	teide, a congregation.	
Thod, wine mixed with water,	toide, Eng. toddy,	also a joint farm.
Thos, end, terminus	tus, beginning.	
Thems, to bury,	teim, death.	
Iten	ith	land.
Ibi, to be thirsty,	ibh, a drink.	
Ioh, ioch,	eag	the moon.
Iot, of barley	ith, wheat.	
Püch	pocan	daemon.
KADMIS, the Egyptian mulbery whence	Cadmus	the inventor of letters.
Kaldas, sanctity,	ceildei,	consecrated.
Kame	Cama	black.
Kelghje	Kealg	an angel.
Kadhed	Keadfaoi	prudence.
Kas	keas	to break.
Kat, intellectual,	keacht	intelligence.
Kel kil	keol, keolin	a ringing instrument.
Loghi	leig	to cease.
Ma	mai, mai dhuin	give to us.
Met	mith	negative.
Muniak-espe	muinke	chain or collar.
Mokh	muc	affliction.
Nebi, to swim } Neph, a sailor }	naoibhe, a ship	
Neb, lord	naobh, holy	
Ntoms, thou baptizest	tomam, to baptize.	
Pi-mounhou, the region,	mumham, a region.	
Las, pilas,	lis	tongue.
Chukon	caichne, caine	nature.
Ooch	eag	the moon, queen of the sea.
Ke	keo	also.
Lemne, a maritime port	Luimneach, the port of Limerick.	
Tomi	tuam	a village.
Rouchi, night, evening,	reagh, night.	
Sobi, esobi, holy,	Eascob, a bishop. Sob-sgeul, sacred history	
Niphoui,	neamh,	heaven.
Niat, intelligence,	nath, science.	
Os	Os	much.
Oeish	aos	time.

EGYPTIAN.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Nout, God	nodh, supreme, most noble.	
Oued a priest Esoueb a "	Eascob, a bishop.	
Ouro, King	aire, prince, Arab, har.	
Ouoine	aine	a lute or guitar.
Outouet	uatat, uathath	greenness.
Ohi, a flock, herd	Avi, flock, aoire, pastor.	
Rako, to ascribe	racam, to write.	
Ran,	roinim	to please.
Rad, t' rad	troid	a foot.
Reim	reim oilerac	indigena, incola.
Remnakat	reimnacht	endowed with intellect.
Res, south	reis,	north.
Re, sun	re, moon.	
Red, rod, to arise,	rad, horizon.	
Re, to make	re, madé.	
Red,	reit, idea, species.	
Ribe, a skiff	rab, an oar.	
Rokh, conflagration,	rog, pyre.	
Sabe, wise, sbo, doctrine	soib.	
Sai,	sai	fulness.
Sad, to project,	saidoir, a projector of arrows.	
Sack, a scribe,	sach, to write.	
Schai, a letter,	sce, a little book.	
Se	se	the third person.
Seini, a physician	Seanam, to medicate.	
Dako, to perish,	deag, death.	
Damo, to show,	Oide, damoide, preceptor.	
Seth, powerful, strong,	Saoth, a generous man, Sethir, Sethreach, strong man; Sithbé a a leader.	
Deu	dea	wind.
Phachairi	pocaire,	poisonous.
Phette	feite	celestial arch.
Phro, winter	fuat	frigio.
Pheriou, splendid	torai na grian, the sun rising.	
Pholph	bual	to speak.
Phoir	foir	sleep.
Phorgh	fairke	division.
Phodh	foda	sculpture.
Op	upta	chance, lot.
Shai, the nose	sai-run, the nose, run, the face.	
Shad, to cut,	sadoir, to measure.	
She	sae, wood, saor, a carpenter, fabricator of wood,	
Sheebol	shuibhal, to go out.	
Sheri, a son, or daughter,	shar, a son, seaf-each, son of a horse, horseman.	
Shligh	sleigh	the colter of a plough.
Shiai, extension	si, whence sinim,	to cause extension.
Shit	soeith	vomi
Shala	salach	sad.
shiol	siol	family, nation.
Shne	sen	a net.
Shok, to dig,	sok, a colter.	

EGYPTIAN.	IRISH.	ENGLISH
Shot, hard	sead, adamant.	
Shom, heat	Samh, the sun, samhra,	heat.
Eh an shom, beginning of spring	samh fuinn, the end of autumn.	summer,
Phikohi, a eaver's cylinder,	Sigheach, whence Sighim to weave, Sighedoir, a a weaver.	
Phos	fos	to be much.
Phota, anus, podes,	putog, rectum.	
Chello	cailleach	old.
Chellod	calladh	a valley.
Ched-ched, to investigate / to scutinize	cead, a judge.	
Cheibi, covering, roof,	caban, house.	
Chok, to militate,	battle, war.	
Chem chem, consultation,	seim-loir	a counsellor.
Hel, halai, to fly,	eol-air, a hawk, Ealan, a swan.	
Sihap, to judge	seibti, a judge.	
Chesh	ceasam	to torment.
Hli	eile	anyone.
Hop, chop, nuptials,	coib, dowery.	
Hra, chra	cru	appearance.
Hob	obar	work.
Hot, to navigate	cot	a barge, ship.
Hot	cait-se	it behoves.
Ghal, to deposit with anyone,	geall, a pledge.	
Gho, to announce,	goch-aire,	master of ceremonies.
Ghaph	gamh-ra	winter.
Ghin, action	ghnim, to act.	
Ghinnan,	gni	appearance.
Ghoi	Uige	a ship.
Ghiphe	gabh	to possess.
Ghro	cro	victory, spoil.
Flak, supplication,	fleacht,	adoration.
Gratia, religion,	garait,	holy.

The Egyptian and Arabic Nomenclator, whence many of those words are derived, was found by Petrus a Valle, in the year 1615, near Cairo, in the hands of some peasants, who did not know its value. Peter transmitted it to Rome where Kircher found it and published it with a Latin translation annexed. By Peter's account it contains many old Egyptian words, sacred and profane, now grown obsolete to the Egyptians themselves; but he could form no idea of when it was compiled. It is certainly an interesting and valuable document and is often referred to by Dr. Woide in his Coptic Dictionary. In itself or in the works in which it is embodied it doubtless greatly assisted Champollion in making out his hieroglyphical Dictionary, &c., the latter being really the foundation for what we have in the way of Egyptian lexicography in Bunsen's works.

CIRCASS	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Yada	daid	father.
Yana	nain	mother.
T, ha	Ti-mor	God.
Yeelay	eile	people.
Mak	mac	voice.
Chassa	ceas	love.
Digga, Dweega, Ddaga,	Dagh-dae	sun.
Maza, Mazay	mios, month	moon.
Gjee	gaeth, pron. Gwee	wind.
Jeem-akva	gamhra	winter.
Khaoo	Go	Sea.
Ashka	eiskir	hill.
Koos	cuih	valleys.
Ritter	ridire, reataire	a knight.

In the country of the Caucasus, in that space between the Black and the Caspian Seas, there are said to be a great number of dialects, according to some there are in Dioscurias alone about three hundred, all, however, dialects of the same language. We find very little about this country in the Roman authors, excepting what they learned from Pompey's officers, who entered it from Armenia, fought the Albanians and Iberians and then advanced in pursuit of Mithridates as far as the mouth of the Phasis, where they met Servilius with the Roman fleet. In the reign of the empress Catherine of Russia Prof. Guldenstaedt was sent to Mount Caucasus with orders to traverse these wild regions in various directions; to trace the rivers to the sources; to take astronomical observations; to examine into the natural history of the country; and to collect vocabularies of all the dialects he might meet with so as to form a general classification of all the nations comprehended between the Euxine and the Caspian Seas. The result of his researches shows that there are in this district of country at least seven distinct nations; each speaking as he says, a different language. These are: —

1. The Tartars.
2. " Abchas.
3. " Circassians.
4. " Ossi or Osseti.
5. " Kisti.
6. " Leguis.
7. " Georgians.

Not only in the languages but the history of these peoples there are many correspondences found with the ancient Irish which it is not necessary to specify here.

The Osseti are called Cusha by the Circassians; their language has some analogy with the Persian; that of one tribe seems to be a dialect of that language. One of the districts is called Archoti. Their history is little known, as likewise that of the Kisti, whose dialects are said to have but little analogy with any known language. The country of the Lesguis is called by the Georgians indifferently Lesguistan and Daghestan. Guldenstaedt has remarked in their language eight different dialects and has classed their tribes in conformity to this observation.

OSSI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Tsaoo	Tuiseach, originator, creator	God
Feeday	Athair, Arm	Father.
Arv	Earc	Heaven.
Mad, Emmad-Madai	Maidh, Maidhean, Virgin.	Mother.
Moee, Emmaee	Mogh, a man, husband	Husband.
Oos, Koos, Gos	Gushen, to hear; Eist, to hear.	Ear.
Ooney	Aim, eye,	Sight.
Kalas	Cal,	Voice.
Nom	Ainm	Name.
Ekkar, keery	Eigh, gar	Cry.
Mard	Marbh, Mort	Death.
Khoor, kor	Cearo	Sun.
Meyee, Ma-yeh	Mi, month	Moon.
Bahad	Bad	Wind.
Wahran	Fhearain	Rain.
Eehk	Oichreog, frost; Oichar, show.	Ice, Hail.
Bon	Ban, sun	Day.
Az, Ans	Aes, Aos, an Aze An, Eang, a year.	Year.
Foord	Fearg, sea, bay,	Sea.
Keer	Crin	Clay.
Khokh	Coic	Mountain.
Buyl	Bull	Bull.
Art,	Art, God; Arc, sun	Fire.
Tsah-kar	Teas	Heat.
Ooleyaoo, Arzond	All, Ard	Height.
Door	Dorn, a sling-stone	Stone.
Khas	Cusa, sacred grass,	Grass.
Ballas	Bile	Tree.

KISTI.	ENGLISH.	IRISH.
Dyaly, Dyala	God	Duille, Duilleamh, Duilleamhain.
Da	Father	Daid, dad.
Naana, nana	Mother	Naln, Naing.
Ya	Son	Ua.
Syee	Wife	Seite.
Naakh	People	Neach, any one.
Korto, Kartay	Head	Gart.
Koodj	Hair	Ceas.
Gwaala	Elbow	Gual, shoulder.
Kog, kok	Foot	Cos.
Gooala	Knee	Glun.

KISTI.	ENGLISH.	IRISH.
Tehk	Bone	Tec.
Garee	Cry	Gar.
Oon	Pain	Hone, grief.
Neets	Force	Neart.
Malyk	Sun	Molc.
Bute, Boosh	Moon	The father of Budha was regent of the moon. Sir Wm. Jones.
Syed	Star	Sidh, Siderial Genius.
Fooo	Wind	Fo, Fa.
Deh, Den	Day	Dia.
Soorey, Oorioo	Morning	Soir, Oir, Aurora.
Boossoo, Buyta	Night	Be.
Seyeery	Evening	Siar, West, setting sun.
Lettech, Latta	Earth	T, lacht; Arab, Latat.
Foort	Sea	Fearg.
Ker	Clay	Cria.
Beerd	Moutain	Braid, Braid-Albain.
Taoo	Heat	Te.
Latteh	Breadth	Leithead.
Toolah, kera	Stone	Doileog, Carraig, car.

Georgia comprehends the ancient Iberia, Colchis, and perhaps a part of Albania; as the province of Caket, in the old Georgian language, is said to have been named Albon.* They have received their present name from their attachment to St. George, the tutelary saint of these countries.

"The whole country is so extremely beautiful that some fanciful travelers have imagined they had there found the situation of the garden of Eden. The hills are covered with forests of oak, ash, beech, chestnuts, walnuts and elms, encircled with vines, growing perfectly wild, but producing vast quantities of grapes. From these is annually made as much wine as is necessary for the yearly consumption; the remainder are left to rot on the vines. Cotton grows spontaneously as well as the finest European fruit trees. Rice, wheat, millet, hemp and flax are raised on the plains almost without culture. The valleys afford the finest pasturage in the world; the rivers are full of fish, the mountains abound in minerals and the climate is delicious."

"There are in Georgia considerable numbers of Jews, called in the language of the country Uria. Some have villages of their own and others are mixed with the Georgian, Armenian and Tahtar inhabitants, but never with the Osseti. They subsist principally by agriculture and raising of cattle, very few of them being employed in trade. Their language is divided into three dialects, the Car-

* The most eastern province is Caket. Iberia or Hibernia and Albania signify western and eastern respectively. The Gaels of Erin and of North Britain trace their ancestry back to those parts. Many examples of local names corresponding to the ancient Irish might be adduced from those regions.

duel, the Imretian and the Suaneti, which appear as extraordinary as those of the Lesguis:—

VOCABULARY.

	CARDUEL.	IMRETIAN.	SUANETI.	IRISH.
God	Gmerty	Horomti	Gherbet.	
Heaven	Tsah	Tsah	Tsah	Tsaoo in Ossi.
Father	Mamma	Mooma	Moo	Mo, a man.
Mother	Dedda	Deeda	Dee	Did, a teat. Heb. Dad, Mamma.
Son	Shylly	Skooa	Yezzag	Siol, race, son.
Daught	Kaly	Ozoory	Zoonah	Caile, girl.
Girl	Kally	Ozoory	Soorag	Cailin
Sun	Myeh	Bja	Meej	Bagh.
Moon	Mtwary	Toota	Mij	Mi, mios, month.

On what is determined to be a very improper choice of words, made by Guldenstaedt from the fourteen dialects of the Caucasus, there are forty-three similar in letter and sense to the old Irish. The sun, for example, in the Circassian is Ddaga, in the old Gaelic Daghdae, corresponding to the Dughda-rath of the burnt chariot, or the Phœbus of the Brahmins. In the Ossi it is named Khoor, in Old Gaelic Kearo, which latter is exchangeable with Daghdae, and is the same with the Arabic and Persian Khoor, Khur, or Khawar. In the Antshong dialect of the Lesguis the sun is named Bauk, in old Gaelic Bagh, which is an old Persian word, as we learn from Moses Choronensis, as follows: "When the Persians conquered Armenia the mountain on which they lighted the perpetual fire was called Baghaven, from Bagh, fire, the sun and Aven a mountain." (Hist. Armenia I. I. c. 74.) Aven is the old Gaelic Amhan, a river, which we see here signifies a mountain. The word Amun in the Egyptian and Hebrew has for one of its meanings a pillar; but it is evident that in ancient times it was a name for the river Nile, and of a high place or mountain as well as of the God worshiped on that high place, namely the sun. So the word Nile was not only a name for the river but for the sun, for which another equivalent, well known form was Sechar, the Hebrew Seir or Hor, a name applied to a mountain, a high, or rough place, to a temple, and to the sun. It is the same with the Gaelic, Siar, and Kearo, and with the Arabic and Persian Khur, Khawar, as above. And so an Egyptian name for the Nile, Ameiri (Am-iara), is a precise equivalent to the Gaelic and Hindu Nial, as meaning blue.

As to the origin of the people called Hunns I may say that the

component Hind in Hindu is evidently the same with the name Hunn. That the Hunns were of Indo-Scythic origin appears plainly in a passage of Mr. Wilkin's Asiatic Researches (vol. I, p. 136), where it speaks of that people as having possessed "the Seagirt throne," pointing to Scythia-Lymirica or Maratime Scythia. Hindu=Sindu=Cindu=Cunn=Hunn=in full Gaelic Cathan-dhaebh pronounced Con-yu, Conn or, with the S prefixed, Schan-dhu = Scandin in Scandinavia. There must in an early age have been a great emigration of those people northwards from Hindostan. These are the people who as well as their distant kindred, the Goths, so effectually assisted to the downfall of the Roman empire.

Farther as to Robert Bruce and the Rise of the House of Steward; the Shaws, &c.

The house of Steward, as said before, was a continuation of the line of regular, hereditary Gaelic Kings. In the interval between Alexander III. and James I., or for two generations, Scotland was much disturbed by invasions led by the Norman Kings of England. For a period during this interval William Wallace, who, perhaps, sprang from the royal stock, strove very effectually for the freedom of his country. The history of Scotland, therefore, for these two generations, exhibits a very unsettled state of affairs and has been written by Fordun, Barbour, de Wyntoun and others rather in the style of the historical romance than in that of history proper. The picture given of Robert Bruce is much like that given in the Scriptures of King David and by some historians he has been compared to Judas Maccabeus and Joshua. In this historical romance John Baliol and Robert Bruce are two names or characters that stand antithetical to each other in the national drama; and so, in the continuation of that drama for the time under consideration, Edward Baliol and David Bruce stand antithetically to each other. Two real and bona fide men, however, discoverable back of all this scene went by the modest Gaelic names of Aengus and Eachan.

The critic perceives that at James I, the regular history may be said to commence, although the records of his reign and those of the reigns after him, even down to that of James VI, are much intermixed with the romantic. John de Fordun, frequently before mentioned, was the author of this continued historical romance down

to the death of James I: and this romantic style was practiced by Bowar, his continuator, by the author of the Auchinleck Chronicle and by many other historical writers, English as well as Scotch, to a greater or less degree. Buchanan appears to have adopted all those romantic tales as if real history without using that discrimination which is the duty of the historian to exercise. And how comes it to pass even at the present day that the size of the book is too often considered rather than the facts it contains, although in the case of some books one or a *few* simple facts being known overthrows all the theories and leaves no use for the volume. Even at the present day the man who cleverly concocts and arranges his plot and thereon builds up a large volume of historical romance, having the appearance of real history, is by the populace who never criticise, and even by many of our so called critics pronounced the man of "ability," the "author," though he be in reality only the author of fiction or of a false representation of history. A scene in the history for example represents Bruce as slaying "the red John Comyn" and as being seconded or assisted in that act by a chief named Kirkpatrick. But the chronology did not allow any of the septs of the Kirkpatricks afterwards to discover which chief of that name it could have been who did that fatal deed, and the real state of the case being known shows that in this presentation there may be more allegory than history.

But the fair historical romance has, of course, the merit of being set forth in such a way as to leave no doubt in the mind of the honest critic that it is largely of a fictitious character; that is, the style and statement enables the critic to clearly perceive that the author intends to indicate, however obscurely, that although his literary production is founded on facts, namely, the facts of the history proper, it yet is, as to its great bulk, of a fictitious character. In the case, for example, of Robert Bruce, who is said to have been grandson of a Robert Bruce, who was a competitor for the crown in 1286 A. D., after the death of Alexander III, and is yet said to have died in 1329 at the age of 55 years one easily perceives that the statement of three generations in that period is improbable, although two might seem fairly implied. Secondly, in his expedition to the Western Isles in 1315 Bruce is represented as accompanied by his son-in-law, the Steward of Scotland. This, if of literal intrepretation, would imply the existence of four successive generations in 29 years, viz, "Bruce, the competitor" in 1286;

Bruce, "the hero," his grandson, and the daughter of the latter represented here as a wife in 1315. Nay, more, there are five generations implied for the time, for in this same year, 1315–16, this wife, the daughter of Robert Bruce, is represented as having given birth to a son and as having herself died almost immediately after having been delivered.* Here then we have five scccessive generations represented in the space of thirty years after the death of Alexander III, (1285–1316), at which age (thirty years) some of our young men are yet mere boys.

Moreover, David Bruce, the son and successor of Robert, the historians represent as having been married at the age of 5 years, his bride, Joanna of England, being in her 7th; and this marriage takes place in 1329, the year in which Robert Bruce dies. The youthful couple then go to France and abide there till 1342, when they return to Scotland. During this period there is, of course, represented an interregnum. Speaking of the return of David and his wife from France, Tytler says: "The period immediately following the arrival of David in his dominions, till we reach the battle of Durham (1342–46) is undistinguished by any event of importance." This means, in my understanding, that the father of the man David was yet alive and in place. The battle of Durham, which was a real battle, and not a battle merely on paper, as that, for example, so-called, of Dupplin, of Halidon Hill, or of the "Clans of Scotland," was fought in 1346 A. D., which clearly appears to have been the first year of the second successor of Alexander III as king of Scotland. King Eoghan (here called David II, and elsewhere Robert III), the grandson and second successor of Alexander III, now came into his father's position and appears immediately to have prepared for war with Edward III, of England. And to show how the true chronology and succession fit each other here I quote from the "History of Mackintosh and Clan Chathan," p. 78, as follows: "After a long chiefship, marked by important events in the history of the clan and the country at large, Angus died in 1345, in the 77th year of his age." It then enumerates seven sons of Angus as follows: William (first, of course, because through him descends the house of Mackintosh, of which the historian particularly treated; but he was evidently a younger son of Angus); John (Eoghan); Angus Og (junior); Mal-

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Tytler Hist. of Scot. 1. 304–6; Fordun a Goodal, Bk. XII. c. 25; Hailes II. 81.

colm and Ferchard, both killed at the battle of Durham in 1346; Duncan and Shaw; besides two daughters. Now, this Angus, whom the History of Mackintosh represents as the sixth chief of that clan, was, as a matter of fact, a son of Ferchard, whom the historians enter as Alexander III. But although he were the legal king of Scotland, according to the ancient constitution of that country, we can hardly say he was a *de facto* king, for the history gives us to understand that in his youth he was kept out of his properties and rights by the Comyns (people of his own ancestral stock evidently, the men in power, as the name in Gaelic imports). And in 1296 A. D., we know, Edward I, of England, overthrew the old government and compelled the thanes and chief men of the kingdom to swear fealty to himself as the superior king of Scotland. In this condition of a sub-kingdom Scotland remained until well on in the life of Eoghan; *i. e.*, David II; *i.e.*, Robert III, or say till about 1357, altogether for about 60 years. This is true in general, — the story of the Scottish success at Bannockburn and others such, which appear to relieve the dark shades of the picture, and doubtless did, to some extent, relieve the country from oppression,— to the contrary notwithstanding.

From this period the historians, whether through policy or otherwise, have given the Saxon appellation of Steward to the kings of Scotland, and this appellation has become the surname of some families descended from Eoghan, *i.e.*, Robert III and from his brothers, the sons of Walter, the Stewards so called, but really of Ængus, son of Ferchard.

But, on the other hand, it is equally true that Scotland did not continue long in such a completely subject state to the English Normans as did Wales and Ireland. The Scotts appear to have endeavored to oust those oppressors whenever opportunity offered.

The history of McIntosh represents Angus as having married the heiress of Clan Conn (Gaelic Chathan) in 1291 A. D., when he was 23 years of age, and as having resided in Tor Castle, in Lochaber, from that time till 1308, consequent upon "the Comyns" having seized upon his lands and several of his hereditary residences, among others mentioned, the castle of Inverness. He then removes with his wife to the Castle of Loch an Eilan in Rothiemurchus, and his removal across the island to this place the history connects with the expedition of Bruce against "the Comyns." Its words in this connection are: "The power of the Comyns increasing, Aengus

saw himself unable to oppose them, and remained in Lochaber till 1308, when King Robert Bruce surprised and overthrew the garrison of Inverness." Such is the way the information is conveyed; but it is plain, first, that Aengus himself is the Robert Bruce who "overthrew the garrison of Inverness;" and secondly, that he is a Comyn; for the castle of Rothiemnrchus, to which he now moved, was one of the well known residences of the Comyns, *i.e.* of the ruling family, until a comparatively recent date; and Aengus himself was the ancestor of all the kings of Scotland who came after him. The castle of Rothiemurchus, to which Angus now removed, was, in that age, one of the principal royal residences, which would indicate Angus to have been now, to some extent, recognized as king. We learn from the History of Mackintosh, that it was a residence of the father and grand-father of Angus and of the descendants of Ængus in the Seventh degree. Under the head of Ferquhard, its 5th chief, it says: "Before he beeame chief, he lived in Rothiemurchus." After he became king, he, of course, would remove his residence to the castle or palace of Sterling, which was, in that age, the seat of the executive of the kingdom. In Rothiemurchus, the history represents Ferquhard as beset on all sides by the Comyns, much as we find King David to have been by the Philistines. But the Origines, properly inquired into, show the Caphtorim to have given that celebrated line of Kings to Judah, of whom David (Duff) was chief; and, in a similar way, that the "Comyns" were the royal stock of Scotland, of which country this Ferquhard was a king, under the title of Alexander III.

Here, then, we find Angus and his father residing in the castle of Rothiemurchus; but the History of Mackintosh does not represent William, that son of Aengus, through whom the Mackintoshes descend, as having had his residence in Rothiemurchus, but at "Connage in Petty," a place deemed of much less importance; and this circumstance would, on the whole, indicate, first, the said William to have been a younger son of Angus; and, secondly, that the family, so-called, of Mackintosh, branched out from the royal stock of Scotland, with the son of that man called, in the history, Robert Bruce. To the first son of Angus, namely, Eoghan, the heir to the kingdom, Rothiemurchus would pertain as his private residence.

The reader will easily perceive, from the whole exhibit, that to

think of Bruce as any other man than Angus himself would be nonsensical; otherwise we have the hero and king, Robert Bruce, campaigning through the country, having as his chief business to conquer the principal royal residences of the kingdom, and deliver them over to Angus and his fair wife, the heiress of Clan Conn, to live in.

It would not be proper to conceal that the History of Mackintosh represents Angus as having been born before the marriage of his parents, and, he being the only son left by Ferquhard, or Alexander III., this might have been the cause why some of his own family, uncles, cousins, etc., opposed his elevation. But under his name of Robert Bruce we see his elevation, in the minds of the Scottish people, to the position which he claimed, that of the rightful king of Scotland, while, at the same time, we behold the downfall of his opponents. Under the name of Robert Bruce, he is thought of as a Norman; but this he could have been only in the sense of his mother's family of the Isles, with whom he was brought up, being reputed Normans. The history aforementioned represents Angus as having been present with Bruce at the battle of Bannockburn, and as very effectually assisting to the achievement of that celebrated victory: It also represents him as campaigning into England in 1318-19, in company with Randolf, Earl of Moray, and the "Good Sir James Douglas." The historians (see Tytler 1, p. 319-20), record an expedition of the Scotts into England in 1318 A. D., from which they are said to have returned with great booty and a large number of prisoners; and they record another in 1319, which they represent also as resulting favorably to the Scotts. In relation to this latter, Tytler (1, p. 329) says: "Three hundred Ecclesiastics fell in this battle, from which circumstance, and in allusion to the prelates who led the troops, it was denominated, in the rude pleasantry of the times, the Chapter of Mytton." There might, in that age, have been at times some very effectual raids made over the borders by powerful parties, who were closely attached to the old hereditary government of the country and discontented with the Norman-English claim of superiority. But that claim did then exist, and was enforced in so far as those foreign potentates could continue to enforce it.

That there may have been a chief then living in Scotland whose name was Robert Bruce, is not here either asserted or denied; but there never was a king of Scotland of that name· and all that has

been written concerning a king so called, either referred to a man of another name, who was son to Alexander III, or is fiction made out of whole cloth, all recorded Excommunications, Papal Bulls, etc., and all grants to religious foundations by a king so called on paper, to the contrary notwithstanding. When, therefore, it is said in the book of pedigrees, edited by Mr. Chas. F. Browning, and published by Porter & Coates, of Philadelphia, that Presi dent Andrew Jackson, for example, was descended from King Robert Bruce, through Robert II, (Stewart) it simply says that he was descended from Angus, the son of Alexander III, whom the hist orical Romancists have written down as Robert Bruce and Robert II: And when it is said therein, also, that the Confederate General, Robert E. Lee, and his nephew, the present Governor of Virginia, descended from the Steward Kings it simply says that they descend from Alexander III, through his son, Aengus, and from the house, so called, of Comyn.

In the Historical Romance * we meet continually with characters in whose varying circumstances, states and conditions we take a deep interest. We accompany them here and there participating in or making our own their joys and their sorrows. And it is, perhaps, as well that all are not disposed to be critics; for being such they would be likely to take pains to acquire a knowledge of the situation or nature of the subject beforehand, and so, reflecting how easy it is to create and to destroy, by ones or by multitudes, merely on paper, would have their interest in the ideal subjects greatly diminished and might take too great an interest in politics, or spend too much of their time, lawyer-like, in ungraciously criticising one another.

In all romances or novels there has to be a plot and the invention and arrangement of this plot constitutes much of the author's work. In the execution of this plot the author is a creator absolute, originating or destroying at pleasure single ones or multitudes. The historical romance is supposed to be founded on real history of which we have an illustration in this which we are now considering.

In the names Robert Bruce, the high Steward of Scotland, and David Bruce we have the Scottish side and interest represented in this historical romance; and in John Baliol and Edward Baliol we have the characters that represent the English interest.

* On the subject of the Historical Romance, I proved to be a prize essayist in a competition many years ago in Union College.

The name John here representing the English interest this name is afterwards deemed unauspicious in Scotland; while the name Robert, representing the Scottish interest, is afterwards deemed auspicious and is much worn.

Under the name Aengus, which doubtless was the baptismal name of the rightful heir to the kingdom of Scotland for this period we have the dark horse of the genealogical lists. This name which is exchangeable with Seachan and Eachdhuin or Eachin (John), does not, of course, appear in the drama.

The period represented in this drama was one that tried men's souls in the island of Britain. Henry II. had made a limited conquest in Ireland. Edward I. had conquered Wales and proceeded to conquer Scotland; but he seems to have met with such a determined resistance as he had not calculated upon. He, however, did to some degree, in 1296, succeed in imposing his rule upon that country. But in 1314 Edward II., his son, seems not to have fared even so well at Bannockburn. Aengus was at this time nobly assisted by McDonald, laird of the Isles, who at the head of his patriotic hosts from the West wrought wonders in that battle. There was a check given in some way to the English: Be it remembered they had to fight with praying men at Bannockburn! Nor were they forward to aggress northwards for some ages afterwards.

The Shaws, &c.

Some might think the Shaws, since they have sprung from the same stock as Mackintosh, were of descent from Shaw, son of the above Aengus; but their history does not ascribe to the clans Shaw a descent from him, but deduces their name from Seach, a great grandson of this Aengus, whom I find to have been James II. In his description of James II, Tytler (Vol. III, p. 310) says: "The person of this prince was robust and well adapted for those warlike and knightly exercises, in which he is said to have excelled. His countenance was mild and intelligent, but deformed by a large red mark on the cheek, which has given him amongst contemporary chroniclers the surname of James with the fiery face." So Scott: "Tales of a Grandfather," I. 242.

Our family history says of the same man, under a Gaelic form of name by which he is entered by the chroniclers: "The name

Scheabheag implies that Shaw was of short stature; but he is also frequently designated Mor (great), no doubt, on account of his martial reputation. Another of his most common appellations was Sgorfhiachlach (pronounced Coriachlich) from the prominent teeth, which distinguished his features."

I doubt not the Gaelic word given in Our Family History affords the true key to the proper interpretation of this facial phenomenon, which appears to have arisen from some prominent teeth the man had that made a perceptible mark on his face, somewhat similar to a reddish mole, wart or scar. Secondly, the form of name Seabhag or Seabhag, which comes into English in the forms Shaw, Haw or Hawkins, is clearly exchangeable with Seamhas (Eng. James), the b and m on the one hand and the g and s on the other, being interchanged with each other. In Gaelic Beag means little, child, chief; and mas, the root of our word masculine, is another form for mac, a son, so that Seabhag and Seamhas are clearly equivalent forms.

The following tabulation will illustrate my idea of the origin and show the steps in the genealogical succession of the Kings of Scotland from Alexander III, who was son of Alexander 11, to James VI, who was son of Mary queen of Scots, and lord Darnly, (a man of the same male descent as Alexander III) and who became James I of England. I begin with No. 19 of my list on page 2.

17. Ferchard *i. e.*, Alexander III, *i. e.*, the Steward of Scotland, *i. e.*, "Robert Bruce, the competitior."

16. Aengus *i. e.*, Robert 11, (Bruce) *i. e.*, John (Baliol) *i. e.*, Walter, the Steward of Scotland:

15. Eoghan or Ian *i. e.*, David II (Bruce), *i.e.*, Edward (Baliol), *i.e.*, Robert III, *i.e.*, the Steward of Scotland:

14. Gilchrist *i. e.*, James I, *i. e.*, the Steward, &c.

13. Seach *i. e.*, Seamhas *i. e.*, James II, *i. e.*, the Steward, &c.

12. Seach, *i. e.*, James III, *i. e.*, the Steward, &c.

11. Adhamh son of	James IV son,
&c.,	James V son,
as on p. 2.	Mary daughter,
	James VI son and 1st of England.

From our No. 12, (James III) has proceeded the Shaws, so called of Sauchie in Stirlingshire. He himself is the "James Shaw," *i. e.*, James son of Shaw, of Sauchie" spoken of under the reign of James III. (See, for Ex., Tytler III, p. 420, and Lindsay, of Pitscottie, I 112). From a younger son of his, named

Adam, descends the Shaws of Tordarrach (Oaky Hill), Inverness-Shire. This Adam is No. 11 of my list, p. 2, and of me, the writer, he is ninth ancestor. Two of the ancestors in the list from him to me had their residence in Ireland.

The accounts given in the histories of the battle of Sauchie Burn and the death in consequence thereof of James III., is of the romantic order and not historical. He was himself the Shaw, spoken of in this connection, as "the governor of the castle of Stirling," which was his executive residence. Another principal residence of his and of his ancestors and which descended to his children, was the castle of Loch an Eilan in Rothiemurchus mentioned above. He is the ancestor of the Shaws, so called of Rothiemurchus. As head of Rothiemurchus and of the clan Shaw there located he is, in the family history, designated Alister Ciar, that is, "Alexander the brown." It appears that, in that age Seach, which is an equivalent for Alexander, was used as a short name for the forms Seachach (James) and Seachan (John). It is, of course, the same root name, and this is proved by the fact of the Hebrew letter Samech having the same meaning as Seth or Sem (pronounced Shem), namely, a pillar or the Sun, and that the name Israel, which is Saethrael, is exchangeable with Jacob, which is James. It, moreover, appears plain from the style and substance of the narratire that the Alexander, duke of Albany, spoken of under this reign as brother of James III, was no other than this James himself, in certain conditions and circumstances of his life. In the circumstances of the contemporary reigns of this Scottish king and Edward IV of England in their relations to each other we seem to have repeated some of the historical experiences which we meet with in the history of Scotland in the interval between the death of Alexander III and the accession of James I. In his general description of James III. Tytler (III. 440) says as to his color: "His deep brown complexion and black hair resembled the hue rather of the warmer climates of the south than that which we meet in colder climates." The adjective Ciar, by which the family history distinguishes its Alister, means dark brown. That record also informs us that Alister left to his son John Rothiemurchus who, in turn, left it to his son Alan, &c. Judging by the map the castles of Sterling and Rothiemurcus are about 75 miles apart, the county of Perth intervening. But even in the olden times this was not deemed a great distance; for Tytler relates how that one

of those Jameses, of whom we are treating, viz., James IV, "thought little of throwing himself on his horse and riding 100 miles without drawing bridle." He speaks of him once having rode from the castle of Stirling to the church of St. Duthach in Ross-Shire and performed his devotions. Some of the Farquarsons, who are of the same origin as the Shaws of Rothiemurchus, appear to call Alister a Comyn of the same family as that of Altyre. As descriptive of the residence in Rothiemurchus, of which we are now speaking and to which, we have seen above, Angus and his wife moved in 1308, I quote the following from the History of Macintosh, pgs. 83–4: "The whole district of Rothiemurchus abounds in grandeur and loveliness, but nowhere are these found in such profusion as about the Doune, where the Spey rolls rapidly along pine-clad glades and verdant sward, and Loch an Eilan sleeps in wild beauty under the shadow of the giant Cairngorm. 'The great magician himself, in his most imaginative mood,' says one, could not have conjured up a lovelier spot. Hemmed in by mountain, rock and wood — the former towering to a great height, the latter dipping into the water — Loch an Eilan truly realizes the poetical image of a mirror set in a deep and gorgeous frame."

"Marvell'd Sir David of the Mount;
Then learn'd in story, 'gan recount
Such chance had happ'd of old
When once, near Norham there did fight
A spectre fell of fiendish might,
In likeness of a Scottish knight,
With Brian Bulmer bold,
And train'd him nigh to disallow
The aid of his baptismal vow.
And such a phantom, too, 'tis said,
With highland broadsword, targe and plaid
And fingers, red with gore,
Is seen in Rothiemurcus glade,
Or where the sable pine-trees shade
Dark Tomantoul and Auchnaslaid,
Dromouchty or Glenmore."

Scott's "Marmion:" Canto Fourth, Stanza XXII.

Hall, in his English Chronicle, which embraces the history of that country from Henry III, to Henry VIII, both inclusive, and who himself wrote in the time of Edward VI, claims (p. 850) that there is proof in written documents or "instruments," as he terms them, of Kings of Scotland having from time to time paid hom-

age to Kings of England; while, on the other hand, the Scottish historians unanimously claim that the homages spoken of were rendered only on account of territories held by them within the bounds of England.

Hall also claims (p. 853) that "divers of those instrum ents had before his time been stolen from the English Treasury by the Scotch" (only think of it, pray; "Stolen from the English Treasury by the Scotch!") "instruments which neverthelesse were after recouered againe." He thereupon gives the form of one of those written "instruments," undoubtedly one of those he meant had been, "stolen and recovered again," which begins thus: "I, Ihon N., King of Scottes." This, of course, signifies John Baliol, that being the only name John, on record in the regal line of the Scottes, the King whose baptismal name was John, as the historians tell us, having been entered as Robert.* And in Grafton's Chronicle (I. 294) the whole name, John Baliol, is entered. Grafton mentions that it was he who "buylded" Baliol College at Oxford!

Now, supposing this to be genuine history we would still fairly conclude that it was an act of homage to the English by a creature of the English themselves, a king of their own making. If that so called king, John Baliol, was he who had built Baliol College at Oxford, he was most likely an Englishman, and so the Scotch do not acknowledge any responsibility for his act. Hall does not represent Robert Bruce as having performed homage to any one, but as a usurper against John Baliol; nor does he or Grafton enter any Scottish King under the name Robert as rendering homage to a King of England. He begins, far back, about the year 900, and mentions some Kings of Scotts whose names I have never seen in any chronicle but his; but perhaps they were chiefs of districts in Scotland near the English borders. In his Kynald, however, as connected with King Edgar, in 977, A. D., I think I recognize Kenneth III or Maelbrighdi. Between Malcolm II, and MacBeth, whom, however, he also calls Malcolm, he mentions not Duncan. In 1068 he connects Malcolm III with William, the Conqueror, and in 1093 with William Rufus, son to the Conqueror, in regard to a matter of homage. In the year 1100 he mentions Edgar, the son of Malcolm III, in

*They did not enter their Kings of the same name in the original as I, II, III, etc., as the modern historians do, which has given rise to much confusion among interpreters.

connection with Henry 1st of England in regard to a like matter. The next he mentions in the same catalogue is David, Kyng of Scottes, in 1137. This indicates that the Saxon form Edgar, as here given, is equivalent to the Gaelic Ethach, Ethachard, or, simply, Sethach, which all are equivalent forms in that language for our name Alexander; and that the names Edgar and Alexander 1st, which the histories represent as of brothers, who succeeded in order to the throne after the death of Malcolm III, refer to the same person. Secondly, between David, last mentioned, and Wyllyam, Kyng of Scottes, whom he mentions in connection with different Kings of England on several occasions, he mentions not the name Malcolm IV, which the Scottish historians insert before William and as his brother. This indicates the name William to be the English equivalent for the Gaelic Malcolm or Gillecalum, and the names Malcolm IV and William the "Lion" to have been variations of the same name, referring to the same person.

Thirdly he gives the two Alexanders as son and grandson of William, in this order, in their connection by homage, marriage, etc., with the Norman English, the first in 1216 and the last named in 1266, A. D.

Fourthly, to Edward 1st, he enters John Baliol as paying homage in 1292; and Edward Baliol in 1326 as well as David Bruce in 1346 as acting in a like relation to Edward III. After 1346 I find no mention of homage having been paid by the Scotch to the Norman English kings until 1423, when mention is made of James 1st having paid homage to Henry VI, of England as a part of the condition of his liberation from captivity in England.

He mentions, therefore, not any king by the name Robert as having paid homage to the English monarchs; and the interval between the two homages last mentioned, is 77 years (1346–1423). The homage mentioned as having been paid in 1346 was by king Eachan, son of Aengus, who is entered in the histories by the name Robert; but I see the English chroniclers have entered him by his surname Duff or MacDuff, which in English is David. You see, therefore, John or Robert was his prenomen, but MacDuff, which is an equivalent for MacAengus, his surname. The family history gives us to understand that his father was called Aengus and also MacDuff. He succeeded to his father's precarious tenure in 1345–6; and the history left us by Fordun informing us that he was born in 1324 leaves us to conclude he was eighty-

two years old at the time of his death. We might infer, however, from the accounts given us by historians of his old age that this John had been born earlier, for they represent him as a very aged man, at his death in 1406. His age is not given in any historian that I find, but I should not wonder if he were considerably over one hundred years of age at the time of his death, which is not an uncommon age for the Scotch to attain.

In the description Tytler (vol. 11, p. 453–5) gives of Robert III. we have represented a very aged and venerable man. This is of him in his old age, after he has, some time previously, heard of the murder of his son and heir, David, Duke of Rothsay; and now there had come to his ears the news of the capture by the English on his way to France for safe keeping, of his younger son and heir, James, Earl of Carrick. The historian says as follows: "The aged king, already worn out by infirmity and now broken by disappointment and sorrow did not long survive the captivity of his son. It is said the melancholy news were brought to him as he was sitting down to supper in his palace at Rothsay in Bute; and that the effect was such upon his affectionate but feeble spirit that he drooped from that day forward, refused all sustenance and died soon after of a broken heart. His death took place on the 4th of April, 1406": "In person Robert was tall and of a princely presence; his countenance was somewhat florid, but pleasant and animated; whilst a beard of great length and silvery whiteness flowed down his breast and gave a look of sanctity to his appearance. Humility, a deep conviction of the vanity of human grandeur, and aspiration for the happiness of a better world were sentiments which he is said to have deeply felt and frequently expressed; and nothing could prevail on him in the custom of the age and after the example of his father and grandfather to provide a monument for himself," etc. The historians generally represent this man as of a peaceful and good disposition. They also represent a brother or relation of his as acting king during his own extreme senility and the captivity of his son and successor, James. The homage which we read about, as having been rendered by James in 1423 was paid as one of the conditions to his release, although he had been captured in open violation of a truce. That homage recorded as having been paid by John Baliol in 1292 and by Edward Baliol in 1326, were, if any such thing occurred, performed by so called kings of the creation of the English over Scotland, during their prolonged efforts to subjugate that country, a project in which they

ultimately so signally failed. But their accusation of the Scotch of having stolen documents from their archives was false. If it were so easy in those days for the Scotch to have "stolen" matter from the English Treasury why did they not, while they were about it, steal something of considerable value and thereby, from the overflowing coffers of the South, have somewhat replenished their always impoverished little Northern treasury? After James 1st, 1423, there is no more mention of such homage from Scotch to English kings.

The full Gaelic name of the man who in 1346 paid homage to Edward III, was, as said above, Eachan Mac Aenghus. This name Eoghan or Eachan is also entered as Caineach, which comes into English as Kenneth. In fact as I see in Lord Haile's commentary to his history of Scottland, the two forms Eachan and Caineach are understood as variations of each other and stand to each other exactly as the Greek forms Hipparchus and Archippus respectively. This word Eachan or Caineach is again a form of the name Aengus, which is Enos and Enoch *i.e.*, Aensheach, the sh being silent and dropped or, by transposition of its components, Sheachan (John). Here it is seen that the English form John, as in John Baliol, might be supposed substituted without violence in the English translation for the Gaelic name Aenghus. But the root of the word Eachan, the name of the son and successor of Aengus, is Aedh or Edh, which is the root of the name Edward: Consequently they might be conceived as without much violence turning the name Eachan Mac Aengus into the English form, Edward Baliol. But while this is so, some might think the names John and Edward Baliol to correspond here, in a foursquare fiction, to the names Robert and David Bruce: the form, David, however, might be understood, as mentioned above, of the surname of the man instead of the Christian name. Comparing the Gaelic with the old Hebrew or Phœnician language we find the form Mac Duff is equal to Mac Aedhamh, meaning in English a son of Adam or a son of man: and the form Mac Aenghuis is equal to Mac Enois, meaning in English a son of Enos or a son of man; for Adam and Enos mean the same in the Hebrew that is, Man. In the Gaelic they mean also a house, a temple and, as to color, black, but really a dun or water color. The nation of North Britain was Gaelic and the names of its princes were Gaelic down to the connection with England; but in the histories now as well as

in the old English Chronicles these names appear in such English forms as were supposed to be equivalents for the Gaelic originals. Some of the Gaelic forms of those names are seen on page 163, the form Gilchrist being only a mystification by the sacerdotal family historian for the real name.

Speaking in relation to my position taken on page 164 as to the Alexander, duke of Albany, mentioned in the histories as a brother of James III, being identical with this James, I may say as before that a consideration of the whole subject as given in the various histories and chronicles makes this position quite clear, so clear indeed as that the critic who fails to discover it, in the examination of the authorities, may be said to fall as far short in true critical acumen and discriminative power as the mind of the common undergraduate, who is still fully occupied in his text books, falls short of that of the college president or of the old and experienced judge on the bench who has long ago bid farewell to the portals of his Alma Mater. This Alexander, duke of Albany (although Alexander was doubtless a form of name of the man to whom the representation ultimately had reference), is plainly a character evolved from the brain of the historical romancist to fill out or inflate, as we may call it, his partially ideal historic drama. According to the general representation Alexander must have been made at his birth, governor of Berwick, or of Dunbar, and warden of the Marches. As he develops it is found that he and his brother, James III, cannot live together in the same country, and so he departs for France, stopping on his way in England where he remains with Edward IV. James III, jealous at the entertainment of Albany in England, collects a large army intending therewith to invade that country, but having arrived at the borders he is stopped by a papal bull (only think of it!) and returns with his army into Scotland. At the instigation of Albany as well as for other reasons, Edward IV, invades Scotland with a large army, of which the duke of Glocester, Edward's brother, had chief command, and under him the duke of Albany held the position of a subordinate commander. On the approach of the English army to Edinburgh (Hall's Chronicle, 332, etc.), James III, shuts himself up in "the Castle of the Maidens" in that city and in the settlement which follows between the duke of Glocester, who was in the city with his army, and the Scotch authorities we hear nothing at all of King James, but of the duke of Albany (who subscribes himself Alexan-

der Rex, *i.e.* King) and the "three estates" on the side of the Scotch, and the duke of Glocester on the English side. Now, only think of the English commander having come so far and at so great an expense with such a large army, remaining long in the same city with King James without having had an interview with him! "The king had shut himself up in the Castle of the Maidens." What childish stuff! Afterwards, when all is over and Glocester with his army, has departed, Albanie permits King James to go free; but soon finds again that the two brothers cannot live together in Scotland. He, therefore, departs for France, where he soon after gets killed in a tilting match at the French court. He there leaves after him a son, John, who also dies in France. This last, of course, is identical with the John, Earl of Mar, son of James III, who, some of the historical romancists say, died childless, but who, it appears certain, had one son named Alan, through whom descended the family of Rothiemurcus. For, from John, son of Alister Ciar and brother to my ninth ancestor, Adam (which last is thought to have been that bishop of St. Andrews killed at Flodden with his brother, James IV, in 1513) descended the Shaws of Rothiemurcus and the Farquarsons of Braemar, or the hilly country of Mar. Rothiemurchus in Strathspey and Braemar in the present Aberdeen, may be called the valley and mountainous parts of the same section of Scotland, in the days of the Jameses generally called Mar. "By his queen, Margaret, daughter to Christiern, King of Denmark, James (III,) left a family of three children, all of them sons; James, his successor; a second son, also named James, created Marquis of Ormond, and who afterwards became Archbishop of St. Andrews, and John, Earl of Mar," etc. Tytler III, 439–40, Grafton's Chronicle under Henry VIII, &c.: Adam (Gaelic Aedhamh) is an original form of the name which comes into English as James. The nearness to each other of the forms of name given to the two brothers in Gaelic has caused some translator to turn them both into English as James; but the second had better have been put into English as Adam.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF EGYPT.

CRITICAL REVIEW

OF THE

HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

BY

ROBERT SHAW, M. A.

AUTHOR OF

CREATOR AND COSMOS; OF COSMOTHEOLOGIES AND INDICATIONS OF JUDGMENT; OF A CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTTS OR GAELS OF THE BRITISH ISLES; OF THE CHALDAEAN AND HEBREW AND THE CHINESE AND HINDOO ORIGINES; OF THE PHŒNICIAN COSMOGONIES, ETC.

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INTRODUCTION.

(CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.)

I trust these few preliminary remarks, which I deem it expedient to prefix to this Treatise, may not be taken as in the nature of an apology for what it purports to introduce, as I see Introductions, so-called, very often are; for I here confess that I have no apology to offer for my giving to the public, in addition to the very large amount of literature on the subject of Egypt already extant, my "Critical Review of the History of Ancient Egypt" herein set forth: But, *per contra*, and for many reasons. And, first, in consideration of the very confused state of the authorities thereon as to the chronology and as to the order of succession of the dynasties and of the individual rulers of those dynasties of that interesting ancient empire, so-called, of Menes, the learned, more especially those interested and somewhat occupied in the subject of the Egyptian archæology have long felt the need of such a treatise as this I here put forth. In the way in which I treat this eminently ethnological subject, (for this, in connection with my "Critical Review of the History of the Gælic Race," will show pretty distinctly, and as a matter of fact, that the Shepherd race of ancient Egypt, or the race, so called, of Menes, did from time to time stock Europe and, to a large extent, Asia, also, with the historical, dominating and eminently civilized races) in the way in which, as I say, I treat this subject, that is, only with reference to the discovery of the truth and to its statement in the most succinct language possible, this treatise will, I believe, be found effectual as to the accomplishment of its object and quite comprehensible to the or-

dinary mind in regard to its meaning throughout. In my humble judgment the literary field is altogether too much occupied with fiction; in the times of the past the history proper was beclouded with fiction, the Historical Romance was overdone, and men went on improving on each other in that line until such perfect superstructures were raised upon the base of history proper that it became almost impossible for the honest historical critic in the after times to disengage the facts from the fiction, such a net work was wont to be made by the historical romancists. This "critique," as the title indicates, has for its main object to disengage the facts of the history from the fiction and to discover and set forth the true succession of the dynasties and of the individual rulers of those dynasties in the ancient Shepherd Empire of Menes in their chronological order, and all this with reference to the exodus or origin of the Jewish people: If this have been done in relation to the old empire named, which ended with the list of 38 kings, so-called of Eratosthenes, and also, in effect, with respect to giving the chronological beginnings of the subsequent dynasties down to the Christian era, then this, our "critique," will be sufficiently up to my purpose in its production and should be regarded with favor and as a great desideratum by the multitudes of sensible, intelligent and learned people throughout the world who take such an interest in this subject as at once evinces their respectable qualities of mind.

St. Louis, 1888.

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CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

AN EXTENDED CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT: THE DYNASTIES OF MANETHO AS COMPARED WITH THE LIST OF ERATOSTHENES, AND WITH THE SYNOPSES OF THE HISTORY OF THAT COUNTRY GIVEN BY HERODOTUS, DIODORUS AND OTHERS; IN WHICH THERE IS A GENERAL ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE DATA AS TO WHO THOSE SHEPHERD KINGS WERE, WHOM JOSEPHUS CLAIMED AS BEING ANCESTORS OF THE JEWS; IN WHICH IT RESULTS THAT THE 18TH DYNASTY, SO CALLED, BEGINS THE EMPIRE OF MENES; THAT THE 18TH, 19TH AND 20TH DYNASTIES, SO CALLED, WHEN FULLY EXPRESSED, WITHOUT ANY NAME PROPERLY BELONGING TO THE LISTS BEING LEFT OUT REPRESENT ALL THE DYNASTIES, SO CALLED, FROM THE 1ST TO THE 17TH INCLUSIVE, WHICH ARE EXPRESSED ON PAPER BEFORE THEM AND ARE EQUIVALENT TO THE 38 RULERS OF THE LIST OF ERATOSTHENES. THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS RESULT WITH ITS ILLUSTRATIVE TABULATIONS, WHICH WILL MAKE IT COMPREHENSIBLE WITH LITTLE STUDY, REMOVES MUCH OBSCURITY FROM THIS INTERESTING SUBJECT AND SHOWS THE BEGINNING OF HISTORY PROPER IN EGYPT TO SYNCHRONISE RESPECTABLY WITH SUCH BEGINNING IN CHALDÆA, INDIA AND CHINA.

Review and Synopses of the dynasties from the 1st to the 18th inclusive, as given by Syncellus from Africanus and Eusebius, in which connection will be found some Bibical Israelitish genealogies.

Bunsen gave it as his opinion that Joseph went into Egypt in the days of Sesortesen, one of the first kings of the 12th dynasty; he finds that in the reign of this king a great famine prevailed in Egypt. "We are," says he, "indebted to Birch for deciphering the following tomb-inscription of the lieutenant of Amenemha (i.e. Sesortasen). The person entombed states that he was governor of a district in Upper Egypt under the above king and is represented as saying as follows: 'When in the time of Sesortesen I., the great famine prevailed in the other districts of Egypt there was corn in mine."

"Nobody," Bunsen continues, "would venture to build up a synchronism on such a notice as this; but admitting that Joseph was

the viceroy of one of the Sesortosidæ, and that he owed his power and consideration to his foresight in providing against the seven years of scarcity, no one will contend that such a notice is not deserving of very great attention and it must turn the scale in favor of Sesortasis 1st." Egypt iii, 334.

He means here the first king of the 12th dynasty, whose time he supposed to be about 2700–2800 B. C., but which I find to have been about 1300 B. C. What if he had put Joseph seven or eight hundred years earlier than the date really was, would he have been more nearly correct? A discussion of the whole subject may enable you to determine intelligently. But a consideration of the subject will show that if the tomb-inscription referred to means really what it is interpreted to say it could not demonstrably be understood as referring to Joseph. If such a governor had been interred there a person would suppose his mummy would have presented some race indications, which could not fail to have been noticed by the discoverer; but of this nothing is said, which may or not ultimately go to prove that it was Joseph's tomb and inscription: for, of course, it is supposable that when Joseph was interred temporarily in Egypt there was an inscription put over his tomb, which remained there after his body was removed to Canaan; and the supposable cause of the discoverer of the tomb not mentioning the mummy would be that the mummy was not there: for we read in Gen. L, 26, that "when Joseph died he was enbalmed and put in a coffin in Egypt:" and in Exodus xiii, 21, it is said, in relation to the departure of the Israelites from Egypt; "And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him; for he (Joseph) had strictly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you." Moreover, in Joshua xxiv, 32, it is said of the Israelites after they had come into possession of the land of Canaan: "And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, they buried in Schechem, in a piece of ground which Jacob had bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Schechem, for an hundred pieces of silver; and it became the possession of the children of Judah."

Now, to whomsoever the inscription may have referred, leaving out of the question altogether as to whether or not it was properly interpreted, it is certain we have no authority for saying that Joseph's remains were left in Egypt or that any one in this nineteenth century could have produced his mummy thence.

But the identification of the Israelites with the Shepherd or Hyk sos races of Eygpt by Josephus sets us earnestly to discover who or what races of people those were to which he refers as being the ancestors of the Jews. In the histories of Egypt which have reached us the Shepherd races begin to be noticed more or less in the tabulation in the interval set down in the books between the 12th and 18th dynasties.

I will first give the tabulation of Julius Africanus, who was priest or bishop of Emmaus — Nicopolis in Judaea, in the beginning of the 3rd century and founder of the Library of Cæsarea, which was afterwards enlarged by Eusebius: —

Africanus (Syncellus, pp. 54–61) according to whom

						reigned	
1st	Dynasty	consisted	of	8	Thinite	Kings	263 years.
2nd	"	"	"	9	"	"	302 "
3rd	"	"	"	9	Memphite	"	214 "
4th	"	"	"	8	"	"	284 "
5th	"	"	"	9	Elephantine	"	218 "
6th	"	"	"	6	Memphites	"	203 "
7th	"	"	"	70	"	"	— 70 days.
8th	"	"	"	27	"	"	146 years.
9th	"	"	"	19	Herakleopolitan	"	409 "
10th	"	"	"	19	"	"	185 "
11th	"	"	"	16	Diospolitan	"	43 "
12th	"	"	"	7	"	"	160 "
13th	"	"	"	60	"	"	453 "
14th	"	"	"	76	Choites	Kings	184 "
15th	"	"	"	6	Shepherd	"	284 "
16th	"	"	"	32	"	"	518 "
17th	"	"	"	43	Other	"	151 "
			and	34	Theban	"	
18th	"	"	"	16	Diospolite	"	259 "

So far this exhibit may suggest that " the utmost confidence " is not to be placed in the apparent face value of those *data*.

What Africanus says specifically as to his 15th Dynasty is as follows: —

" Of Shepherds.

They were Phœnician stranger kings, six in number, who also took Memphis. These same people also built a city in the Seth-

roite Nome, whence sallying forth they were accustomed to keep the Egyptians in subjection. Of these the first

Saites from whom also the Saites Nome	reigned	19 years
Bnon	reigned	44 "
Pachnan	"	61 "
Staan	"	50 "
Archles	"	49 "
Aphobis	"	61 "
	Sum of years	284

The average reign for these six would be, as here, 47⅓ years, which for six in succession appears, to historical experience, nonsensical.

Hitherto Africanus. Now we give the same according to Eusebius in his Armenian version and as in Syncellus. I may remark here that it is only through Syncellus that we know Africanus or Manetho, or, so far as concerns Egyptian history, Eusebius.

Dynasty.	*Eusebius.*	*Syncellus.*	*Eusebius.*	*Syncellus.* *Afr.*	*Eus.*
1st.	8 Thinite Kings	.... Kings	228 (258) years	253 or 252 years	
2nd.	9 "	" .... "	297 "	.... " .... "	
3rd.	8 Memphite	" .... "	197 (198) "	.... " 198 "	
4th.	17 "	" .... "	448 "	274 " .... "	
5th.	31 Elephantine	" 8 "	.... "	248 " 100 "	
6th.	.. Memphite	" .... "	203 "	.... " .... "	
7th.	5 "	" "	75 "	.... " 75 days	
8th.	9 (19) "	" 5 "	100 "	142 " .... years	
9th.	4 Herakleopolitan	" .... "	100 "	.... " .... "	
10th.	19 "	" "	185 "	.... " .... "	
11th.	16 Diospolitan	" .... "	43 "	.... " .... "	

				Euseb. in Arm.	*Sync.*
					years
12th.	7 "	" 7 "	182 (245) "	182 (245) "	182 (245)
13th.	60 "	" 60 "	453 "	453 "	453 "
					years
14th.	76 Choite	" 76 "	484 "	184 (484) "	184 (484)
15th.	.... Diospolitan	" .... "	250 "	250 "	250 years
16th.	5 Theban	" 5 "	190 "	190 "	190 "
17th.	4 Shepherds	" 4 "	103 "	103 "	103 "
18th.	14 Diospolitan	" 14 "	317 (348) "	325 (323) "	(348) "

What is said specifically under the head of Eusebius as to the Shepherds is as follows:

"17th dynasty: of Shepherds: who were Phœnicians, brothers and stranger Kings and occupied Memphis.

Saites, the first of these, reigned	19 years	
from whom also the Sethroite Nome has drawn its appellation. These same people founded a city in the Sethroite Nome, whence having made excursions they kept the Egyptians in subjection.		
Bnon, the second of these Kings reigned	40	years
Archles, after him, "	30	"
Aphophis, then "	14	"
		"
Sum	103	"

In the age of these Joseph is thought to have reigned King in Egypt." Would not this mean that Eusebius understood that our patriarch, Joseph himself, may have been the first of those four Kings, since the name Seth, spelled also Seph, is the root or shorter form of Joseph? The placing of these four as the 17th dynasty (Africanus it is seen has his six Phœnician Shepherds as his 15th), suits the idea which the Septuagint version makes so clear of a 215 years' sojourn for the Israelites in Egypt from the entrance of Jacob to the Exodus under Moses. Tuthmosis III, in whose reign the Hyksos are said to have left Egypt was of the *third generation* from the time of the beginning of the 18th dynasty.

The following is the list of the six Shepherd kings in Josephus (*contra*, Apion, I. c. 14), who says he quotes from Manetho's Greek version of the Egyptian History:—

The first of these.

Salatis	reigned	13	years.
Beon	"	44	"
Apachnas	"	36	" 7 mos.
Apophis	"	61	"
Jonias	"	50	" 1 mon.
Assis	"	49	" 2 mos.
Sum,		253	" 10 "

The average reign is here made 42 years and about 4 months, which experience has shown to be much too great an average length

for reigns of monarchs and much too great even for the average length of human life. Africanus' 284 years for his six Shepherd kings gives a greater average reign still than this of Josephus.

Following I tabulate the 18th dynasty, giving the lengths of reign, as it appears in Africanus, so that you may be able to see something approaching to the ordinary average length of reign as set forth in the lists of the Egyptian kings.

"Eighteenth Dynasty of 16 Diospolitan kings, of whom the first was Amos, in his time Moses went out of Egypt as we teach," that is, according to Africanus: —

1.	———		
2.	Chebros	reigned 13	years.
3.	Amenophthis	" 21	"
4.	Amensis (Amersis)	" 22	"
5.	Misaphris	" 13	"
6.	Misphragmouthosis	" 26	"
7.	Touthmosis	" 9	"
8.	Amenophis	" 31	"

He is thought to be that Memnon, celebrated in the sounding stone.

9.	Orus	" 37	"
10.	Acherres	" 32	"
11.	Rathos	" 6	"
12.	Chebres	" 12	"
13.	Acheres	" 12	"
14.	Armeses	" 5	"
15.	Rameses	" 1	"
16.	Amenophath	" 19	"
		Sum, 259	"

The average reign here would be, as it stands, only about seventeen years. The aggregate number of years given here for the 15 is seen to be about the same as Josephus gives for the six Shepherd kings and less by 25 than the aggregate Africanus gives for the same 6. The number of 25 years which Josephus says Amos (whom he, however, calls Tuthmosis) reigned after the departure of the Shepherds, if added to this aggregate sum we get in Africanus for fifteen reigns (he not having expressed the length of reign of Amos), would make 284 years, the exact number he gives to the six Shepherd kings he specifies. And not only is this number as appearing of six shepherd kings before the eighteenth dynasty in-

tended to imply that the said six kings did exist before this dynasty, but it will perhaps be noticed finally that not only all the kings called Shepherd, but all other before the said 18th dynasty back to Menes are but repetitions, as to name and time given, of what we have in the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties so called, when fully expressed, which are exactly represented, though often under differing forms of name, in the list of 38 names of Eratosthenes.

Among the children of Israel after the Exodus, if we except the tribe of Judah, the descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh, the two sons of Joseph, appear to have been held in the greatest estimation. Joshua is represented as of the tribe of Joseph and tenth in descent from that patriarch, through his son Ephraim, that is, if we are to understand that given in 1st Chronicles vii, 22–27, as the steps in his genealogy, which is as follows:—

Joseph.
Ephraim, son.
Beriah, son.
Resheph, son.
Telah, son.
Tahan, son.
Laadan, son.
Ammihud, son.
Elishama, son.
Nun, son.
Oshea, son.

In the Book of Joshua xxiv, 29 (which there is some reason to believe was called in early times the Book of the Wars of Jahveh), the leader of that name is said to have died at the age of 110 years, the age Joseph is said to have attained at his death, and I see the Biblical chronologists have there at the head of the margin 1427 B. C. This indicates Usher's idea to have been that Joshua was born in about 1537 B. C. This may seem a large number of generations for 215 years. There are, however, to be counted only $8\frac{1}{2}$ generations for the time, and we are to remember that the tribe of Joseph was, if any, the governing tribe of the Israelites in Egypt; and that the governing or monarchical class propagate so much faster than the commonality that we look, from them in the direct line, for about four generations in a century. We have, therefore, here eight generations for two centuries and then half a generation for the fifteen years. The case presents no difficulty if there be not one found in the length of life to which men are said

in that age to have attained; but in regard to that it is likely men in that age in good living circumstances married as early as they are accustomed to marry now.

In the geneaolgy of Moses to Jacob, these two included, we have only about half the number of names expressed for the like period: —

Israel died 147 years old
Levi " 137 " "
Kohath " 133 " "
Amram " 137 " "

Aaron	Moses
83 years old at the Exodus	80 years old at the Exodus.

List of the High Priests from Aaron to the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, about 600 B. C.

Eleazer
Phineas (fights in the battle against
Abishua Midian in which Baalam
Bukki fell (Numb. xxxi, 6, &c.)
Uzzi
Zerahiah
Meraioth
Amariah
Ahitub
Zadok, a priest under David (2. Sam. viii, 17).
Ahimaaz anoints Solomon (1 Kings, i. 39, Comp. ii. 35).
Azariah, a Prince under Solomon (1. Kings iv. 2, and 1 Chron. viii. 9).
Johanan
Azariah, "a priest in the House of the Lord which Solomon built" (1. Chron. vi. 10).
Amariah under Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 20).
Ahitub
Zadok
Shallum
Hilkiah
Azariah
Seriah
Jehozadak carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Chron. vi. 15), 588 B. C.

This list affords a generation to about every forty years. Between Aaron, at the time of the Exodus and Azariah, a contemporary of Solomon, the latter included, there are twelve generations, which, reckoning 40 years to a generation, equal 480 years ($12 \times 40 = 480$), from the Exodus to the founding of the Temple. Also, between Azariah, in the time of Solomon, and Jehozadak, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, there are just ten generations, which, at 40 years to a generation, fills the time.

Again, let us take the genealogy of a contemporary of David, from Israel, namely of Asaph, the singer, we shall have: —

Israel,
Levi,
Gershom,
Jahath,
Ahimei,
Zimmah,
Ethan,
Adaiah,
Zerah,
Ethni,
Malchiah,
Baaseiah,
Michael,
Shimea,
Berachiah,
Asaph, (1 Chron. vi. 39–44.)

Here we have fifteen generations from David to Jacob, not including the latter, which at 40 years to a generation leaves 600 years. Now, supposing Asaph to have died about the year 1020, B. C., this would leave Levi (granting there are no links belonging to the genealogy left out, and further that 40 years to a generation is the correct reckoning), to have flourished at or before the year 1620 B. C., or at somewhat over 120 years only prior to the Exodus. There seems hardly any doubt that in their chronological reckoning of these lists the Jews counted 40 years to a generation. The mode of reckoning of the old Greeks was by generations, but they usually reckoned as the moderns do, three generations to a century, $33\frac{1}{3}$ years to a generation. The men in this list must have been long-lived and married old if no links are wanting.

Let us take the genealogy of King David himself, as given in Ruth (iv.) 22, etc., and in 1 Chron. ii:15, etc., and see how it stands: —

Israel,
Judah,
Pharez,
Hezrom,
Aram,
Amminadab,
Nahshon,
Salmon,
Boaz,
Obed,
Jesse,
David.

From Judah, the brother of Levi and Joseph, in this list, to David, including these two, we have only eleven names standing for the same space of time as the fifteen names stood for in the list just preceding. These 11 generations, reckoning 40 years for each from the time of David's death, say in 1015 B. C., would take us back to 1455 B. C., or to within one or two generations of the Exodus. This list, would therefore, on this reckoning, leave unaccounted for this one generation spoken of up to the Exodus plus the generations to fill up the 215 years in Egypt from the time of the entrance of Israel thereto.

The five last names in this list present to my mind a peculiarly Phœnician (Edomitic) physiognomy. David is the Gaelic Daebhaedh, or briefly Duff, in English, Jesse is Isai (Seach). Obed appears a form of Edom, the b taking the place of m. Would not Obed-Edom (2 Sam. vi. 10–12) be the same name repeated? And Boaz is simply another form equivalent to Edom or Esau, and would even stand for Israel. Edom or Seth stands for Israel and hence the words of the prophet (Isa. lxiii. 1). "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah," etc., is explainable literally; for do not some good interpreters understand from the two genealogies given of him in Matthew and Luke, that both on his mother's and his father's side the Savior was descended from Judah, the son of Israel? He was, thus, as to his human nature, at least, descended from the ancient line of Phœnician and South-Scythian, or what are called Indo-Scythian Kings;

but as to his divine nature he was, as we all believe, as evidently derived from God. Salmon, in the above genealogy of David, is a name in the old language which may have been a historical (not spoken) equivalent for David; it is the Gaelic Colum or Columin in the common name Malcolm. Colum or Columan means a dove or peace, and so is equivalent in the Gaelic to Daebhaedh (Daebh= dove) and Sethach; and in the Phœnician it had another form which came into English as Absalom, meaning son of peace or father of peace, for in the old language ab had the meaning of son as well as father. Latin, Columba (a dove) Abcolum = Absalom. I would not, however, consider it at all unlikely that several links were omitted in this genealogy of David, which appear necessary to fill up the entire space between him and Judah, the son of Israel and, on the other hand, in regard to the length of the sojourn, so called, of the Israelites in Egypt, I see no reason why the period of 215 years should not be sufficient for the longest genealogy we have met with for that sojourn, namely, that of Joshua, taken as we have explained it.

This need not prevent us from understanding that there may have been other Shepherd races which dominated in Egypt, and this for long periods, who were of kindred race to the Israelites; but it would seem plain from the idea in the mind of Josephus and Eusebius on the subject, that those Shepherds whom they represent as beginning to dominate over Egypt, first, under King Saites or Salites (the viceroy) and whose descendants were put out of that country by Tuthmosis III. were the people understood as the Israelites of the Exodus. They are represented by these two writers named as well as by Africanus as, *per se*, the Shepherd kings of Egypt and at the same time as Phœnician brothers at their beginning. To say with Wilkinson or any other that "Joseph was in Egypt in the age of these kings," I would consider to be uncalled for in the case, as they themselves set it forth; for by the representation they all give of the beginning of the Shepherd dynasty either Joseph himself was Saites or Salites, then first, or rather second king, or the Shepherd dynasty is not worth consideration in connection with the Biblical representation of the sojourn in Egypt of the Israelites.

But, on the other hand, as you must have noticed in the lists I have already given of the first 18 dynasties, there is a good deal of difference in what has been written by the different authors upon

this subject of the Shepherd kings; it is expedient that we keep this subject in view until we get all the light we can upon it before dropping it.

"The Middle Empire," says Bunsen (Egypt 1. 133), "occupies the period from the 13th to the 17th dynasties inclusive and the measure of its duration is that of the Shepherd dominion. The Theban and Choite kings were contemporaneous with the Shepherds and with each other." This is Bunsen's hypothesis and the period of his Middle empire he supposed to have covered a little over nine centuries.

Speaking of the lists and chronology of Manetho, he says: "We know that he assigned 3555 years to the whole empire, of which 13 centuries in round numbers belonged to the Old, 9 to the Middle and 12 to the New." (Id. 134). Before we get through we will, doubtless, be better able to judge whether Manetho is responsible for those figures or not.

It is noticeable that in all the copies, purporting to be from Manetho, unless that of Eusebius, the first Shepherd kings are represented as six in number, generally as Phœnicians and brothers. Bunsen says, however, that the number six is nowhere mentioned in the original in connection with them; but he must have forgotten himself in making this statement, for he never saw the original unless through Josephus, Africanus and Eusebius, and never saw the latter two, as to Egypt, unless through Syncellus. Eusebius, however, specifies only 4 names of Shepherd kings, the first of whom he makes Saites, that is Seth; and I have suspected that, perhaps, the reason the number 6 came to be associated with their beginning was that one meaning of Seth or Sech in the old Gaelic language is six, Sheth in Chaldaic being sixth; and the meaning of the name of their first king might have given rise to the number being associated with their name?

In what is called the Laterculus of Egpytian kings by Syncellus I find the following:—

	Years.
1. "Silitis, the 26th king of Egypt, reigned	19
He was the first of the six of the 17th dynasty in Manetho.	
2. Baion, the 27th king of Egypt, reigned	44
3. Apachnas, the 28th king of Egypt, reigned	36
4. Aphophis, the 29th " " " "	61

Some say that this man was the first that was called Pharaoh, and that in the fourth year of his reign Joseph came into Egypt, a slave: that he, in the 17th year of his reign, constituted Joseph lord of Egypt and of all his dominions, because he had explained to him the purport of his dream, and because, through experience, he came to have knowledge of its divine signification. But, indeed, the Holy Scriptures call the king of Egypt, who was contemporary with Abraham, Pharaoh."

	Years.
5. Sethos, 30th king, reigned	50
6. Kertos, 31st " "	29
7. Aseth, 32d " "	20

This man adopted the system of intercallary months for the years, and, in his time, as they say, he used the year of 365 days; the Egyptians hitherto having measured the year by 360 days. In his reign the bull Apis was deified." There is no intimation here of any instability about the government, and still less that this king Aseth was of a foreign dynasty to Egypt; on the contrary things appear in a quiet and normal national condition.

The next he gives is "Amosis also called Tethmosis," the first of the 18th dynasty in all the other lists, whom he marks 33rd in his list and then goes on with the names of the 18th dynasty as in Africanus and the other lists generally. He, therefore, has 7 kings of the Shepherd dynasty instead of 6, as in Africanus and Josephus, or 4 as in Eusebius; and for these 7 he gives an aggregate of 259 years, the number to a unit which Africanus gives to his 18th dynasty, reckoning 15 kings. A person would think, then, there must be something arbitrary or inventive at the foundation of this Shepherd dynasty story and might ask, did this Shepherd dynasty or those Shepherd dynasties which they write about have an existence *de facto* or did they exist only on paper, every one who has written on the subject having it in a different way than the others concerning them? Wait a while, my inquirer. The subject needs more investigation, more discussion, and will, doubtless, become more lucid as to the result. I will, however, give you Syncellus farther through the sixteen names, which most of the old

lists yet set down as of the 18th dynasty, since on this part of the subject much light is needed.

		Years.
1.	Amasis, also called Tethmosis, 33d King	26
2.	Chebron, 34th King	13
3.	Amenophis, 35th King	15
4.	Amenes, 36th King	11
5.	Misphragmouthosis	37th King 16
6.	Misphres	38th " 23
7.	Tuthmosis	39th " 39
8.	Amenophis	40th " 34

This same Amenophis is thought to have been that Memnon, whose voice was heard in stone: which stone, in the aftertimes Cambyses, the Persian, cut down, supposing there was sorcery in it, as Polvainos, the Athenian has recorded in his history.

Concerning the Ethiopians; whence they were and where they lived.

Ethiopians, having come from the river Indus, settled in Egypt.

9.	Oros	41st King	48
10.	Achencheres	42d "	25
11.	Athoris	43d "	29
12.	Chencheres.	44th "	26
13.	Acherres	45th "	38
14.	Armaios, also called Danaus.	46th "	9
15.	Rameses	47th "	68
16.	Amenophis	48th "	8
17.	Thuoris	49th "	17

The ninth in succession from this last he makes to be another "Thuoris," and "the Polybus of Homer in whose time Troy was taken," and "by whom Menelaus, while wandering about with Helen after the capture of Troy, was entertained." The 10th in succession from this last, or the 68th king of his list, is Petoubastes, "during whose reign," he says, "the first Olympiad was celebrated," 776 B. C.

So far I deemed it expedient to give you this independent list of Geo. Syncellus, a Byzantine monk, said to have been vice-bishop of Constantinople, and to have flourished about 800 A. D. He edited the epitomes of Manetho's Egyptian history made by Africanus and Eusebius; and gave us a list himself in this which he calls his Laterculus. He agrees with Eusebius in making his Shepherds to begin with the 17th dynasty, while Africanus makes them to begin with the 15th. Moreover, instead of beginning with 6 kings as Africanus, he so places 7 that nobody can doubt

that he means to have them understood as being meant for seven Shepherd kings. A person would be apt to think he had confounded his Aseth, the last of the seven, with Amosis, the first of the 18th dynasty, but somebody has understood him as making Amosis to have been son of Aseth.

But now, if, as Bunsen says, the Middle Period of Egyptian History, occupying the time from the 13th to the 18th dynasty be distinctively "the Shepherd Period," the "Theban and Choite kings being contemporaneous with the Shepherds and with each other," and lasting about 922 years; and if (seeing that Bunsen appears to have had a better opinion of the integrity or ability of Africanus than of either Eusebius or Syncellus), we are to give the preference to the statements of Africanus, should we not first rather exercise our judgment on the statements given by both, in so far as we are able to do so, and then incline to the side which we judge to have the greatest amount of probability in its favor, without being governed by prejudice or partiality? It seems to me that this is the preferable course for us to pursue. Let us, then, have the data given by Africanus for this period, which are as follows: —

			Years.
14th	Dynasty	. . . . . 76 Choite Kings	184
15th	"	. . . . . 6 Shepherd "	284
16th	"	. . . . . 32 " "	518
17th	"	43 Theban and 43 Shepherd Kings, contemporaneous	151
Total		. . . . .	1137

Here, supposing we are to make the addition of the figures as they stand, we should have a period of 1137 years represented by 157 successive kings, which would leave the average length of reign for the whole period to have been $7\frac{1}{4}$ years. If, however, we take the average lengths of the reign for the dynasties separately in this period we shall have for the 14th dynasty a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ years; for the 15th, $47\frac{1}{3}$ years; for the 16th about 16 years; and for the 17th, $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Notwithstanding Bunsen's fairly good opinion of Africanus he did not agree with his data for this period, and no wonder, for it is seen here the average lengths of reign for the different dynasties and for the individual kings of those dynasties for this period are so disproportionate as to be altogether unreasonable. The investigator will easily conclude that the actual state of the facts could

hardly have been as they would seem to have been represented by Africanus for that period in Egypt.

Let us now take the statements of Eusebius for that period and nation, which are as follows: —

			Years.
14th Dynasty	. . . . .	76 Choite Kings	484
15th "	. . . . .	— Theban "	250
16th "	. . . . .	5 " "	190
17th "	. . . . .	4 Shepherd "	103
Total	. . . . .		1027

In the aggregate number of years here given by Eusebius for this period there are 110 years less than Africanus would appear to give and 100 years more than what Bunsen allows for it. As the number of kings for the fifteenth dynasty is not stated in Eusebius nor in Syncellus on Eusebius, it is impossible for us to give the average length of reign for the whole period. But we can give it for the separate dynasties so far as the other three dynasties for the period are concerned. For the 14th dynasty, as according to Eusebius, the length of the average reign would be a little less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ years; for the 16th dynasty 38 years; and for the 17th $25\frac{3}{4}$ years. The absence of the number of kings for the 15th dynasty in Eusebius, where Africanus has his six Shepherds, might cause some to suspect that this is truly a "Shepherd period" and that Eusebius does not represent things as he found them here, but as he made them to appear himself. It may, however, turn out that one of them was as true as the other in so far at least as that the kings they were writing about were of or sprung from the shepherd stock. However, the mind will be likely to incline here to Africanus and by consideration and comparison of the data in the exhibits will conclude it more probable that the "Phœnician Shepherds" of Africanus succeeded directly to their predecessors in the government and that the 15th and 16th dynasties could have been Diospolitan or Theban (as Eusebius has them to be) only in the sense of their being kings of all Egypt (this even by conquest) and being in occupation of Thebes.

Bunsen, however, has the Shepherds to be the 15th and 16th dynasties. The 17th he makes to be Theban, doubtless, understanding with Africanus, a divided government for the period between contemporary Theban and Shepherd dynasties, as he calls

all this period, as mentioned before "the Hyksos period," and supposes its duration to have been about 922 years.

The exhibit shows Africanus to agree better with Josephus than does Eusebius. In quoting Manetho, in regard to the Hyksos, Josephus represents him to say: "Those people whom we have before named kings and called Shepherds also, and their descendants, kept possession of Egypt for 511 years." "That," after these things, "the kings of Thebais and of the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the Shepherds and that thereupon a terrible and protracted war took place between them." Would this period of mutual warfare not refer to the period of 151 years given by Africanus to his 17th dynasty, of divided empire between his Shepherds and Thebans? If there were a divided empire for 151 years the opposing houses would most likely have contended with each other betimes for the dynasty of the entire country and so the affray would have gone on. "He" (Manetho) "says further, that under a king whose name was Misphragmuthosis, the Shepherds were by him subdued, and, indeed, driven out of the other parts of Egypt, and were shut up in a place that contained 10,000 acres; this place was named Avaris: that the Shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength; but that Tuthmosis, the son of Misphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege with 480,000 men to lie round about them; but that upon his despair of taking the place by that siege they came to a composition with them that they should leave Egypt and go without any harm being done them, whithersoever they would; and that after this agreement was made they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in the country which is now called Judaea and that large enough to contain this great number of men and called it Jerusalem." Josephus says again: "Now Manetho in another book of his says that 'this nation thus called Shepherds were also called captives in their sacred books.' And this account of his is the truth, for herding of sheep was the occupation of our ancestors in the most ancient times and as they led such a wandering life in herding sheep they were called shepherds.

Nor was it without reason that they were called captives by the Egyptians, for Joseph, one of our ancestors, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive and afterwards sent for his brethren to come into Egypt by the king's permission; but as for those matters I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere;" which promised inquiry is not now extant, if it was ever made.

Now whoever those so called Shepherds were or from whatsoever human stock derived, it is seen in the above quotation that Josephus, a Jewish priest, recognized in them the ancestors of the Jews We learn from this, then, that the ancestors of the Jews were derived from Egypt, the land of Chem or Shem, to Judaea, with the reasonable supposition lying beyond that the ancestors of those ancestors were derived in some preceding age to Egypt from the same northeastern regions of Syria and the adjacent parts.

It is seen also in this same quotation from Josephus that those so called shepherds, ancestors of the Jews, left Egypt to the number of about 240,000 in the time of King Tuthmosis; the son of Misphragmuthosis. This Tuthmosis I find to be Rameses II, or his son, who was separated in time some 530 years at least from the Tuthmosis referred to by Josephus; and this whether or not any Exodus of Shepherds took place in those reigns. But, now, if this 240,000 men were armed, and accompanied by women and children, they would have certainly presented a terrible aspect as they marched by Idumaea and up through southern Judaea under the renowned conqueror Tuthmosis: but, in the state of the case, such a supposition is inadmissible; for Moses, with perhaps four times the number of Israelites, old and young, male and female, must have been marching and counter-marching contemporarily to Sinai, through the wilderness, skirting the borders of Edom, Midian and Moab, to Mount Horeb and Mount Hor and Mount Pisgah during forty years, while young Joshua was being disciplined and exercised for the command in the war which would give them the possession of Palestine and a continued victory over the Canaanitish race of giants.

This quotation from Josephus, therefore, gives us two items, first, the derivation of the Jewish nation and, secondly, the name of the king in whose reign, according to Josephus' opinion, the Exodus from Egypt took place. In regard to the data which Manetho may have left relating to the Shepherds, as well as to the other parts of the Eyptian history, since we have now no access to that author's works, excepting through the intermediary of his

epitomists, his works othwise having long ago disappeared, it would seem the most natural if not the most correct course to keep nearest to the records of those of his epitomists who were nearest in time to him. Josephus, therefore, comes first, Africanus second.

If, then, there be anything in what Josephus says or if he has correctly quoted Manetho, we would naturally understand Manetho as informing us that the Shepherd race dominated Egypt for 511 years. The words are: "These people, whom we have before named kings and called Shepherds also, and their descendants, kept possession of Egypt for 511 years." This includes, of course, the aggregate of the reigns of the six kings first mentioned, which as put down in the different authorities would give the six an average reign of from forty-two to forty-seven years, a result not consistent with historical experience. The sum given by Africanus is 518 years, which is evidently a slight variation of the same number, for the same period for which he has thirty-two Shepherd kings. Then the latter gives for 151 years forty-three Shepherd kings and an equal number of Thebans contemporary; data which Josephus does not give, but might be thought to imply in the time of war which he represents to exist in this interval, in these words: "The kings of Thebes and of the other parts of Egypt made insurrection against the Shepherds and a terrible and protracted war had place between them." This might be most naturally understood in the way represented in Africanus, that for 151 years two governments were established in Egypt, betimes contending with each other for the monarchy, or sole sovereignty, the one having its administrative offices at Thebes, the other, perhaps, at Memphis, or Herakleopolis, *i.e.*, Sethrum, doubtless, the city called Sais, in the Sethroite Nome.

Manetho, through Josephus, further says: "That under a king whose name was Misphragmuthosis the Shepherds were subdued and were driven out of all other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained 10,000 acres; this place was called Avaris." This would indicate that the capital city of the Shepherds had been Memphis, until the time of the father of Tuthmosis III, so that they would have had Avaris or Sethrum, as their capital city, for only a part of one reign.

Having, therefore, the time given definitely in Africanus for that double dynasty, the 17th, and knowing definitely by the lists that

Tuthmosis, the son of Misphragmuthosis, is the 7th ruler of the immediately succeeding 18th dynasty, what we have to do in finding from the data given the length of time this Shepherd race was in Egypt, is to add the years of the 18th dynasty, given to the reigns, up to the year in which he succeeded in having the Shepherds go up and build Jerusalem, and add the amount to the aggregate already obtained, namely, 518 + 151 + 126 = 795 = 600 + 195 years. This calculation would have the effect (granting the claim of Josephus to the Shepherds being his ancestors, and his own reckoning of the reigns of the 18th dynasty down to Tuthmosis III, to be correct), of adding another patriarchal cycle to the three weeks of cycles we find elsewhere, for the interval from Adam to Christ. I take the 18th dynasty here, as according to Josephus, for Africanus does not appear to have stated the length of reign of its first king, while Josephus has put down for him 25 years and 4 months: —

		Yrs.	*Mos.*
1.	Tuthmosis I, according to Josephus	25	8
2.	Chebron, " " "	13	
3.	Amenophis, " " "	20	7
4.	Amesis (Sister), " " "	21	9
5.	Mephres, " " "	12	9
6.	Misphragmuthosis, " "	25	10
7.	Tuthmosis, " "	9	8
	Total,	129	2

Of this sum I take 126 years, leaving the departure of the Shepherds to have taken place in the 7th year of the reign of Tuthmosis, called the Third. A person might think there was one name too many in this list, and that the 13 years given to Chebron should be added to the 25 years and 8 months given to Tuthmosis I, or that the sum given to said Tuthmosis should be added to Chebron's. This of itself, would make no difference in the numerical result and it may be as well as it is, for Chebron is only a substitutional form for the real one.

If some might argue that the above item of 195 years should be 215, understanding with Josephus, the Shepherd Kings to have been of the house of Jacob, then I may say that the reckoning of 795 years in the one case or 195 in the other is from the death of Joseph; but if the 20 years of the life of Joseph after his father came into Egypt should be required, which, however, is already

contained in the aggregate of the numbers given to the patriarchs from Adam to Joseph inclusive in my reckoning, under that head, then that 20 years can still be drawn from the reign of Tuthmosis III., whose reign in Syncellus' Laterculus is put down at 39 years, instead of 9 as in Josephus. Absolutely, according to this reckoning, the Israelites would have been in Egypt 815 years after the entrance of Jacob into that country; there is, therefore, no need of reckoning that 20 years in twice as my proceeding here, in relation to that elsewhere, will be easily apprehensible.

As then we have it established, according to one set of authorities, that the time intervening between the entrance of the Shepherds into Egypt under their first Prince Saites, and their much heard of exodus therefrom in the time of Tethmosis III., was 815 years, it is natural for us to inquire whether there is a good reason to believe these Shepherds to have been the descendants of Jacob, who went down into Egypt in the days of Joseph. The fact that their first prince in Egypt was called Saites, Seth (Salitis or the viceroy) might indicate him to have been identical with him whom the Scriptures call Joseph; for Seph is another form for Seth, as Greek Hippos, root Hip, is equivalent to Gaelic Each, root Eich, a horse, the same root, the ch mutating with ph. Seth, Seph, appears as phis in Memphis, Remphis, for Menes (Men-Seth) Ramses (Raam-Seth), etc. The star Sirius, the dog-star, is called also by the Egyptians, Soth, or Seth or Seph. The prefix Jo would in this compound mean son. It might also be considered as a repetition of the root, for among the Egyptians it was one of the names of Hercules or the Sun; but Joseph would mean literally Pharaoh, Phra-ao=Ao-Seph or Joseph. So much for the name, whether or not there be anything in this. Salatis is said to mean viceroy or one who acts in another's place; would Josephus have given the patriarch Joseph this appellation as intending to imply by it his office of viceroy for Pharaoh? For me to enter into an explanation of the names of the other Shepherd Kings that are given is unnecesssary, since they are much varied in their forms as they appear in the different authorities.

If, however, on the other hand, there are those who think they have good ground for assuming the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt to be identical with that of the Phœnecian Shepherd dynasty and to have lasted only 215 years, they have for their chronological data to depend upon Eusebius; but even so they cannot

go altogether with him, as he made the exodus to take place in the third reign, or about 70 years after it did take place, as according to what we have seen in Josephus.

But, taking Eusebius' computation for the reigns of his four Shepherds of the 17th dynasty, which is 103 years, and adding thereto from the list of Eusebius down to, say, the fifth year of Tuthmosis III., we shall have 103+102=205 years, from which we can safely, in consideration of the fluctuation of the numerical quantities in those authorities, take 10 and leave 195 years for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt after the death of Joseph.

If, instead of subtracting 10 from the 205 years, down to the fifth year of Tethmosis III., we should add 10 to that number, which we can do as in the other case, whether or not with the same justness, then we have 215 years for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt after the entrance to Egypt of Jacob. To this last change, however, I, with the calculation I have already made out, taking in the whole life of Joseph to his death, need not be a party.

Now, the difference in the time the Shepherds are represented as having sojourned in Egypt by those authorities arises from the places these Shepherd dynasts occupy in their lists and the number of years placed to the credit of their dominancy or sojourn. Bunsen having his own synchronistic system fully in view heartily concurs in Syncellus' accusation of Eusebius for arbitrarily altering the list of Manetho, as given in Africanus. "That these foreign kings," says Bunsen, formed the 17th dynasty is a fiction of Eusebius, who is on that account fairly charged by Syncellus with falsification of the lists. As regards names and years of reigns they are treated with the same procrustean license." (Egypt 1,223).

It may be that both Syncellus and Bunsen were too severe in their accusations of the bishop of Cesarea. They may not have sufficiently reflected that this mighty theologian and diplomatist of the days and empire of the great Constantine must have had very much work to do in the theological field, aside from examining into the chronology of the history of the ancient empires; and, that, in his perplexing and laborious circumstances, he may have judged it to be his bounden duty, in the then very varied state of polytheism, to have all chronologies to square, with the Biblical as derived from the Rabbis, and, which he, doubtless, judged had been very carefully computed and prepared by them during a long series of ages. The requirements of our age are very perceptibly different from those of the age of Eusebius.

MANETHO, THE SEBENNYTE AND HIS WORKS.

Manetho, the Egyptian historian, who was known to the ancients as a priest of Sebennytus, is supposed to have lived in the reign and estimation of Ptolemy Soter and his successor Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is remarked that this man, whom all the ancient authorities mentioned with deference, this historian endowed, if Aelian speak truly (H. A. x. 16) with consummate wisdom is become almost a mythological personage, with whom men have ceased to connect any clear and definite idea of personality. With the exception of a few fragments preserved by epitomists, his works have disappeared in time while his fame has been somewhat obscured by the indifference or fraud of modern commentators.

This man, whose name in the old Egyptian, it is said, would be pronounced Thothma, owes his reputation principally to having been the first who distinguished himself as a writer upon religion and philosophy as well as upon chronology and history, using the Greek language, as the medium for the elucidation of his native subjects, especially the Sacred Books.

Before the age of the Ptolemies no native Egyptian work was known to the Greeks, either upon their religion or history. To supply the deficiency in each of these branches, Manetho undertook and so well succeeded that he thereby formed an epoch in the research, not only of the Greeks but of the Egyptians themselves.

"Manetho, the Egyptian," says Eusebius, "not only reduced the Egyptian history into a Greek form, but also their entire system of theology, in his treatise entitled the Sacred Book, as well as in other works." Theodoret, in the second quarter of the fifth century, describes him as the author of a mythological work or works concerning Isis and Osiris, Apis and Serapis and the other Egyptian deities. Suidas, also, who had access to genuine sources, ascribes to him physological and astronomical works, and quotes Manetho's work on the preparation of the sacred incense, the genuine character of which has never admitted of any doubt.

There were, however, either in his own age or very close after him, some who usurped his name, notably the author of the "Apostelmata" and of the book on the "Dog Star."

In the Preface of his work Diogenes Laertius gives a brief description of the Egyptian doctrine concerning the Gods, and justice,

moral precepts and civil institutions, according to Manetho, the Sebennyte, and the younger Hecataeus of Abdera, the friend of Ptolemy Philadelphus. As he was for a good part of his life contemporary with Manetho and frequented the same court he had doubtless read carefully that author's works and in what he quoted would cite correctly. The title of the work, which, it is thought, Diogenes only knew through Hecatæus, was a "Compendium of Natural Philosophy."

The description Diogenes gives of it is as follows: "The beginning (the first principle of things) is substance (ὕλη); from it the four elements afterwards separated themselves and animals were formed. The deities are the Sun and Moon; the former is called Osiris, the latter, Isis. Their emblems are the Beetle, the Dragon (the Basilisk supposed) the Hawk and others. Statues and holy places are prepared for them, but the true form of God is unknown. The world had a beginning and is perishable; it is in the shape of a ball. The stars are fire and earthly things are under their influence. The moon is eclipsed when it crosses the shadow of the earth. The soul endures and passes into other bodies. The rain is caused by a change in the atmosphere. Hecataeus and Aristagoras mention other physiological doctrines. They had laws also for justice which they ascribed to Hermes (Thoth). They paid divine honors to useful animals. They claim the invention of Geometry, Astrology and Arithmetic." (Diog. Lert. Proem.) Although it may be said that this meagre exhibit of their system is but a homely outline, still it will be noticed that it is free from those fantastic dreams which so distinguish some other systems and are eminently characteristic of the productions of the so-called Spurious Manetho.

According to his usual practice, without reference to any particular work, does Plutarch quote Manetho, the Sebennyte. This he does in regard to the derivation of the Egyptian name Zeus, Amun, etc. Manetho, he tells us, interprets this last name as signifying the Hidden God. Iamblichus gives the same interpretation. (De Mysteriis VIII. 3, Plut. de Is. et Os. c. 9. p. 354).

Manetho is quoted by Aelian in explanation of the reason why swine's flesh was forbidden to the Egyptian priests. The reason he states to be that whoever tastes sow's milk is attacked with scurvy and leprosy. This circumstance is also quoted by Plutarch as a reason why the Egyptians considered the hog an unclean animal.

With remarkable sprightliness and fullness of detail, reflecting

great interest on the subject, does the latter explain how the Kiphi, the sacred incense of the Egyptians, was prepared and mixed during the reading of the passages of the Sacred Books, which bore upon it. Suidas, as before mentioned, was acquainted with a special work of Manetho upon the Kiphi. On two points of the greatest importance in the religious history of Egypt Plutarch quotes the authority of Manetho. One of these relates to the most prominent name of Typhon, namely, Seth, for he remarks that Bebon was generally held to belong not properly to Typhon, but to one of his attendants. From Manetho he also learned that as the magnet is called the bones of Horus so iron is called by the Egyptians "the bones of Typhon."

That the ancient Egyptian religion practiced human sacrifices has been, I believe, well ascertained, and its abolition in the time of the old empire makes a memorable epoch in the religious history of Egypt. Plutarch informs us how Manetho relates that in Eilethyia (the city of the mother of Isis) the sacrifice of the so-called Typhoneans was performed during the dog-days, after which the ashes of the victims were scattered to the wind. From Manetho's work on Archæology and Devotion he doubtless drew this account. This same work is quoted by Porphyry to the following effect: "Amos abolished the practice of human sacrifices in Heliopolis. They were formerly performed to Hera (the mother of Isis). The victims were examined and a seal was affixed to them, just as the calves, 'without blemish' are now examined and sealed. Three were sacrificed daily. Amos ordered the same number of wax figures to be offered in their stead."* Sensible man! In one of his works, that on "Ancient Theology," Manetho described this custom, which was well known to the ecclesiastical writers, especially Eusebius, and Theodoret. In a critical estimate of the facts transmitted by Porphyry, relative to Egyptian affairs, it is important for us to know that he knew and quoted the text of Manetho. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as accidental that everything which has been drawn from the theological works of Manetho, by classical and ecclesiastical writers up to the fourth century, indicates a man of great sobriety and remarkable learning, more especially in the antiquities of his nation.

Men are now generally of the opinion that it would be unjust to attribute to him any such dreamy and necromantic books, as some

* Porphyr. de Abst. p. 199, R.

that have been put out under his name: nor do they suspect that this man, whom the monuments have so far proved to a good degree correct, would by altering or misplacing the names of kings or dynasties have left himself open to the charge of an empiric or a deceiver. They no longer consider that they should hold him responsible for the mistakes of copyists or epitomizers or for the forgeries of systematizing chronologers, who have had to do with his work.

Of Manetho's historical work we have a better knowledge than of his other works. It was entitled "Three Books of Egyptian History." It was written in good Greek and taken, according to his own statement, from the Egyptian records. Josephus admits that he did not pay much attention to popular legends, but where he mentioned them did not conceal the sources of his information. From the same testimony we know that he refuted many statements of Herodotus concerning Egyptian affairs.

With the assistance of the Turin Papyrus, which we shall speak of hereafter, it is thought a comparatively easy matter to render the plan of his work intelligible. The first volume is said to have contained the series of ante-historical dynasties, that is, those prior to the thirty historic dynasties: it began with the dynasties of the Gods and ended with those of mortal kings.

Then follow in the same volume the first eleven historic dynasties, so-called.

The second volume is said to have began with the 12th and ended with the 19th dynasty; and the last eleven dynasties are said to have been comprised in the third volume.

That this was the plan of Manetho's work we have only the word of his epitomists and so have to take that word at what we may consider it worth. If, however, the arrangement were such as is here said, then his first volume contained the mythical history of Egypt with such part of the history of the old empire as embraced at least the first 26 names of the list of Eratosthenes (which I will give farther on) brought forward (or backward, if you will so have it) and rendered somewhat mythical by way of anticipation; for the 38 names of the list of Eratosthenes constitute the Old Empire of Menes to the end of the twelfth dynasty so called; or, what may be regarded as the same, they constitute the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties; that is to say, these three last mentioned dynasties, so called, when succinctly and fully expressed,

with no name appearing which belongs n ot properly to the list and none omitted which properly belo ngs there, represent what is properly understood as the Old Empire of Menes. If such arrangement as that given above were the work of M anetho and he put in only to the end of his 11th dynasty, so called, of mortal kings in his first volume; then we have to s ay concerning it that such arrangement seems inconsistent with the real state of the case, even in the production of a work of art; for why shou ld he have brought eleven of the historic dynasties under a mythic c loud, so to speak, and left one, the twelfth, to bask in the historic sunshine of his Second Book?

Whether or not this was the arrangement, or whether, if it were, it was altogether the work of Manetho, there certainly appears connected with it something like what is called in modern vulgar phrase, "a shoving of the cards" or "a shoving of the queer," there being a displacing of things for a purpose, the design here evidently being to obscure the subject and ren der it next to impossible to discover the truth concerning the pr ogress of the history. There appears to be no doubt th at we may consider ourselves indebted for a good deal that comes to us under the name of Manetho, to persons who succeeded him in time.

A GENERAL REVIEW, ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF THE DYNASTIES IN RELATION TO THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF 3555 YEARS, SAID TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY MANETHO AS THE LIMIT OF THEIR DURATION FROM MENES TO NECTANEBO; AND THE RESULT:

We will now give a brief outline of Manetho's historical system; and to begin with it may be remarked that in regard to his Primeval Chronology we are indebted to Eusebius, the Armenian, for the only certain knowledge we have of this preliminary portion of his work.

This whole opening period Manetho, according to Eusebius, computed at 24,900 years; and under three general divisions, namely, the dominion of Gods, Heroes and Manes.

1. The dominion of Gods was divided into seven sections, a different deity being at the head of each. The order is Ptah, Ra and Num, the Chnumis or Kneph of the Greeks (which correspond respectively to Vulcan, Helios, and Agathodaemon in the Greek and Roman Mythologies). Then the four still preserved in the Turin Papyrus of Wilkinson, namely, Chronus, Osiris, Typho, Horus

(*i.e.*, Seb, Hesiri, Seth, Her). This Papyrus has enabled us to restore with certainty the first three dynasties.

2. The dominion of Demi-Gods. The last of the rulers who succeeded the great Gods, Eusebius, without taking any more pains to more nearly specify him, calls Bytis.

Iamblichus says that Bitis or Bytis was a prophet of Ammon, the King, *i.e.*, Hyk, Ammon's peculiar title. He interpreted the Hermetic Books, that is, he was the minister or priest of Ammon. It is hence assumed, that Manetho made the inferior deities succeed the Seven Great Gods; and this is clearly seen to be the case not only in the Papyrus but in the work attributed to a spurious Manetho, wherein they are called Demi-Gods. Eusebius, in the sequel, comprises the whole period ending with Bitys under the dominion of the Gods and says that, according to Manetho, it lasted 13,900 years. There are, consequently, still 11,025 years remaining, which Eusebius sums up, but misplaces some of the items. The following, however, is considered the substance of Manetho's system.

	Years.
1. Dominion of the Gods in two divisions, the first of which ended with Horus, the second with Bitys	13,900
2. Dominion of Heroes in two divisions	1,255
3. Heroes and Kings of the primeval race, transition from divine to human history	5,813
4. Human history — Provincial Princes — as follows: — . . .	
(*a.*) Kings, without particular notices (of Thebes?) . . .	1,817
(*b.*) Thirty Memphites (Lower Egypt)	1,790
(*c.*) Ten Thinites	350
Sum total	24,925

Neither the single sums here taken for gods, demi-gods, manes or mortals, nor the aggregate of them all bears the appearance of having been intended to be cyclical. As to the historical period in this enumeration it remains a question as to whether its three divisions were really consecutive or whether the last was wholly or partially contemporary with the first. In the former way Manetho computed them. Investigators have assumed it, as a historically settled point, that the Egyptian tradition prior to the time of Menes admitted one dynasty of kings in Lower Egypt and one, at least, perhaps two, in Upper Egypt, during a period of from two to four thousand years. To these dynasties, which are perfectly distinct from the mythological kings, whose history is connected

rather with that of the Gods, the race of Menes succeeds. From the dawn of its history, Egypt appears to our view as an empire formed out of the Upper and Lower country. Egypt itself is usually called "the two countries." Down to the last period the title of their kings was, Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt. Misraim (Heb. Mestra-im, the two Mestra, Mizra) contains a similar allusion.

As to how far those data of primeval Egyptian history may have been preserved in their genuine form or how far they may have been tampered with by Judaizing Christians and others has been with many investigators a matter of serious consideration. An expedient for reducing this sum of nearly 25,000 years to 2206 by reckoning each year a month in order to bring them within the period, which, according to the Septuagint, intervened between the creation and the deluge (2242 years) was proposed by Eusebius. But for this he was taxed by the Byzantine writers with a misapprehension of the deeper import of the ancient traditions; nor is it thought that he could have been serious in a proposal, which would, in this case, have involved him in much absurdity, for after he should have so reduced the period of 350 years which is allotted to the last ten kings, these ten should not have reigned altogether 30 years, which is not half the time that is put down for the reign of Menes, their own descendant.

As regards the purely Mythological Dynasties there is no reason appearing to show that Manetho reduced the period of the Gods, nor the whole period prior to Menes, to Sothiac cycles of 1461 years each, or to any other class of astronomical periods. But, as regards the human period, the old Egyptian tradition did, as said before, recognize historical royal families prior to Menes. These, however, were separated from the divine founders of their nation by the sacred princes of the primeval times who were said to have reigned several thousand years. No family name having been assigned to their most ancient monarchs it is thought they may have been elective as to office, chosen by the priests, a form which we have seen, maintained itself to some degree in later historic times.

In proceeding to give a brief synoptical review of the 30 dynasties of Manetho I may remark, as intimated before, that his narrative is no longer extant, with the exception of a few extracts in Josephus and others; but his lists we still possess, though in part

in a somewhat mutilated condition. From the Papyrus we know that this synoptical form of exposition was the old Egyptian method.

The lists which have come down to us through Africanus and Eusebius give but the names of the Kings in each dynasty and not always these, together with a notice of their years of reign without months or days. But, in Josephus, so far as he quotes, we find the old Egyptian computation by years and months; and a notice, even giving the days, is said to be still preserved in these extracts. Of other minutiæ also traces are found such as the affinity of the Kings with their predecessors and even their physical constitution.

Manetho, therefore, according to his country's custom, appended to his historical text lists, constructed after the Hellenic fashion in a narrative and critical form, or incorporated them in sections in his history. The chronographers contented themselves with epitomizing those lists, inserting in them, here and there, remarks culled from the body of the work.

Manetho, according to Syncellus, assigned to the whole Egyptian Empire from Menes to Nectambo (about 350 B. C.) a period of 3555 years. And now, that you may without further argument be convinced that the sums of the numbers of years given for the dynasties are not to be reckoned continuously, you can take the aggregate of the years given for those dynasties and see how it will compare with this number of Manetho.

The sum of the periods of the thirty dynasties is according to Africanus approximately 5319 years, which is 1764 years more than the number given by Syncellus, as from Manetho. Moreover, the number given by Eusebius is approximately 4940 years, which is 1385 years more than that given by Manetho. What does this indicate? At first thought it might be taken to indicate that many of the dynasties, which are entered under Manetho's name as kings of Egypt, were merely provincial kings reigning contemporarily with the kings of all Egypt, whose seat was at Thebes or Memphis. Or, secondly, it might be taken to mean that many of the kings with the numbers attached to their names appearing thuswise under the name of Manetho as sovereigns of Egypt are merely kings on paper, the names with their numbers arising from interpolation into the text after the time of Manetho. As mentioned before many of the dynasties in Manetho with the numbers to them are not recognized in the list of Eratosthenes, purporting to be of the

Kings of Egypt for the same period, and from this, if not from any other cause, a person would think they did not belong to the history proper.

Speaking of that period said to have consisted in Manetho of 12 dynasties and which in Eratosthenes' list is represented by a succession of 38 kings; beginning with Menes; but which as I have mentioned before is as fairly represented in the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties of Manetho, when fully expressed, as it is in Eratosthenes, the overplus in the aggregate of the Epitomists above Manetho's number arises mainly from the numbers given to the 2nd dynasty, which is supposed to have been contemporary with the 3rd; to that given to the 5th or Elephantine dynasty which is supposed to have been contemporaneous with the 4th and 6th or to have been provincial; and to the 9th and 10th or Herakleopolitan dynasties so called, which some supposed to have been provincial and contemporary with the Theban monarchs; to that overplus also given to the 12th and 13th dynasties above what is given to the men representing them in Eratosthenes; to the number given to the Choites as well as the 284 or 253, or whatever number that is of years which is set down to the first six Shepherd kings; and which I have concluded, from the language of Josephus, is to be reckoned in the 518 plus 151 plus X years, which are yet given to the Shepherd rule in Africanus, all of which is to be thought of when considering the overplus of years and dynasties in the Epitomists above the aggregate of years said to have been ascribed by Manetho for the thirty dynasties.

It is to borne in mind in regard to this whole subject of the Egyptians and Shepherds that the dynasty of Menes itself was probably of Shepherd origin, if not of Libyan or Ethiopian Shepherd, yet of Asiatic Shepherd origin; and the Scriptures might be thought to strengthen the supposition of the Asiatic origin of the family of Menes, for they inform us that Mizraim, the son of Cham and grandson of Noah, whom some have (without giving sufficient attention to the chronology of the subject) thought to be identical with Menes, settled Egypt and the adjacent parts of Africa, including Ethiopia and Libya after the flood. Moreover, when we speak of the sons of Abraham colonizing Africa, we are, it is seen, coming within one generation of Jacob, who, the Scriptures inform us, died in Egypt after a residence there of 17 years. Speaking of things after the death and burial of Sarah Josephus says (Ant. Bk.

1, ch. XV.): Abraham after this married Keturah, by whom he had six sons, men of courageous and sagacious minds: Zambran and Jazar and Madan and Madian and Josabak and Sous. Now the sons of Sous were Sabatha and Dadan; the sons of Dadan were Latusim and Assur and Luom; the sons of Madian were Ephas and Ophren and Anoch and Ebidas and Eldas. Now all these sons and grandsons Abraham contrived to settle in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytis and the country of Arabia Felix, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren that he made war against Libya and took it; and that his grandchildren (the first cousins to the ancestor of the twelve tribes) "when they inhabited it called it from his name, Africa; and, indeed, Alexander Polyhistor, gives his attestation to what I here say, who speaks thus: 'Cleodemus, the prophet, who was also called Malcus, who wrote a history of the Jews in agreement with the history of Moses, their legislator, relates that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah; nay, he names three of them, Apher and Surim and Japhran; that from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two (Apher and Japhran) the country of Africa took its name; because these men were auxiliars to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Antæus and that Hercules (*i.e.*, Aahmes or Menes), married Aphre's daughter and of her begot a son Diodorus; and that Sophon was his son, from whom that barbarous people called Sophacians were denominated. This would make the settlement of Egypt and the adjacent regions of Africa which was in any case, scripturally, by the descendants of Noah, to have been in this case of the tenth generation from Mizraim, the grandson of Noah, but in the line of Shem and Arphaxed. Now, all history proves that the people of Abraham were eminently of the Shepherd and Scythic kind which was the case doubtless with their ancestors the people of Noah from high Asia. In fact the name of Egypt in the language of that country is Chemi or Schemi, the land of Cham, the son of Noah, which may have been given to the country after the name of Cham, whose people settled it.

All this being so, therefore, there can be the less difficulty in conceiving how that the designations Elephantinean, Herakleopolitan, Choithe (Chethites, *i. e.*, Hittites) Shasu or Shepherds and the like are but different names for the same people, either as a whole or in regard to different tribes of the same. But the fact of

so many different dynasties being recorded indicates that there were not only distinctions recognized among the clans of descendants of Menes, but that intruding dynasts from Asia and Ethiopia may have occasionally occupied the Egyptian throne, which last the historian informs us was the case, after the 38th ruler as given in Eratosthenes.

For a chronological connection of the dynasties, so far as an aggregation of the numbers annexed to them are concerned, in order to reasonably get a sum to square with the aggregate, said to have been given by Manetho, the following dynasties have been suggested: The 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th and 8th, 11th and 12th dynasties and up to 235, say, in the 13th, or arbitrarily in this case, until we, counting in what is given for those dynasties, which come after and whose numbers may appear to be better authenticated, arrive at a number, which will square with Manetho's, that is, supposing him to have begun his list and his reckoning with Menes. Let us take the figures given in Africanus of the dynasties mentioned as follows:—

	Years.
1st. Dynasty	263
3d "	214
4th "	284
6th "	203
7th and 8th "	146
11th "	43
12th "	160
13th "	up to 235
	1548
14th, 15th and 16th dynasties	518
17th, "	151
18th to 30th dynasties inclusive	1338
	3555

This, of course, is to an extent arbitrary, as I have said; for after excluding from the enumeration down to the 13th dynasty all not put down under the head of Theban or Memphite; and after selecting from those two such as some believed did carry on the thread of the Chronology, I then took from the sum given to the 13th dynasty, just the number of years I wanted to fill out Manetho's aggregate of 3555 years; that is, in connection with the numbers given by Africanus for the Shepherd dynasties and those that

came after to the 30th inclusive. It is, however, allowed to be uncertain whether Manetho may not have begun to reckon from some dynasty antecedent to Menes, so that there can be nothing definite about this aggregate number of Manetho's as it comes to us through Syncellus. If we had taken the aggregate number which appears to be given by Africanus for the 30 dynasties, we would have as said above, 5319 years or 1764 years over Manetho's number, which renders it certain that, if all these numbers were entered by him and if he had stated correctly the aggregate number given by Manetho, he could not have understood the dynasties as succeeding each other in chronological order.

It is over the old Empire and the Middle or that of the Hykshos, so called, that the obscurity is found to hang. As regards the New Empire, so called, it is taken as demonstrated that no two dynasties from the 18th to the 30th inclusive, were contemporary and the aggregate number of years given for the individual reigns for this period (if we except the aggregate given to the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, so called, which as I have said represent when properly expressed the whole preceding history from Menes), seems on the whole, to be not unreasonable.

Everything goes to show us that Thebes and Memphis were the recognized orthodox seats of the undivided monarchy of Egypt and when, for example, we meet in the 5th, 9th, and 10th dynasties, so called, of that old monarchy with the dynastic names, Elephantinean and Herakleopolitan, which name, at least, in either case is not repugnant to a Shepherd extraction; and in the 14th dynasty, so called, with 76 Choite (Chethite) kings, whose name shows them to have been Shepherds and whose average reign from the aggregate number of years (184) given them in Africanus' is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ years or from that given them in Eusebius (484) is not quite $6\frac{1}{2}$ years, we simply make up our mind that these are but repetitions of the names and numbers of the regular kings under slightly varying forms, or that they are interpolations by later hands than Manetho's for the purpose of obscuring the subject, perhaps in order to support some historico-religious theory as to origin.

The statement of Syncellus as to the aggregate number reckoned by Manetho for his 30 dynasties appears, at first sight, as if it might be straightforward and true: "The period of the hundred and thirteen generations reckoned by Manetho in his three volumes comprises a sum total of three thousand five hundred and fifty-five years."

This would make it appear that Manetho reckoned back by generations, giving the average length of life at nearly $31\frac{1}{2}$ years, and that his aggregate number of years is reckoned back from about the 15th year before Alexander the Great or that in which the younger Nectanebo died, to Menes. This Nectanebo Syncellus represents as the last Egyptian king described by Manetho and the last Pharaoh of the old Egyptian race. He is lost to our treatment in about 350 or 352 B. C. "From his date," says Syncellus, "he' (Manetho) "reckons his 3555 years up to the year of the world 1586 (properly 1593). Consequently, 352+3555+1593=5500 years B. C., for the creation, according to this reckoning, instead of 4004 as the Biblical Chronology has it, or 6000 as the Babylonian appears to be.

It is supposed by the theorists that Syncellus found this statement in a section of the epitome of Africanus, the remainder of which he did not copy; or that he may have found the statement in one of the copies of the lists of Manetho, which he mentions as having collated.

It is seen, therefore, we have on the same authority the sum total of the thirty dynasties given as from 1500 to 2000 more than Manetho himself is said to have assigned for the period; consequently the aggregate of the dynasties as they have reached us are far from being the work of Manetho. It has been suggested that the meaning of the latter was that the duration of the Old and Middle Empires was 3555 years minus the 1350 years or so which he assigned to the New Empire or in round numbers 2200 years. And now, it so happens, that if we leave out the reckoning for the Middle Empire, so called, altogether and aggregate the sums of the numbers given to the dynasties by Africanus and Eusebius from the first to the 12th dynasty, so called, inclusive and in order as they would appear to have reigned and to this add the sum for the New Empire, so called, we shall have about that number of years, which will dispense with a Middle Empire and connect the 12th dynasty chronologically with the 18th, so called.

The natural way we are apt to think of those dynasties in relation to the numbers of years set down against them respectively is that they reigned successively over Egypt, as they appear in the list to have done, and for the numbers of years ascribed to them respectively. But this we cannot begin to do with the dynasties and the numbers ascribed to them in Africanus and be consistent with Africanus or his interpreter and editor Syncellus.

In case there arose any reasonable ground for suspicion that any part of this ancient history of Egypt had been manufactured for a purpose, as to support some hypothesis, as before intimated, then there are many reasons why such suspicion would first rest on the Middle Empire, so called, being such in this case that there are no two authors found to agree in their data concerning it. Look at the exhibits of the data which Africanus, Eusebius and Syncellus give us of their Middle Empire. Wilkinson, when he found them so much disagreed, was perfectly justified in striking out on an independent path of his own, and tabulating a system which he thought might mutually support and be supported by the Bible; but in carrying out this plan he acted somewhat arbitrarily. The eight Tanites which he found the "Old Egyptian Chronicle" gave to the 16th dynasty he said he preferred to what Africanus or Eusebius ascribed thereto; but then he went to work and added to this very dynasty, which he had found already replete with men and years (in "the old chronicle!") three names more which he succeeded in picking up upon the monuments. He knew he could not put the whole seven of his Osirtasens and Amun-m-Gori's into the 17th dynasty, so called, and yet agree with "the Old Chronicle" and so he added three to the 16th, already full, as I have said, with kings and years, and then he made himself agree with "the Old Chronicle" and Eusebius in giving four of the seven names to the 17th dynasty. The works of Wilkinson on Egypt are, on the whole, interesting and valuable and their author was undoubtedly a well meaning man.

Dynasty.	*Africanus.* *Years.*	*Eusebius and Syncellus.* *Years.*
1st Dynasty	253	258
2nd "	302	297
3rd "	214	198
4th "	274 or 284	448
5th "	218	100
6th "	203	203
7st and 8th "	142 and 70 days	100 and 75 days
9th "	409	100
10th "	185	185
11th "	59	59
12th "	160	182
	2,419 and 70 days	2,130 and 75 days

The numbers here, as is seen, fluctuate a little in general; but there are two in particular which need to be noticed. As to the number 448 years for the 4th dynasty Eusebius in Syncellus and in the Armenian version are agreed upon that number of years distributed to 17 kings for that dynasty, which would leave a little over 26 years for the average reign, which appears too high an average. Under the head of the same dynasty Africanus has 274 or 284 years distributed among 8 kings, which leaves the average reign to be $34\frac{1}{4}$ or $35\frac{1}{2}$ years; and this, being far too great an average for experience, is therefore much more improbable than the other proportion makes it to be. 284 years is exactly what Africanus allows to his first six Shepherd kings of his 15th dynasty, which giving $47\frac{1}{3}$ years of average reign is still more unreasonable than this he gives us for his 4th. There being 8 kings for the 4th dynasty and 9 for the 5th in Africanus it is reasonable to suppose that in Eusebius both these numbers are found compounded under one head, representing his 4th dynasty of 17 kings. This appears the more reasonable conclusion, first, because Eusebius gives only two names, Othoes and Phiops, both names meaning giants (Elephantin), under his fifth dynasty; and secondly, because he, not seeming to specify any particular number of years for that, his fifth dynasty (Syncellus loosely gives 100), still has the sum of the numbers of years, as given for the 4th and 5th dynasties from him, to compare respectably with the sum of the numbers given in Africanus for the same dynasties; viz.: 448+100=548 years for Eusebius; and 284+218=502 for Africanus' 4th and 5th dynasties.

The next numbers which I have to remark upon in these two columns, as presenting the most remarkable difference as standing for the same dynasty, is that representing the 9th, which in Africanus is 409 years, distributed among 19 kings, thus admitting an average reign of about $21\frac{1}{2}$ years, which of itself appears not unreasonable. Eusebius for the same dynasty has 100 years distributed among 4 kings, thus giving an average reign of 25 years. In neither of these lists, if they may in the case be called lists, is the name of any king mentioned, excepting one, Achthoes, which name means a giant. They say he was a most fearful man among his own people, and was finally killed by a crocodile. Nor does either of them give any name for the following dynasty, the 10th, in which each distributes to 19 kings 185 years, thus allowing an average reign of not quite 10 years. The sum of the kings for these two dynasties

appears to be either 19 or 23. The 19 kings being repeated for such unequal numbers of years in both the dynasties by Africanus shows there must be a mistake by repetition of this number. Eusebius, however, giving 4 instead of 19 for his 10th dynasty, may imply a probability in favor of the sum of the apparent numbers 19 and 4 equals 23 kings for the two dynasties. The sum of 409 and 185 is 594 years, which, divided by 19 kings, gives a little over 31 years, and by 23 kings nearly 26 years as the average reign for these two dynasties, while divided by 38 or 19+19, the sum of the kings in Africanus, it gives somewhat over $15\frac{1}{2}$ years as the average reign. This last length of average reign, such a long period being considered, is more probable than the 31 years average reign for 19, but, perhaps, less probable than the 26 years average for 23 kings.

But as to the distribution of the number of years in this case, it appears that Eusebius went off content with only half his share, for 100+185=285, to which if we add the same number, 285, we shall have 570, which is so near as to look very like the sum of the two numbers in Africanus, viz., 594.

Let it suffice to say in addition concerning this topic that Africanus has more and Eusebius less than his share of the years in this case, and that, had a fair division been made between them, there would now appear an equal sum under each of the two columns down to the end of the 12th dynasty. To effect an adjustment we take 289 (the difference between the numbers appearing under the two columns) from 2419, the number appearing under the column of Africanus, and add it, in equal parts, to the numbers left under the two columns, and we have as a result under both 2274.5 years, which must be the same for both, representing, as it does, the same period. But I have thought it strange, in adding up the columns with some of the slightly fluctuating numbers given on both sides for the dynasties, to find that, in one case, the half of the difference between the two columns was 150 or 151, which is the number of years given by Africanus for his 17th dynasty.

If, now, we subtract this result, which we find to be the limit in years of these first 12 dynasties, viz., 2274.5, from the number given by Manetho himself as the limit in years of his 30 dynasties, viz., 3555 years, we have the number 1280.5 as the limit in years of his New Empire. If to this last result we add 352 years B. C., which is the near approximate date at which the history loses sight

of the younger Nectambo, the last indigenous King of the 30th Egyptian dynasty, we shall have 1280.5 + 352 = 1633 B. C., as the approximate date of the middle life of Aahmes, the first King of the 18th dynasty, as according to this reckoning. In the life of this King Clement of Alexandria places Moses and the Exodus and his date I find by calculation to be about 1647 B. C. Clement as follows: —

After he has given in (Stromata 1. 145) a review of Jewish Chronology he lays down the following data for the era of Moses: —

From the birth of Moses to the Exodus	80 years.
From thence to his death	40 "

Consequently Moses went out of Egypt 645 years before the Sothiac period.

The Sothiac period occurring in 1322 B. C., this places the Exodus in 1667 B. C., that is about 650 years before the building of the temple; but this is hardly the understanding of Clement, as will be seen from his reckoning as follows:—

"From Moses and Inachus" (which synchronism, admitted by Tatian after Ptolemy and Apion, appears to have been a settled point with Clemens) — "to Deucalion, Phaethon and Cecrops, four generations, reckoning three to a century,

	Years.
make	133
From the Flood of Deukalion to the Daktuloi of Mount Ida, according to Thrasyllus	73
Thence to the rape of Ganymede	65
Thence to the expedition of Perseus (Isthmian Games)	15
Thence to the building of Troy	34
Thence to the Argonauts	64
Thence to Theseus and the Minotaur	32
Thence to the 'Seven before Thebes'	10
Thence to the establishment of the Olympic Games by Hercules	3
Thence to the expedition of the Amazons	9
Thence to the deification of Hercules	11
Thence to the Rape of Helen	4
Here there is an omission of (To the Taking of Troy)	10

The continuation according to Eratosthenes: —

From the capture of Troy to the Heraclidæ	80
Thence to the foundation of the Ionaian Colonies	60
Thence to the Protectorship of Lycurgus	159
Thence to the first Olympiad	108
	870"

This sum of 870 years terminates with the year before the first Olympiad. If, therefore, we add to this number 777 we obtain 1647 B. C., which must have been the date Clement had in his mind for the reign of Aahmes, and the Exodus. This date leaves about 630 years between the Exodus and the building of the Temple of Solomon, which differs by 150 years from the time given by the Bible, viz., 480 years.

This latter Usher's chronology, which is our common Biblical chronology, took as its measure. In like manner Josephus has the Exodus to take place in the reign of this Aahmes, giving the date variously at 592 and 612 years before the founding of the Temple. And another computation which places Moses (probably his birth) 602 years before the deification of Bacchus and follows the reckoning of Apollodorus, gives (it is thought owing to a misprint) a considerably earlier date: 1765 or 1785 B. C., for the date of Inachus (contemporary with Moses). This would give for the Exodus 1685 or 1705 B. C.

On the other hand, Apion, the contemporary of Josephus, placed the date of the Exodus in the first year of the 7th Olympiad or about the year 751 B. C. In regard to Moses he says: "I have heard of the ancient men of Egypt that Moses was of Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers and offered his prayers in the open air, towards the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be directed towards the sun-rising, which was agreeable to the city of Heliopolis; that he, also, set up pillars instead of guomons, under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun itself goes round in the other." (c. Apian Bk. II. 2.) In regard to the Exodus he related that Moses concealed himself on Sinai 40 days before the delivery of the Law; that the Israelites, 110,000 strong, marched in six days to Judaea, and that as by this rapid march they got boils, "sabbo," in Egyptian, which language they spoke, they called the seventh day the Sabbath."

Even if this relation of Apion arose from a tradition, it is evident the man himself did not believe in its extravagances; but he relates it because he knew it would entertain his patrons, the Alexandrians, who were at that time jealous of the wealthy Israelites of the city. It is said of him, that he was "a man versed in all the pettinesses

of antiquarian pedantry, who endeavored to spoil the trade of the Egyptian Ciceroni of his day," and to deprive them of those profits which they were accustomed to derive from their attentions to travelers of distinction. In speaking about the pyramids Pliny mentions him as a dabbler in antiquities generally.

Chaeremon, from whose Egyptian history Josephus quotes in his treatise against Apion, mentions a tradition of the Israelitish exodus, as having taken place in the time of Amenophis and his son Sethos, who were the son and grandson of the great Sesostris. The relation of Chaeremon, as quoted by Josephus, is as follows: "The Goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep and blamed him that her temple had been destroyed in the war; but that Pritiphantes, the sacred scribe said to him that in case he should purge Egypt of the men that had polutions upon them he should be no longer troubled with such frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased and cast them out of the country; that Moses and Joseph were scribes, Joseph being a sacred scribe; that their names were originally Egyptian, that of Moses having been Tisithen and that of Joseph Peteseph; that these two came to Pelusium and lighted upon 380,000 that had been left there by Amenophis, he not being willing to carry them into Egypt; that these scribes made a league of friendship with them and made with them an expedition against Egypt; that Amenophis could not resist their attacks, but immediately fled into Ethiopia and left his wife with child behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns and there brought forth a son, whose name was Mesene, and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being about 200,000 men, and then received his father, Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

This narrative even though it arose from some tradition, would hardly be considered as historical, but rather of a legendary character. It gives the name of Sethos, of the lists, the son of Amenophis, as Mesene and differs from the account given by Josephus, as from Manetho (which states that Sethos was five years old when his father retreated to Ethiopia) in saying that the son of Amenophis was not yet born at the time of the departure of his father, but that his mother pregnant with him was concealed in a cave. According to this then, Sethos or Mesene would be born on the eve of his father's departure for Ethiopia and so would be 13 instead of

18 years old at the time of his father's return from Ethiopia, if, as according to the other account, his absence had been only for 13 years. There is, however, here a little different face on the matter, for it says "when he (Mesene) was grown up to man's estate (he) pursued the Jews into Syria, being about 200,000 men, and then received his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia." This might imply the absence of Amenophis to have been for more than 13 years; for at the age of 13 his son could not have been expected to have done much to rid the country of a government, which had been established in its administration for that number of years; however, he might have done something to expedite the return of his father with his army by which the liberation of his country from foreign domination might have been effected. Manetho's version of this as quoted by Josephus, I will give farther on. This man Chaeremon lived somewhat earlier than Apion and is quoted by Porphyry as a distinguished writer upon Egyptian theology. In his letter to Anebo the latter writer gives, after Chaeremon, a description of the whole Egyptian Mythology. The extract from that letter, found in Eusebius (Praep. Evangel. v. 10) represents Chaeremon as stating that the most ancient Egyptian deities were the planets, the constellations of the Zodiac, and others, with the Decans and Horoscopi.

Porphyry, again in his treatise on "Abstinence from Animal Food," quotes Chaeremon, the Stoic, concerning a commentary on the office and habits of the priesthood, which indicates its authentic character as embodying the doctrine of the Egyptian books. He describes him as an accurate writer and much respected among the Stoic philosophers. He, moreover, quotes from him the remark that the Egyptian priests ranked among their own countrymen as philosophers, that is, were recognized among them as the philosophers were among the Greeks. The account which Chaeremon gives of the departure of the Israelites under Moses Josephus refutes, and, consequently does not paint his character in such bright colors as by the forementioned has been done.

In relation to the same legend as he claims it was given by Manetho Josephus (c. Apion 1. 26) states that "the Shepherds," whom he claimed to have been ancestors of the Jews, had left Egypt and went up and built Jerusalem when a king named Tethmosis ruled Egypt and that from that time till the time of the brothers Sethos (Sesostris) who was otherwise called Ægyptus,

and Armais, who was also called Danaus (to which time the legend we are now considering referred) there had intervened, according to his own reckoning, a period of 333 years, and down to another king, Amenophis, who persecuted the Hebrews in a notorious manner, by compelling them to work in the quarries, etc., there intervened 518 years. Bunsen put the time between the departure of the Shepherds and that of the Israelites under Moses at 215 years and he makes the exodus to have taken place in the days of Amenophis, the son of this Sethos here spoken of. Concerning this king Amenophis who is involved in the narrative of this legend, Josephus says: —

"This king desired to become a spectator of the Gods, as did Orus, one of his predecessors in the Kingdom desired the same. He also communicated his desire to his namesake, Amenophis, the son of Papis, who seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to sagacity and the prescience of future events. This, his namesake informed him that it was possible for him to see the Gods if he could clear the whole country completely of the lepers and of the other impure people. The king was pleased with this counsel and collected together all that had any defect in their bodies in Egypt. These to the number of eighty thousand he sent to those quarries, which are on the eastern side of the Nile, that they might work in them and thus be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. There were some of those who were afflicted with the leprosy, who were learned priests and that Amenophis, the wise man and prophet was afraid lest in case there should be any violence offered these priests, the gods should become angry with himself and the king. From his prescience of the future, he moreover said that certain people would fight for the assistance of those defiled people and would hold the government of Egypt for thirteen years. This man, Amenophis, thought he dared not himself inform the king of those things which were about to come to pass, and so, having left a writing behind him informing the king of those matters he slew himself, an act which indeed took all heart away from the King. After thesethings the King writes thus verbatim: "After those who were sent to work in the quarries had continued a long time in that wretched state, the King having been sufficiently recompensed by their services and his honor having been sufficiently vindicated, sets apart for their habitation and protection the city of Avaris which had been left desolate by the Shepherds. Now, this city was, ac-

cording to the ancient theology, the city of Typho, and when these men were gotten together in it and found the place suitable for a revolt, they appointed themselves from among the priests of Heliopolis a leader whose name was Osarsiph, and to him they took an oath that they should obey him in all things. He thereupon, in order, enacted a law for them which prohibited them from worshiping the Egyptian Gods, enjoined upon them not to abstain from any of those animals which the Egyptians deemed sacred and hold in the highest reverence; but kill and destroy them all; and prevented them from attaching themselves to any one excepting those of their own confederation. When he had enacted many laws such as these and others, many which were repugnant to the cherished customs of the Egyptians, he issued orders that they should employ the multitude of hands they had in erecting walls about their city and make themselves ready for a war with Amenophis, the King, while he took into his own friendship the other priests and those that were polluted with them and sent ambassadors to those Shepherds who had been driven out of the country by Tethmosis to the city called Jerusalem. Thus he informed them of his own affairs and of those others who had been treated in such an ignominious manner and desired that they should come forthwith to assist him in a war against Egypt. He also promised that he would first reinstate them in Avaris, the patrimony of their ancestors and provide an abundant maintenance for their multitude, that he would protect and fight for them as occasion should require and would easily reduce the country beneath their sway.

These (Jews) were all delighted with the message and came away all together with great promptitude, being in number, two hundred myriads (thousands) of men, and in a little time they reached Avaris. And now Amenophis, the king of Egypt, having been informed of their invasion, was greatly perturbed, especially on his calling to mind what Amenophis, the son of Papis* (Apappus) had foretold to him, and, first of all, he having assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, took counsel with their leaders and sent for these sacred animals to be brought to him, especially for those that were principally honored in the temples and distinctly charged the priests that they should conceal the images of their gods with the utmost care.

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* *i.e.* Apapus or Sesostris the Great, which points to 'Amenophis, the son of Papis, being identical with Amenophis, the son of Sesostris, and to the present story as being allegorical.

His son, Sethos, who was also called Rameses, after the name of his father, Rampsis, he placed with a friend of his own. He then marched through with the rest of his Egyptians, who were in number three hundred thousand fighting men, against the enemy, yet he did not join battle with them, but thinking that would be to fight against the Gods he returned and came to Memphis. Here he took Apis and the other sacred animals, which he had sent to be brought to him and straightforwardly with them marched into Ethiopia, together with his whole army and a multitude of Egyptians; for it happened that the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him and cared for all the multitude that was with him, while his country supplied necessaries in abundance for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this people during their banishment which were to be absent from their own country for thirteen years, and, as a guard to King Amenophis, he placed a camp for his Ethiopian army upon the borders of Egypt. Such was the state of things in Ethiopia. But the people of Jerusalem having come down in company with the polluted Egyptians treated the men in such a barbarous manner that those who saw how they subdued the fore-mentioned country and the horrid wickedness whereof they were guilty, thought it a very dreadful thing; for not only did they set the cities and villages on fire, but were not satisfied till they were guilty of sacrilege and destroyed the images of the gods and used them in roasting those sacred animals, which used to be worshiped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and slayers of those animals and then ejected them naked from the country. It was also reported that the priest, who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Osarsiph, from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis; but that when he was gone over to those people, his name was changed and he was called Moses."

"These things," remarks Josephus, "the Egyptians relate about the Jews with much more which I omit for the sake of brevity. But still proceeds Manetho."

"After these things Amenophis returned from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Rampses with another army also, and both of them having joined battle with the Shepherds and the polluted people, worsted and slew a great number of them and pursued them to the confines of Syria."

I thought it my duty to give this in full, translating from the

Greek. The tradition in Manetho and Chaeremon is evidently the same with such variations as are characteristic of legendary tales. It has been remarked that Manetho relates it as a legend or tradition well authenticated, Chaeremon more as a matter of history; I have not perceived the difference, nor, if I did would I deem it necessary to notice it. The legendary or romantic character of the tale is patent throughout in both. Upon such a foundation as this narration must they build who make the Exodus under Moses to take place under this Amenophis or Sethos, here spoken of. Not so with Usher, whose chronology is followed in the Bible, who places it at the time of the evacuation of Egypt by the Shepherds, thought to have been in about 1500 to 1490 years before Christ, or 42 years earlier.

To some theologians this legendary Exodus appears as real because they think they see in it a correspondence to the Biblical account of the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt and their being compelled to labor at brick-making and in building the treasure cities of Pithom and Raamses for Pharaoh (Ex. I). I know the mind of good men experience, what we may call a sort of pleasure tinged with sadness in such contemplation, for they are accustomed in their meditations to dwell much upon the fact of God's people in all ages having been the objects of the oppression of the proud and wicked.

But with regard to the bondage and oppression of the Israelites in Egypt if this did not take place in full prior to the historical Exodus, it certainly was not because there had not been time and opportunity for it. I have no doubt whatever that oppression was in Egypt carried out to a very grievous extent and that many Israelites as well as multitudes of Egyptians groaned long in that country under their oppressors and taskmasters.

In regard to the tradition of Clement of Alexandria, Africanus and others, who imagined they had Manetho and Josephus as their authority that the Exodus took place in the time of Aahmes, the first king of the 18th dynasty, and not under Tethmosis III., Bunsen (Egypt 1, 200), says: "But does Manetho really assert that the Exodus or the taking and destruction of Avaris and the departure of the Shepherds took place under Amos? By no means. According to the extract in Josephus it was Tuthmosis, the son of Misphramuthosis, who made the convention with the Shepherds, and we venture confidently to assert, in

opposition to Josephus, that he was a Tuthmosis and cannot be an Amos."

In regard to this matter it is quite plain that a man may have two names, something that history shows not to have been uncommon in the case of the ancient kings. It appears, however, a plain enough historical fact that the Aahmes he refers to was not the king known as Tuthmosis III., but his grandfather or great-grandfather. That it was this Amos that Josephus himself calls Tuthmosis is shown by the fact that after mentioning him he goes on in his reckoning to Tuthmosis, the son of Misphramuthosis, as he calls him, or Tuthmosis III. I at first wondered that Bunsen had not this more plain in his mind, but I have thereon reflected that it was in the first volume of his "Egypt" he speaks thus and that before he got over the fifth volume of the same work he had his mind more clear on the subject. Josephus here confounds Amos or Tuthmosis, as he calls him, with an event that did not occur until the third generation after him. And, as another instance of a man being known by two names, which after all may be found to be only two variations of the same, you must have noticed in the legendary account of the Exodus we have just quoted, how that Sethos, the son of Amenophis, was also called in Chaeremon's account Mesene. The story appears evidently to be connected with the son of the great Rameses-Sesostris, who is said to have employed the great numbers of prisoners brought into the country after his father's campaigns in the execution of public works, building cities, walls, making canals, etc.

As to the date and nature of the Exodus or the departure of the Shepherds: —

A corrollary from what follows as well as precedes.

Recognizing the importance of determining the nature and date of that called the departure of the Shepherds from Egypt, as being a departure which Josephus identifies with that called the Exodus of the Israelites from that country and as being a date to which other ancient epochs are referred in the determination of historical dates or synchronisms, I have, after a considerably extensive research and lengthy investigation and comparison of data, concluded that the people called Shepherds were most probably Ægyptians of the race of Menes and part of the vast army which Sesostris the Great led out of Ægypt into Asia and that this de-

parture took place in 1542 B. C., in the 19th year of the reign of that monarch, under his name of Apapus the Great, as reckoned on the basis of Eratosthenes. Sesostris brought his vast army of Ægyptian Shepherds of the race of Menes from the Nile's Valley into Asia, where he conquered the government of every country to which he came in Asia and Europe, leaving Ægyptian colonies after him in some places. Herodotus speaks of the Colchians as being descendants of an Egyptian colony planted by Sesostris and mentions them in connection with the Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine as agreeing with the Egyptians in other things as well as in the practice of circumcision. The Palestinian colony, which gave name to that country are set down in our books as Philistines. This term means Shepherds (Palai-Scheth after whom also the local name Pelusium), and they are also the same with the Chithim or Hitties. These are the people who gave the lines of Kings to Judah and Israel, if not to Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, etc. These are the Caphtorim, or people of Caphtor, of whom God speaks to Moses: "The Caphtorim, who came up out of Caphtor destroyed them (*i.e.*, the Avims), and dwelt in their stead." And, again, God says through Amos (ch. ix: 7): "Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt and the Philistines from Caphtor?" Here both the Israelites and Philistines are specified as being brought from the land of Egypt by Jehovah.

The date I give for the departure of the Shepherds is the same which Bunsen gives, who was correct, doubtless, as to the date, but will be found before we get through with our critical review to have been incorrect as to other matters concerning it. Eratosthenes' date for Apapus is, doubtless, nearly correct. There is some proof for the date of this King other than what results from the additions, synchronisms, etc., of the historic data. It is of an astronomical character, connected with the Sothiac cycle, and is as follows: One of five important monuments, which were particularly examined by the French archæologists, Biot and DeRougé, was a dilapidated calendar discovered at Elephantina in Upper Egypt, which contained a distinct notation of the rising of Sirius on a given day and must have belonged to the latter part of this reign. The fragments of that calendar, dug out from the wall of the present quay of Elephantina, in which they stood, were found when put together to contain the following inscription: —

"Inundation; *third* month (Epiphi). Third day, *rising of Sothis;* Festival, etc."

This inscription indicates the 28th day of the 11th month of the Egyptian year. There are, consequently, 37 more days between this and the 1st of Thoth.

Viz: 2 days of Epiphi.
30 " " Mesari (the 12th month).
5 intercalary days.

37

As one of these days represents 4 years of the Sothiac cycle, then 37 × 4 days = 148 years of that cycle, which must elapse before Sirius rises on the 1st of Thoth. To find the date of the monument we must, therefore, add 148 to the year of the astronomical epoch.

This in Central Egypt (28° 11′ N. L.) is 1322 B. C. Then 1322+148=1470 B. C., would be the date indicated by the calendar. According to Eratosthenes' reckoning this would be the ninth year before the death of Apapus the Great, that is, Sesostris. This, however, can only be approximative as to the date. The investigators into the subject of the chronolgy of the history of ancient Egypt soon came to the conclusion that the only monuments on which they could rely for absolute dates were the local calendars, which mark the rising of Sirius and were connected with the name of the reigning Pharaoh. In regard to the Sothiac cycle, which in round numbers is usually reckoned at 1460 years (365×4), the date of 1322, for example, fixed for it, is an average one, corresponding, as said before, to Central Egypt, Lat. 28° 11′ N., which is generally agreed upon for astronomical purposes. The length of Egypt from Heliopolis to Syene being about six degrees, the difference in the extreme points makes a difference in the Sothiac cycle of 24 years; for the difference of one degree to the south or north is almost equal to the difference of a day or four years in the cycle.

Moreover, as in the movable year there is always the loss of nearly a quarter of a day, by neglecting the fraction beyond 365, the difference between the Sothiac and the true solar year will amount in four years to a whole day. Hence it follows that in 365×4=1460 years the neglect of intercalations occasions the loss of almost a year, so that the number 1461 would be, in fact, nearer correct than 1460.

The agreement of the Egyptians upon a central point of their country for astronomical determinations, as we, by general agreement, for example, reckon longitude from Greenwich observatory, does not imply that they did not have calculations based upon local observations for the rising of Sirius for the practical use of the celebrations of the festivals at a given place. In fact the existence of an average or middle epoch, generally agreed upon, implies the existence of different local observations from Pelusium to Syene, which might serve as a confirmation of or check upon the central calculation. Some think it more natural to interpret the date on this monument according to its local period, that of Elephantina for the rising of Sirius. This would make the year indicated to have been 1454 instead of 1470 B. C.; but in the record of such dates it seems more natural and as such more probable that the central calculation was observed of which opinion was Lepsius.

Now, although I find for the departure, so called, of the Shepherds, the same date as does Bunsen, yet he finds for that date a king named Tuthmosis, a man who was only two or three generations out from Menes, while I find a man in the twentieth place in the list, counting Menes the first; and, he is also, about the 18th or 19th generation, reckoning 3 for a century ($18 \times 33\frac{1}{3} = 600$, and $19 \times 33\frac{1}{3} = 633\frac{1}{3}$ years); for we find the departure of the Shepherds, so called, to have taken place about 600 to 630 years after Menes. The name Thothma itself means given or endowed by Thoth, and might have been ascribed as an honorary title to one whose personal appellation was of another form. If Thothmes was understood as a personal appellation, it is queer we should have two brothers of that name in the second generation after Menes, *i.e.*, Thothmes II., Ra-Aa-en Khepher, and Thothmes III, Ra — Men — Khepher, respectively. It is true the name Rameses was worn by brothers, but it appears also to have been understood as a distinguishing title, while the personal appellation was different. A king, it is true, may have worn the title Thothmes (Thoth-given, or Thoth-endowed), as well as that of Rameses (the high king, tall man or giant), and yet have been known in his daily life by a different name. From a mistake made by Bunsen in common with others Thothmes III. was 600 years earlier than they thought him to have been, in fact the Tuthmoses were such shadowy characters that no tomb of any king of that name has yet been discovered, while that of my Rameses II., who is eighth in the list after Apapus,

the Great, as found by Champollion and Rosellini at Biban el Moluk was, in their opinion, little inferior in grandeur and beauty of architectonical finish to that of Sesostris the Great. In the excavations made by Mr. Green in 1854, in which he found a good deal to confirm what has been said in the histories concerning the exploits of that Rameses, No. 28 of my list, he discovered upon the right side of the second pylon a legible inscription in which that king says: "That he has driven the barbarians out of Egypt with the sword," to which Bunsen adds by way of remark: "He must, therefore, have found them in Egypt." The hordes which had made the inroad into lower Egypt for pasturage, etc. are elsewhere called the Tamahu (white people from the north)? And in reference to the expulsion of the enemy he says: "I have made their land my own." Among the nations conquered by that monarch we read Aasen, Kheta, Ati, Karkamasa (Carchemish in Mesopotamia), Arahu, Tyra, Tuirsa and Sairtana (Tyrians and Sidonians) are designated as "People of the Sea," Gaikkuri ('Hakku, *i.e.*, St. Jean d' 'Acre, which Rameses took before he laid siege to Tyre); Mashuash, *i.e.*, Damascus, etc.

The vast accomplishments ascribed to our Rameses II. required a considerably long reign, although on the monuments only his twelfth year has been discovered. Some have supposed that to him under the historic or honorary name of Thothmes III. is ascribed the erection of several temples and the palace of Medinet Aboo. Rosellini remarks there is scarcely an ancient city in Egypt and Nubia, as far as the second cataract beyond Semneh, where remains of his edifices are not to be found. Among the rest is a temple he erected in honor of his ancestor, the great Sesostris. It is plain, therefore, that my Rameses II. (No. 28) was not identical with Sesostris the Great (No. 20) nor yet with Tethmosis III., who is about No. 7. In the record of the nations conquered by him there are gone over about the same national designations as under the name Thothmes III. Champollion and others understand the bearer of the latter name to be the same with Mares, which was another name for my Rameses II.

Under none of these names, however, is the conquest of Ethiopia set down, which, according to Herodotus was the distinguishing and peculiar part of the great Sesostris among the kings of Egypt. The various historical lists and hypotheses ascribe to their Thothmes III. a length of reign all the way from 9 up to 48 years; and if he

were the same with Mares or our Rameses II. the length of 39 years which Syncellus has given to his reign would not seem to be too long for him in which to accomplish all that has been ascribed to him.

"The Israelites," says Bunsen, "with their 2,000,000 souls and their flocks and with 600,000 men capable of bearing arms, were already encamped in the country to the east of the Jordan and extending northward from the Arnon when Rameses III. (our II.) came to the throne. About the fourteenth year of this Pharaoh's reign Joshua passed over Jordan. This is the synchronism which we hope to establish," etc., (Egypt III. 211). If Bunsen had only agreed with Josephus that the Hyksos were the Israelites, and, had taken something near to the numbers Josephus has given us as of the Hyksos who left Egypt in the days of his Tethmoses, son of Misphragmuthoses, and went up and built Jerusalem, then a person would naturally conclude that his statement had an underground of truth and that in his accidentally showing his Tuthmosis III. to be identified with our Rameses II. he had Josephus as his authority. He made 215 years, as "a period of bondage," to intervene between the departure of the Shepherds in 1542 B. C. and the exodus of the Israelites under Moses in 1327 B. C., which last exodus Josephus had to take place in about 1633 and Clement of Alexandria a little earlier. About all the authors, excepting Bunsen, made the departure of the Shepherds to have been identical with the exodus under Moses. I make the departure of the Shepherds for 1542 B. C.; and as in my understanding this would be the same with the historical exodus, then the approximate date of 1499 B. C., which I get for the exodus in connection with my research into the epochs of the patriarchs, might possibly represent the passage of the Jordan by the Israelites under Joshua or the exodus from the transjordanic regions into the promised land in about forty years after the departure out of Egypt. There is certainly something in that forty years' period of unsettled life of the Israelites between their departure from Egypt and their entrance into the land of Canaan and I have thought it must refer to a detachment from the army of Sesostris whom he left stationed east of the Jordan to guard his rear on his progress eastward, who remained there settled in different places after his return to Egypt; but who finally, in about a generation after his return, took it into their heads to possess themselves of the west-Jordanic regions to the Mediterranean and finally succeeded in accomplishing this.

THE EGYPTIAN YEAR.

The Egyptians divided their year into three seasons, consisting each of four equal months of thirty days each. To the end of the 12th month they added on five supplemental days. These divisions were called the Green Season, the Harvest Season, and the Water Season.

FIRST TETRAMENY. — *The Green Season.*

I.	Thoth	1st of Green Season	November.
II.	Phoophi	2nd " " "	December.
III.	Hathor	3rd " " "	January.
IV.	Choiak	4th " " "	February.

SECOND TETRAMENY. — *The Harvest Season.*

V.	Toby	1st of Harvest Season	March.
VI.	Mechir	2nd " " "	April.
VII.	Phamenoth	3d " " "	May.
VIII.	Pharmuthi	4th " " "	June.

THIRD TETRAMENY. — *The Water Season.*

IX.	Pachôn	1st of Water Season	July.
X.	Paôni	2nd " " "	August.
XI.	Epiphi	3rd " " "	September.
XII.	Mesori	4th " " "	October.

The names of the months have all reference to certain divinities; it is not necessary here to go into an explanation of them. We find by the monuments that these have been the designations of months through all the pharaonic ages. Astronomers, however, conclude that the months must have been so designated at a period when the 1st of Thoth fell about the 25th of October. It being an easy matter for astronomers to calculate at what times this took place in ancient history, they have discovered that this was the case in 275, 1780 and 3285 B. C., and in so far as the adoption of this designation depends upon the above coincidence, they consider it certain (at least mathematically so) that it must have occurred in or about the year 3285 B. C. The Roman mode of reckoning dates, it is seen from the above, corresponded somewhat to the Egyptian. "Third month, third day, rising of Sothis," would answer, so far at least in the Roman expression, as "the 3rd before the Calends of October, while to an Egyptian it would indicate that he had 37 days yet to run (2+30+5) before the rising of Thoth or Sothis, on the first of November.

In regard to the commencement of the institution of the canicular or Sothiac period, we learn from Censorinus that the Egyptians had a Great Year, which they styled the Sothiac year, because on the first day of it the sun rose at the same moment as Sirius, Sothis, Canis, or the Dog-Star. He informs us that one of these Great Years commenced 100 years before his time. He wrote in the consulship of Antoninus Pius II., and Bruttius Præsens, the year 238 B. C. being the particular date. In that year 139 A. D. the Egyptian year really commenced with the 20th of July of the Julian year and in that year also did Sirius rise in central Egypt about seven o'clock, consequently only some few hours later than is assumed. In four years afterwards, therefore, this heliacal rising took place about a day after the beginning of the new year, and, thus, after 4×365 years, about a whole civil year later. Hence the Sothiac cycle turns out to be a period of 1460 years; in the 1461st Egyptian year the 1st of Thoth again coincided with the first day of the Julian year; and consequently the year 1322 B. C. is again the beginning of that cycle, which ended in A. D. 139. In that year the first of Thoth fell on the 19–20th of July.

The summer solstice being the commencement of the inundation and consequently of the water season, was the great turning point of Egyptian life, and Sirius being the brightest of all the fixed stars, it seems entirely natural that the coincidence of the heliacal rising of that star with the solstice and the inundation should have been marked by the ancient Egyptians with special attention and regarded with especial favor. Corresponding to our experience or the observation of the times of ebb and flow of the tides on our coasts we perceive that the observation of a single life among the Egyptians was sufficient to show that, there was a departure from this coincidence at the rate of one day in every four years. But the recurrence of this remarkable coincidence at the end of each 1460 years must have been to the Egyptian the most natural cycle.

At an early period astronomers were struck by the fact that this star, owing to its position in relation to the latitude and longitude, must, from the precession of the equinoxes, have risen in the same proportion later, as the Julian year, which was about 11′ 12″ too long, ran more and more into the solar year. This was the only reason why the heliacal rising of Sirius, from 3300 B. C. down to a few centuries after Christ could always coincide in Egypt

with the beginning of the same day (the 20th of July). It has been truly said that it was the guiding star of their history."

In reference to the Egyptian year Diodorus says: "They do not regulate their months by the moon but by the sun, inasmuch as they have months of thirty days, at the end of every twelve of which *they add on five days and a quarter*, and so fill up the cycle of the year. They have no intercallary months nor do they subtract days as the Greeks do."

An explanation of the passage in Herodotus relative to the sun's rising twice in the west is suggested by the Sothiac cycle.

The priests told him that during the period from Menes to Sethos (the king who succeeded to the Ethiopian dynasty of three kings instituted by Sabaco) the sun had risen (ἀνατείλαι) four times in an extraordinary manner; that where it then set it had twice risen (ἐπανατείλαι) and where it then rose (ἀνατέλλει) it had twice set, without occasioning any alteration in Egypt, either as regards the products of the earth or river or in reference to disease or mortality" (ii. 142).

To deduce some chronological data from this passage many attempts were made of which Letronne tried to dispose by showing hem to be unphilological assumptions. The length of time here specified from Menes to Sethos prevents us from suspecting that the astronomical phenomena spoken of by the priests had reference to the cosmical phenomena brought about by the precession of the equinoxes. It has been concluded, however, upon an unprejudiced consideration of the passage, that the priests meant to give Herodotus a chronological statement connected with celestial phenomena. His words would at first appear enigmatical and as if there might be a mistake in the former or the latter part of the sentence. For, it is plain, that if the sun set twice in the east it must also have arisen twice in the west, which makes not four times (τετράκις) but twice. The language of Herodotus is, however, as plain as it can be made to a Greek, and the case suggests to us a solution as striking as it is evident.

For plain it must appear that during the Sothiac cycle the beginning of the year must gradually pass through all parts of the heavens and at the middle of it is at the exactly opposite point of that of the normal, solar year. The priests, therefore, doubtless meant to speak of the passage of the movable, solar year through the opposite points of the heavens, while Herodotus seems as surely

to have understood them as meaning that the sun rose twice in the opposite side of the heavens, that is, what we understand as the west, and set twice on the other side, or that in which we understand him to rise.

But the language of Herodotus is, as I have said, as plain as it can be made in the Greek and has reference in this case evidently to the Sothiac cycle; but not to the precessional, to which it is applicable were it not that the period given by Herodotus from Menes to Sethos for the recurrence of the phenomena do not admit of the occurrence of the precessional cycle, which requires 25,827 years.

It may, however, be regarded as a proof, derived from astronomical sources, of the position I take in regard to the identity of the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, so called (when properly and fully expressed as to reigns and sum of years), with the list of 38 rulers of Eratosthenes and with the old empire, so called, and *the proper date* of Menes. For if to the 1076 years given to the said 38 rulers of the list of Eratosthenes you add the numbers given in Africanus for the dynasties, beginning from the 21st inclusive, down to said Sethos who succeeds to the Ethiopian dynasty, first introduced by Sabacus, you will have in years, exactly to the year, the Sothiac cycle. (As to the following data see lists generally of the dynasties, including Africanus, Eusebius, Eratosthenes and Herodotus in *loco.*)

	Years.
Limit of the old empire of Menes according to Eratosthenes' list	1076
Largest number given to the 21st dynasty in Africanus'	130
Largest number given to Africanus' 22nd dynasty	120
Number given to Africanus' 23rd dynasty	89
Africanus' 24th dynasty	6
Africanus' 25th " (Ethiopian)	40
The Sothiac cycle exact	1461

Herodotus represents a king named Anysis, who was blind, as being the one who was supplanted by Sabacus, the Ethiopian; as having gone into concealment during the Ethiopian supremacy for 50 years (40 in Africanus), as having taken his position at the head of the government again on the evacuation of the country by the Ethiopians, and then as having been succeeded by Sethos, the priest of Vulcan, who is the person here referred to chronologically. The

state of the case being such, then, it might be said without a great degree of error that Sethos immediately succeeded to the Ethiopian dynasty, for the implication is that the blind Anysis was a very aged man when he reascended the throne.

Under the head of Petubastes, the first king of the 23rd dynasty, the entry is: "In his time the first Olympiad was celebrated." This date was 776 B. C., and for this man Africanus enters a reign of forty years. But, supposing for the purpose of the calculation, that this celebration took place in the 28th year of the reign of Petubastes then we get for the approximate date of Sethos, the priest king, who succeeded to the Ethiopian dynasty, 669 B. C., and for our Menes 2130 years B. C. The calculation is as follows:—

	Years.
The sum of the years of the 23d dynasty	89
—The time we suppose Petubastes had reigned before the institution of the first Olympiad	28
	=61
The 24th dynasty	6
The 5th "	40
776 B.. C., date of 1st Olympiad	+107
=The approximate date of Sethos	669 B. C.
+The Sothiac cycle, which =	1461 yrs.
=The approximate date of Menes	2130 B.C.

In like manner we get the following dates as based upon the reckoning of Eratosthenes and Africanus.

	B. C.
Approximate date of 1st year of 21st dynasty	1054
Approximate date of 1st year of the XXXVIIIth King of Eratosthenes	1117
" " " " " " 37 " " " "	1134
" " " " " " 36 " " " "	1141
" " " " " " 35 " " " "	1184
" " " " " " 34 " " " "	1239
" " " " " " 33 " " " "	1262
" " " " " " 32 " " " "	1288
" " " " " " 31 " " " "	1304
" " " " " " 30 " " " "	1364
" " " " " " 29 " " " "	1375
" " " " " " 28 " " " "	1387
" " " " " " 27 " " " "	1394
" " " " " " 26 " " " "	1412
" " " " " " 25 " " " "	1420
" " " " " " 24 " " " "	1432
" " " " " " 23 " " " "	1454
" " " " " " 22 " " " "	1460

Approximate date of 1st year of						21	the	King	of	Erastothenes	.		1461
"	"	"	"	"	"	20	"	"	"	"	.	.	1561
"	"	"	"	"	"	19	"	"	"	"	.	.	1596
"	"	"	"	"	"	18	"	"	"	"	.	.	1629
"	"	"	"	"	"	17	"	"	"	"	.	.	1660
"	"	"	"	"	"	16	"	"	"	"	.	.	1687
"	"	"	"	"	"	15	"	"	"	"	.	.	1716
"	"	"	"	"	"	14	"	"	"	"	.	.	1726
"	"	"	"	"	"	13	"	"	"	"	.	.	1739
"	"	"	"	"	"	12	"	"	"	"	.	.	1761
"	"	"	"	"	"	11	"	"	"	"	.	.	1779
"	"	"	"	"	"	10	"	"	"	"	.	.	1799
"	"	"	"	"	"	9	"	"	"	"	.	.	1825
"	"	"	"	"	"	8	"	"	"	"	.	.	1855
"	"	"	"	"	"	7	"	"	"	"	.	.	1861
"	"	"	"	"	"	6	"	"	"	"	.	.	1940
"	"	"	"	"	"	5	"	"	"	"	.	.	1958
"	"	"	"	"	"	4	"	"	"	"	.	.	1977
"	"	"	"	"	"	3	"	"	"	"	.	.	2009
"	"	"	"	"	"	2	"	"	"	"	.	.	2068
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	"	"	"	.	.	2130

Lepsius begins his 21st dynasty in the year 1115 B. C., a difference of 61 years from what I find the dates to be by reckoning back from the 25th to the 21st dynasty in Africanus as above. If, therefore, any one takes Lepsius' date as their basis of calculation they will have all these dates 61 years farther back, for example, for our Cheops (No. XXXIV.) we shall have the date 1300 instead of 1239 B. C.; and for our first king, Menes, we shall have 2191 instead of 2130 B. C.

The numbers given by Eratosthenes here are only approximative; but if they be about correct then my date, 1542, for the departure of the Shepherds from Egypt, is the 19th year of the reign of Sesostris, the Great. Even though it be unnecessary for you to fix upon any particular date whatever for the said departure of the Shepherds from Egypt, yet the information given in connection with all this subject will serve generally to illustrate the history, both Egyptian and Israelitish.

The Apis Cycle.

The Egyptians had a period of 25 years called the Apis cycle, which is found to have had a relation both to the solar and lunar years. Ideler (p. 182) has shown that there is not only a computation of the mean anomaly of the sum from 25 to 25 years of the

Philippine era, in the Tables of Ptolemy but that there are in the sixth book of the Almagest Tables for calculating the mean new and full moons, in which these are progressive periods of that number of years. Three hundred and nine mean months are only 1h 8′ 38″ less than 25 Egyptian years. It does, however, result that the Apis cycle of 25 years thus produced the same result, as regards the coincidence of the lunar phases with the same days of the Egyptian year as the Sothiac cycle for the recurrence of the heliacal rising of Sirius with the commencement of the civil year.

A circumstance in relation to this, which has hitherto been little noticed, is that those tables of Ptolemy go on progressively, 1, 26, 51, etc., exactly up to the 1476th year. This is thought to be connected with the fact, namely, that 59 Apis cycles make up the Sothiac cycle of 1460 years with 15 years over; 58 Apis cycles would have given 10 years less than the Sothiac cycle and besides it is concluded that orginally the two cycles must have begun together. The phases of the moon would, in the 1450th year of the Sothiac cycle have been nearly three days ($2\frac{2}{3}$) behind that day at which it commenced and the renewal of the cycle presented the most simple means of making the Apis cycle begin again in such a way that people should easily recognize the beginning of the new course.

This adjustment of the two systems, the lunar and solar, suggests that the original intention was, by means of these cycles, to combine the two; and that previously the lunar year, of 354 days, may have been used as the civil year. The notation of the 12 moons, $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each, might exist equally well with it as with the year of 360 days.*

The Phœnix Period.

With the Sothiac cycle must also be connected the Phœnix period of the Egyptians. Herodotus was informed that it was a cycle of 500 years, while the information obtained by Tacitus made it range, to a degree, uniformly with that cycle. Of course 487 years is just the one-third of the Sothiac cycle, whose commence-

* Two important points proved by Lepsius are the following: (1) That the festival of Apis coincided with that of the Nile, and that the lunar cycle carried out by it begins with the new moon nearest to the solstice; and consequently, to the inundation: (2) He called attention to the circumstance of the Egyptian number of the great Cosmic year of 36,525 years depending upon the Apis period and its connection with the canicular cycle, it approximating to be a multiple of the two (1461+25).

ment implies that the rising of Sirius corresponded with the 1st of Thoth. This, however, is a displacement of four months; for Thoth, according to his sign, begins 120 days after the ancient heliacal rising of Sirius. It was, therefore, only at the end of 487 civil years, reckoned from the point of the proper notation of the months, that the first of Thoth corresponded with the rising of Sirius. This is susceptible of historical as well as astronomical explanation. Investigators have discovered, however, that the notation of months is more ancient than the institution of the Sothiac cycle by about 500 years, and that concurrent with it was the lunar cycle by Apis periods, perhaps originally with the view of correcting the year of 354 and 360 days; twenty of these make 500 years or one Phœnix cycle. It is, therefore, seen that the lunar year may have been in use concurrently with the solar in the earliest times; and that the Apis cycle was probably intended to keep those two kinds of years in as regular adjustment as possible.

Catalogue of the 38 Theban Kings of Eratosthenes.

Translation from the Greek.

Syncellus, having given an enumeration of the first kings of the Egyptians, thus proceeds: —

"Apollodorus, the chronicler, has written up another Egyptian Kingdom of the kings called Theban, who were in number 38 and embraced a period of 1,076 years. This kingdom took its beginning in the year of the world 2900 and had its end in the year of the world 3975. Concerning those kings they say Eratosthenes undertook the inquiry in the Egyptian memorials and made a translation of them into the Greek language, according to the command of the king, as follows: —

I. First Menes, a Thinite-Theban, who is also called Aionios, reigned 62 years, The year of the world was 2900 (*i.e.*, the commencement of the reign)..... A. M. 62—2900

II. The second of the Thebans who reigned was Athotis, the son of Menes, for 59 years. This name is interpreted, Ermogenes. The year of the world was 2963. A. M. 59—2963

III. The third king of the Theban Egyptians who reigned was Athotis, of the same name as the former, for 32 years. The year of the world 3021..... 32—3021

IV. The fourth king of the Thebans who reigned was Diabies (Miabies), son of Athotis, who reigned 19 years; year of the world 3053.....19—3053

V. The fifth king of the Thebans who reigned, was Pemphos, son of Athothous, who is Heraklides; for 18 years; year of the world 3072.....18—3072

VI. The sixth king, who ruled over the Theban Egyptians, unfought, indeed was Momcheiri, a Memphite, for 79 years; he is called Tesander Perissomeles (Tesander of the disproportioned limbs). Year of the world 3090.....79—3090

VII. The seventh king of the Theban Egyptians who reigned, was Stoikos, son of the last named, who is Heliothetos; for 6 years; year of the world 3169..... 6—3169

VIII. The eighth king of the Theban Egyptians, who reigned, was Gosormies, who is Aitesipantos (Sesortosis who is Hegesikratos), for 30 years; the year of the world was 3175.....30—3175

IX. The ninth king of the Theban Egyptians, who reigned, was Mares, son of the latter, who is Heliodoras: for 26 years: year of the world 3205.....26—3205

X. The tenth king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Anonphis (An-Souphis), who is Epikomas for 20 years: year of the world 3231.....20—3231

XI. The eleventh king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Sirios, who was son of Kores; but, as others have it, of Abaskantos: for 18 years; year of the world 3251.....18—3251

XII. The twelfth king, who ruled over the Theban Egyptians, was Chnoubos Gneuros, who is Chruses, son of Chrusos: for 22 years: year of the world 3269.....22—3269

XIII. The thirteenth king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Rauosis, who is Archikratos: for 13 years: year of the world 3291.....13—3291

XIV. The fourteenth king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Biures: for 10 years: year of the world 3304.....10—3304

XV. The fifteenth king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Saophis, a reveller, but, according to some, a man of business: for 29 years: year of the world 3314.....29—3314

XVI. The sixteenth king of the Thebans was Saophis II.: for 27 years: year of the world 3343.....27—3343

XVII. The seventeenth king of the Thebans was Moscheres (Megcheres) Heliodotos: for 31 years: year of the world 3370.....31—3370

XVIII. The eighteenth king of the Thebans was Mosthes (Mosthes): for 33 years: year of the world 3401.33—3401

XIX. The nineteenth king of the Thebans was Pammes Achondes: for 35 years: year of the world 3434.....35—3434

XX. The twentieth king of the Thebans was Apappous, the Great. This man, as they say, was king about 100 years: year of the world 3469.....100—3469

XXI. The twenty-first king of the Thebans was Echeskosokaras; for one year: year of the world 3569..... 1—3569

XXII. The twenty-second ruler of the Thebans was Nitokris, a woman this time, instead of a man, who is Athena Nicephoras, for 6 years: year of the world happened to be 3570..... 6—3570

XXIII. The twenty-third king of the Thebans was Murtaios Ammondotos: for 26 years: year of the world 3576.26—3576

XXIV. The twenty-fourth king of the Thebans was Thuosimares Kratistos, who is Helios: for twelve years: year of the world 3598.....12—3598

XXV. The twenty-fifth king of the Thebans was Sethinilos: he increased his ancestral patrimony: for 8 years: year of the world 3610..... 8—3610

XXVI. The twenty-sixth king of the Thebans was Semphroukrates, who is Hercules Harpokrates: for 18 years: year of the world 3618.....18—3618

XXVII. The twenty-seventh king of the Thebans was Chouthertauros, a tyrant: for 7 years: year of the world 3636..... 7—3636

XXVIII. The twenty-eighth king of the Thebans was Meures Philoskoros: for twelve years: year of the world 3643.....12—3643

XXIX. The twenty-ninth king of the Thebans was Chomaephtha Kosmos Philephaistos: for 11 years: year of the world 3655.....11—3655

XXX. The thirtieth king of the Thebans was Siokounios Ochoturannos: for sixty years: year of the world 3666..60—3666

XXXI. The thirty-first king of the Thebans was Peteathures: for 16 years: year of the world 3726.....16—3726
XXXII. The thirty-second king of the Thebans was Ammenemes: for 26 years: year of the world 3742.....26—3742
XXXIII. The thirty-third king of the Thebans was Stammenemes II. (Seth-Ammenemes): for 23 years: year of the world 3768.....23—3768
XXXIV. The thirty-fourth king of the Thebans was Sistosichermes Herakles Krataios (Sesostris, the son of Hermes, the strong Hercules): for 55 years: year of the world 3791.....55—3791
XXXV. The thirty-fifth king of the Thebans was Mares: for 43 years: the year of the world 3846.....43—3846
XXXVI. The thirty-sixth king of the Thebans was Siphoas (Siphthah) [who also is Hermes] the son of Hephaistos: for 5 years: year of the world 3889..... 5—3889
XXXVII. The thirty-seventh king of the Thebans was Phrouoro or Neilos: for 19 years: year of the world 3894.....19—3894
XXXVIII. The thirty-eighth king of the Thebans was Amouthartaios: for 63 years: year of the world 3913..63—3913

To which last number, 3913, if you add 62 years you will have the year of the world, 3975, to which this continuous series belongs among those which follow, teacheth Syncellus."

As to the fifty-three kings of Apollodarus in continuation of those of Eratosthenes.

(Sync. Chronogr. p. 147, D.)

Translation:

"The government of the 38 kings, who, in Egypt, were called Theban, whose names Eratosthenes took from the sacred books at Thebes, there had an end. Having begun at the 2900th year of the world, 124 years after the confusion of tongues, it ceased in this the 3975th year of the world.

But as to those in order of the remaining fifty-three Theban Kings, handed down by the same Apollodorus, I deem the names there thrown together as of no such extraordinary import as

that they should be placed before us, inasmuch as these names may not be authentic."

Eratosthenes being regarded as a standard in Egyptian history; being indeed, as far as he goes (and especially by those who have no theory in regard to that history to restrain them, but are merely desirous to find the truth concerning it) regarded as the criterion, by which what we have purporting to be from Manetho and all other records we possess concerning that ancient nation, should be judged, I deemed it indispensable to submit to you the foregoing translation from the text as I found it.

I will now submit to you in several tabulations my understanding of the relation of the list of the 38 Kings of Eratosthenes, both to the old and new empire, compared with the list given us as from Manetho. First, it will come out as a person would think it is; afterwards as it really is.

1. The first dynastry consisting of eight names as well as the 18th dynasty up to and including the ninth or tenth name therein, as from Manetho (the latter being merely a substitutional representation of the former), are represented by the first five names in the list of Eratosthenes, which we reasonably suppose to be in genealogical order, and to stand for five successive generations. They stand as follows: —

First Three Columns' System.

	1st Dynasty of Africanus from Manetho.	18th Dynasty from Africanus and restoration of Lepsius.
I. Menes.	1. Menes.	1. Amos or Menes.
II. Athotis.	2. Athotis son.	2. Amenophis I.
III. Athotis.	3. Kencheres son.	3. Aahmes.
IV. Diabies or Miabies.	4. Ouenephes son.	4. Tuthmosis II.
V. Pemphos.	5. Ousaphaidos son.	5. Amenseth.
	6. Miebidos son.	6. Misphra or Hatasu.
	7. Semempsis son.	7. Tuthmosis III.
	8. Bienekes son.	8. Amenophis II.
	2d Dynasty from Africanus.	18th Dynasty from Afric. and restor. of Lepsius.
VI. Momcheiri.	9. Boethos.	9. Tuthmosis IV.
VII. Stoikos.	10. Kaiechos.	10. Amenophis III,
VIII. Gosormies.	11. Binothris.	11. Horus.
IX. Mares.	12. Tlas.	12. Amenophis IV.
X. Anouphis.	13. Sethenes.	13. Nefruari.
XI. Sirios.	14. Chaires.	14. Amentuankh.
XII. Khneubos Gneuros.	15. Nephercheres.	15. Amenankhut.
XIII. Rauosis.	16. Sesochris.	16. Athotis.
XIV. Biures.	17. Cheneres.	
	3d Dynasty from Africanus.	18th Dynasty from Afric. and restor. of Lepsius.
XV. Saophis.	18. Necherophes.	17. Schaigh.
XVI. Saophis II.	19. Tosorthros.	18. Athotis.
XVII. Megcheres.	20. Tureis.	19. Armais
XVIII. Mosthes.	21. Mesochris.	20. Rameses or Sethos.
XIX. Pammes.	22. Souphis.	21. Amenophis.
	23. Tosertasis.	22. Taseser.
	24. Aches.	
	25. Sephouris.	
	26. Kerpheres.	

XX. Apapus.	4th Dynasty from Africanus.	27. Soris.	19th Dynasty from restor. of Lepsius.	23. Sethos I.
XXI. Echeskos.		28. Souphis.		24. Siphthah.
XXII. Nitokris.		29. Souphis II.		25. Amenemes.
		30. Mencheres.		26. Mernra.
		31. Ratoises.		
		32. Bicheres.		
		33. Sebercheres.		
		34. Thamphthis.		
XXIII. Amurtaios.	5th Dynasty from Africanus.	35. Ousercheres.	20th Dynasty from restor. of Lepsius.	27. Sethar.
XXIV. Thuosimares.		36. Sephres.		28. Rameses II.
XXV. Sethinilos.		37. Nephercheres		29. Rameses III.
XXVI. Semphukrates.		38. Sisiris.		30. Rameses IV.
XXVII. Chuther-Tauros.		39. Cheres.		31. Rameses V.
XXVIII. Meures.		40. Rathoures.		32. Rameses VI.
XXIX. Chomæphthah.		41. Mencheres.		33. Rameses VII.
XXX. Soikunis Ochturannos.		42. Tatcheres.		34. Rameses VIII.
XXXI. Peteathures.		43. Onnos.		35. Rameses IX.
				36. Rameses X.
				37. Rameses XI.
				38. Rameses XII
XXXII. Amenemes.	6th Dynasty from Africanus.	44. Othoes.		
XXXIII. Stamenemes.		45. Phios.		
XXXIV. Sistosichermes.		46. Methesouphis.		
XXXV. Mares.		47. Phiops.		
XXXVI. Siphoas.		48. Menthesouphis.		
XXXVII. Phrouoro or Nilos.		49. Nitokris.		
XXXVIII. Amounthartaios.				
	12th Dyn. from Africanus.	50. Sesonchosis.		
		51. Amenemes.		
		52. Sesostris.		
		53. Lacheres.		
		54. Ameres.		
		55. Amenemes.		
		56. Schemiophris "sister."		

In this arrangement we have placed the list of Africanus in what would be at first sight supposed to be their natural order of 1st, 2d, 3d, dynasties, etc., alongside of the names in the list of Eratosthenes and of those, on the other side, of the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, for which they stand, as restored by Lepsius. But it is plain, as a comparison of the three lists in this view shows, that what seems the natural order, that is, the order of the numbers, 1, 2, 3, etc., in the list of Africanus, is not the chronological order. See, for example, the place of Nitokris, which is the same as Tasesar, in the first and third columns, No. 22 in each, while in the middle column, that of Africanus, it is No. 49. Also the name standing for Sesostris the Great, which is No. 20, in the first and third colums, is No. 47 in the middle, that of Africanus. The chronological order, therefore, in the list of Africanus is not in the natural order of the numbers of the dynasties in that authority. Laying aside all the idea of foreign dynasties as connected with the dynastic names Elephantin, Herakliopolitan, etc., for it is certain that these were all the offsprings of the empire of Menes, the first and most natural conclusion we come to in the case is that

some of the dynasties of Africanus, as set down in the middle column, were contemporary. But as, from a view of the foregoing lists, the second dynasty of nine names which Africanus sets down as Thinite and the fifth consisting also of nine names which he enters as Elephantin, do not appear to be represented in the list of Eratosthenes, if then we first suppose that Eratosthenes' list is altogether the correct one misrepresenting as to no space, and on this ground exclude the 9+9=18 names from the list of Africanus, as it stands above, we shall have left in it 56—18=38 names, being the same number as that in Eratosthenes' list. This we do in the following tabulation and shall see how it comes out when compared with the others as before.

Second Three Columns' System.

Eratosthene's List.		*Africanus' List.*	*List of 18th, 19th and 20th Dynasties restored.*
I. Menes.	Africanus' 1st Dynasty.	1. Menes.	1. Amos or Menes.
II. Athotis.		2. Athotis.	2. Amenophis I.
III. Athotis.		3. Kencheres.	3. Aahmes.
IV. Diabies.		4. Quenephes.	4. Tuthmosis II.
V. Pemphos.		5. Ousaphaidos.	5. Amenseth.
VI. Momcheiri.		6. Miebidos.	6. Hatasu or Misphra.
VII. Stoikos.		7. Semempsis.	7. Tuthmosis III.
VIII. Gosormies.		8. Bienekes.	8. Amenophis II.
IX. Mares.	Africanus' 3d Dynasty.	9. Necherophes.	9. Tuthmosis IV.
X. Anouphis.		10. Tosorthros.	10. Amenophis III.
XI. Sirios.		11. Tureis.	11. Orus.
XII. Khnubos Gneuros.		12. Mesochris.	12. Amenophis IV.
XIII. Rauosis.		13. Souphis.	13. Nefruari.
XIV. Biures.		14. Toseratasis.	14. Amentuankh.
		15. Aches.	15. Amenankhut.
		16. Sephouris.	16. Athotis.
		17. Kerpheres.	
XV. Saophis.	Africanus' 4th Dynasty.	18. Soris.	17. Schaigh.
XVI. Saphis II.		19. Soupnis.	18. Athotis.
XVII. Megcheres.		20. Souphis II.	19. Armais.
XVIII. Mosthes.		21. Mencheres.	20. Rameses or Sethos.
XIX. Pammes.		22. Ratoises.	21. Amenophis or Pheron.
XX. Apapus		23. Bicheres.	22. Tasesar.
XXI. Echeskos.		24. Sebercheres.	
XXII. Nitokris.		25. Thamphthis.	
XXIII. Amurtaios.			
XXIV. Thuosimares.			
XXV. Sethinilos.	Africanus 6th Dynasty.	26. Othoes.	23. Sethos I.
XXVI. Semphukrates.		27. Phios.	24. Siphthah.
XXVII. Chuther-Tauros.		28. Methosouphis.	25. Amenemseth.
XXVIII. Meures.		29. Phiops.	26. Mernra.
XXIX. Chomaephthah.		30. Menthesouphis.	27. Sethar.
XXX. Soikunios Ochturannos.		31. Nitokris.	28. Rameses II.
XXXI. Peteathures.			29. Rameses III.
			30. Rameses IV.
			31. Rameses V.
XXXII. Amenemes.	Dyn.	32. Sesonchosis.	32. Rameses VI.
XXXIII. Stamenemes.		33. Amenemes.	33. Rameses VII.
XXXIV. Sistosichermes.	Africanus' 12th	34. Sesostris.	34. Rameses VIII.
XXXV. Mares.		35. Lacheres.	35. Rameses. IX.
XXXVI. Siphoas.		36. Ameres.	36. Rameses. X.
XXXVII. Phrouoro		37. Amenemes.	37. Rameses. XI.
XXVIII. Amouthartaios.		38. Skhemiophris, "sister."	38. Rameses. XII.

Viewing, as before, the place of Queen Nitokris, which is Tasesar, in this tabulation, which, as in the former case, is No. 22 in the first and third columns, but in the middle column in this second arrangement we find to be No. 31; and that of the great Sesostris, which in the first and third columns is No. 20, is now in the middle column No. 29, we find thus the list of African us, even after the exclusion of the second and fifth dynasties, does not present the names in their chronological order, and so after a brief interval shall proceed to another arrangement.

In explanation of some of the names I may say that Menes, which is spelled in the hieroglyphics Mna or Mena has for one of its meanings a fortification, something established, settled, which is a meaning for the Heb. Misr. (Mitzr.), usually found in the plural or dual-form Mizraim. This last is a name of Egypt, in which it doubtless has reference to the two countries Upper and lower Egypt. Meni is also a name of the sun. Origen rebuked the Jews for the worship they gave to Meni and Selene, the sun and moon. The word Mne or Mene in Hebrew signifies to number. The Greek root Men, a month, also the moon and the God of the moon, the Egyptian Thoth. The root Men, then, is the root of our word moon, month as well as of number, properly num-er, or number, and num being men read backwards as in Hebrew, and generally in the ancient Egyptian. Doubtless the reason the root men signified to number was because the motions of the sun and moon were used to measure time. The Egyptian God, Meni, was the same as Horus, the sun. A month is the space of time measured by the sun or moon. From the same root is the Latin Manes, which were the Genii, according to Servius. The root Men having reference to the moon as well as to the moon God, Thoth, may be a reason why he himself was also called by some Thothmes as well as his son, a name which means given or endowed by Thoth.

This same man or his son Thothmes was also named Chnebra, the golden watcher, that is, the sun. The form Chnebra, equals ch-nub-ra or ch-num-ra, the b and m being used for each other as in Nimrod or Nebrod, etc. The name Chnebra, then, is the name Menes and also Amenophis in disguise, the root Men is read backwards as said above, the ch is prefixed to equalize the Greek sound of the Egyptian initial n, and ra, sun, is affixed. The form Chebron, which doubtless associated this man's name with Moses and the Hebrews, appears to be rather a mistranscription than a corrupt

form of the word. Lepsius (Eml. p. 359 notes) cites a passage from the Alexandrian Chronicle in which the Pharaoh under whom Moses was brought up is called Khenebron. This is, doubtless, the same with the Khenephres of Artapanus. The name on the monuments stands Ra-Neb-Peh. The ra was sometimes pronounced last and the Egyptian n at the beginning of a word sounded to the Greeks like gn: thus Nub or Num, the name of a diety and signifying gold, was pronounced Gnub or Chnub and so Chnubra would be easily transcribed by the Greeks Chnebron. The form for the name in Africanus is Chebros, in Josephus Chebron. As a matter of course we may conclude that other kings may have had Chnubra as a distinguishing title as well as Menes or Tethmosis. The Athotes of the first and second columns are seen in the Tethmoses of the third.

In explanation of the proper chronological order of the kings in the lists of Africanus, as from Manetho, I may remark that Bunsen after considerable painstaking research bestowed upon the subject, found that Africanus' 2nd dynasty was contemporary with the 3rd, both attaining to a unity of empire in the 4th; and "the fifth dynasty of Elephantin kings with the line of Imperial kings from a given starting point, n amely, the close of the 4th dynasty.' This is all right only we will find the succession of nine Elephantin kings were the Imperial kings after the close of the 4th dynasty, properly understood. He finds that, after the 1st dynasty had lasted 190 years under five consecutive kings, the reigning family became divided into two branches and that "Egypt was probably divided into two, the Upper and Lower Country. The Imperial or Memphite, called the 3rd dynasty, then reigned 224 years, the Thinite, called the 2nd, the same number, the former comprising nine the latter seven rulers. At the end of 414 years, therefore, from Menes inclusive, the 4th dynasty reunited the whole empire under one sceptre." Bunsen was correct in regard to the contemporaneity of the 2nd and 3rd dynasties, so called, of Africanus; but incorrect in his supposition of the kingdom being divided into Upper and Lower Egypt; for the 3rd dynasty here were the *de facto* kings of Egpyt for 9 reigns; the line of the 2nd dynasty was preserved in the records, as I suppose, only for genealogical purposes, the genealogy of Sesostris-Rameses, who came afterwards being traced back through that to Menes. However, without me necessarily now going further with Bunsen than in agreeing as to

the 4th dynasty (as properly understood) carrying on the government of Egypt in succession to the 3rd I may remark that it is said the Tablet of Karnak traces genealogy back to Menes through the 6th and 3rd dynasties (this last according to Africanus) and the Tablet of Abydos reaches the same goal through the 4th and 2nd dynasties. But there is a mistake here, for both these tablets were erected by the Rameses, whose genealogy must go back in the same line. The 4th dynasty, it is true, is connected with the 6th, so that the mention of the 4th for the 6th is not altogether a mistake; but it is most correct to mention the 6th as connected with the 2nd as you will afterwards see, for it is found that the tablet of Karnak contains immediately, after the kings of the 3rd dynasty," the shield of Pepi, who is variously called Apapus and Phiops (the latter being the fourth name in Africannus' 6th dynasty) and also Sesostris, Ægyptus and Rameses the Great.

The whole discovery anyhow goes to show us that there was a branching out of the imperial family at the fifth name in Eratosthenes' list, which is also the 5th generation in descent from Menes. For the Pemphos, which is the fifth in Eratosthenes is P-Amenophis, the second of the name in my list and must be of the fifth generation from Menes since he is 8th in the succession. From this point Eratosthenes carries on the line in the Memphite branch of the family of Menes from the 1st through the 3rd dynasty, while Africanus gives an exhibit of both of the lines back to Menes, that is, through the 3rd and 2nd dynasties.

But recognizing the 1st and 3d dynasties, so called, which are allowed to have constituted the monarchical succession, these consisted of a succession of 17 names in the lists of Africanus, but ended with the XIVth of Eratosthenes' list: while I find in my own list that 16 names is the number. Consequently, in Eratosthenes' list there are five names (XV–XIX) between the XIVth name and the XXth, that is, Apapus, whose scutcheon, on the Tablet of Karnak, stands directly after those of the 3rd dynasty. But, this Apapus is not the first name of the 6th dynasty but the fourth, which makes him No. 21, in the regular succession in the list of Africanus, while he is No. XX in the list of Eratosthenes as well as No. 20 in mine.

Here, then, between the last of the 3d dynasty, No. XIV in Eratosthenes, No. 17 in Africanus and No. 16 of my regular list and the name of Apapus or Rameses, the Great, we have to account for

the names wanting and show satisfactorily who they were: If we go according to Eratosthenes we have five names to consider; if according to Africanus two, while my regular list requires three (16+3=19), and without going farther I may say that these three I find in the first three names of the 6th dynasty of Africanus, which immediately precede Apapus, the great, there called Phiops. The circumstances of the case in regard to those dynasties in relation to each other suggest the great probability of the five names in Eratosthenes as pertaining to Africanus' 4th dynasty being of a line of men parallel and contemporary with the kings of the 6th and which gave birth in the male line to the succeeding dynasty.

But the first three of that 6th dynasty of Africanus, viz., Othoes, Phios, Methosouphis, are as fairly supposable to answer respectively to Schaigh, Armais and a queen Athotis, a son and daughter of queen Athotis and the priest, Aedhes (Othoes) that is Schaigh. This will obtain fuller explanation farther on and also how that those five names mentioned as in Eratosthenes and pertaining to Africanus' 4th dynasty run parallel and contemporary with the ruling kings of the 6th dynasty, whose names, as derived from the monuments appear in my list. It is seen, therefore, that in my regular list the three names to be supplied after the 16th and before Rameses, the great, are those of his father, who formed a new dynasty and those of an elder sister and a brother. In the following I give the list of the actual kings of Egypt as tabulated from Africanus; along side of which I will place their prototypes of the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties restored:—

1st Dynasty of Africanus and 1st proper.	1. Menes.	1. Amosis or Menes.
	2. Athotis.	2. Amenophis.
	3. Kenkenes.	3. Tethmosis.
	4. Ouenephes.	4. Aahmes.
	5. Ousaphaidos.	5. Amenseth.
	6. Miebidos.	6. Misphra or Hatasu.
	7. Semempsis.	7. Tethmosis.
	8. Bienekes.	8. Amenophis.
3d Dynasty of Africanus; 2d proper.	9. Necherophes.	9. Tethmosis.
	10. Tosorthros.	10. Amenophis.
	11. Tureis.	11. Orus.
	12. Mesochris.	12. Amenophis.
	13. Souphis.	13. Nefruari.
	14. Tosortasis.	14. Amentuankh.
	15. Aches.	15. Amenankhut.
	16. Sephouris.	16. Athotis.
	17. Kerpheres.	

6th Dyn. of Afric. involv'd also in 4th of the same; but 3d proper.	18. Othoes.	17. Schaigh.
	19. Phios.	18. Athotis.
	20. Methosonphis.	19. Armais.
	21. Phiops.	20. Rameses or Sethos.
	22. Menthesouphis.	21. Amenophis.
	23. Nitokris.	22. Tasesar.
5th Dyn. of Africanus; and 4th proper.	24. Ousercheres.	23. Sethos.
	25. Sephres.	24. Siphthah.
	26. Nephercheres.	25. Amenemses.
	27. Sisiris.	26. Mernra.
	28. Cheres.	27. Sethar.
	29. Rathoures.	28. Rameses II.
	30. Mencheres.	29. Rameses III.
	31. Tatcheres.	30. Rameses IV.
	32. Onnos.	31. Rameses V.
12th Dyn. of Africanus and 5th proper.	33. Sesonchosis.	32. Rameses VI.
	34. Amenemes.	33. Rameses VII.
	35. Sesostris.	34. Rameses VIII.
	36. Lacheres.	35. Rameses IX.
	37. Ameres.	36. Rameses X.
	38. Amenemes.	37. Rameses XI.
	39. Skhemiophris 'sister.'	38. Rameses XII.

Sethos and Sesar-Cheres, Nos. 23 and 24, as above, pertain, of course, to the same man, who appears in the history and legend as son of Amenophis, and after whom, according to Lepsius, two sons of Tasesar succeed each other, the first of whom or his father must have begun the new dynasty.

According to my tabulation of the successive dynasties you will notice the old 21st is in the order of the 6th; the 30th, the 15th; the Grecian, the 17th; and the Roman, the 18th.

These two foregoing lists giving the chronoiogical line of the rulers of Egypt, for the old empire of Menes have been arrived at by me after considerable labor in investigation and comparison, as you have not failed to notice thus far in your progress, in which I have conducted you along step by step. And, in retrospect, you will see I have first placed the particular dynasties of Africanus in the regular order of their numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., in juxtaposition with the List of Eratosthenes, and as a result on observation found that the particular sections of the List of Eratosthenes which would be thought from the nature of the case to correspond to the dynasties of Africanus in their order were far from corresponding. I then made a new tabulation, my "2nd 3 columns' system," in which I put in juxtaposition with the List of Eratosthenes the dynasties of Africanus in order down to the 12th inclusive, minus the 2d Thinite

and the 5th Elephantin dynasties. This done my observation showed me at once that the particular names in each of the three columns, which should correspond or about correspond as to their numbers in the lists were so very far from corresponding that this could not possibly be the chronological order of the reigns in Africanus' lists, although the number left in his list here was 38, the exact number in that of Eratosthenes. With these two systems I compared my regular list in chronological order of the actual rulers of Egypt, corresponding in number to the list of Eratosthenes and restored from the monuments on the basis and arrangement of Lepsius, with which I did not find the list of Africanus yet to agree any more than it did with the other. I then proceeded to a third arrangement putting into juxtaposition with my own list of rulers in their chronological order the list of Africanus arranged in order as follows: The 1st, 3d, 6th, 5th and 12th dynasties, so called. This I found to be the chronological order of the rulers in Africanus, as you will discover to your satisfaction when you shall have proceeded far enough in the explanation of the steps in the investigation. I will say here that the reason of the apparent anomaly of the 5th suceeeding to the 6th dynasty is that the 4th dynasty being but an expansion of the 6th, so called, the 4th and 6th are contemporary lines, for a few successions, and so the 5th dynasty is really a continuation of the 4th and the apparent anomaly is accounted for.

The above three tabulations will greatly assist the reader in coming to a proper conception of a subject which language, even in great volume, without the help of such illustrations so often tends to obscure. Diodorus makes Ægyptus to be the 17th or 18th in descent from Menes, I think his mind being, that the two being included Ægyptus was the 18th, so that by him also the 1st and 3rd dynasties are shown to connect directly with the 6th, all of Africanus, and the 19th or 18th place seems the place proper of Apapus, Phiops or Rameses I., which names all signify the same person, only that here this name is shoved forward two places, first by that of an elder sister, Athotis, after the name of her mother and then by that of his brother, Armais, called in Africanus Phios, No. 19 of the left-hand column of my 2 columns' list, just preceding. I will say here that Methosouphis, No. 20 of that same left-hand column, is a female name and stands for Queen Athotis, No. 18 of the right-hand column on the same page. This name properly belongs to the preceding place; for Phios appears to be Phiops, as

Armais is Rameses; that is, the same elements stand for them respectively in the original Egyptian; and the name Armais in all the proper lists comes in next place before Rameses-Sesostris. Some transcriber, therefore, we may suppose, has exchanged the places of these two names.

Syncellus has in his Laterculus, in the 17th place, reckoning from Menes inclusive, the name Rameses, which is the first time that name occurs in his list; in the 18th place he has Ramessomenes; in the 19th Ousimares and in the 20th Ramesseseos (*i.e.*, Rameses-Sethos); and so for a few places more (or until such time as he begins to support his theory of Shepherd Kings), he has variations of the name Rameses. The name I give as Schaigh is entered in most lists as Rameses, *i.e.*, Raam-Schaigh, but from what I discovered chiefly arising from the researches of Lepsius into the genealogy I concluded the word Raam was only prefixed to the name after his son Sethos, *i.e.*, Schaigh had performed his wonderful exploits, and so I made the Sethos-dair my Rameses 1st.

The form Ramessomenes, No. 18 of Syncellus, is doubtless a female name standing for my Queen Athotes II., while Ousimares (ὁ — Si — mares) "the ship of the sea," or "ship-master," as applied to the name of a man, would stand for Armais,* whom the Greeks called Danaus, and who colonized Greece.

The name of the great Sesostris may be compared to a tower toward which looketh, or a pivot round which turneth the whole history of ancient Egypt. In dealing with the history of that country much has necessarily to be said about him in order to elucidate the subject. But the few names I have here specified in relation to him would, if anything, indicate that those names from the 17th to the 20th place inclusive, were but of members of the same family, whose reigns some might think to have been all included, at least chronologically, in that of the 20th; for Ramses the Great was born before his father ascended the throne, which was not till after the death of Queen Athotis I., his mother; and he himself is entered for a very long reign, by Eratosthenes under the name of Apapus for 100 years; by Eusebius for 68, and by others for 66, which last doubtless is not far from correct. His brother Armais, whose name immediately precedes his, acted either

* Armais = Si — mares, with ὁ = ου, the Greek and Egyptian definite article prefixed. Of the few Egyptian colonies planted in foreign countries in the reign of the great Sesostris Greece received her share. Danaus = Da — Naus, the ship, or the ship captain.

as an independent king or as his regent over Egypt, while he was absent on his Asiatic and European expeditions, which lasted for a good many years. It might, perhaps, be more correct to say that Armais, an elder brother, occupied the throne in his own right, and that his younger brother, on his return flushed with victory, was not content to abide his proper time, but took forcible possession of the throne and compelled his elder brother to leave the country. This would be at least a more probable supposition than that the stories related about Armais in relation to his brother were true; and still this I have mooted is only a supposition. For, on the contrary, it might be considered a more probable supposition that Sesostris, having conquered Greece after he had overrun Asia-Minor, planted a large colony or several large colonies of Egyptians in that country and left his younger brother, Danaus, there as his viceroy or as independent king of the country. We are here speaking of a very early historic age, viz.: the 16th century B. C. The tradition of the Greeks is, however, that Danaus planted an Egyptian colony or Egyptian colonies in their country, having been expatriated as well as dethroned by his brother Sesostris.

It would seem, that if, as indicated in the list of Africanus, Amenophis II. or his son began a new dynasty under the name of Memphite, as distinguished from Thinite or Theban, this dynasty must have ended with the 16th name of our list; for the priest Schaigh, granting the deduction of Prof. Lepsius to be correct, is entered as a king of Egypt, which it is supposed he did not become until the demise of his wife, Queen Athotis. Now, this man, tracing back to Menes in the male line through the 2d dynasty, so-called, would begin in his person a new dynasty, that is simply, a dynasty descended from another son of Amenophis II. than that one through whom descended the 3rd dynasty so-called. The general supposition that he came to the throne in right of his wife is reasonable, but it is more probable that he was generally accepted after his wife's death to replace her, that he having become acquainted during her life with all the governmental administrative affairs was reasonably supposed most competent to fill her place after her death; and, that, on his demise his children were looked upon as next heirs to the throne.

Momcheiri "the Memphite," the VIth King of the list of Eratosthenes, is Tethmosis, No. 9 of my list, from whose son Amenophis III., descended, both the 2nd and 3rd dynasties, the last

named being the actual Kings. The fact that Momcheiri, the Memphite, attained to the throne "without having fought for it," as according to Eratosthenes, shows that he was one who was understood as having a right to the position. The expression "unfought" is not without its meaning, and such is its signification in this place. He is also called "of the disproportioned limbs." But the Tablet of Abydos tracing back the ancestor of the great Rameses through the 2nd dynasty, so called, I will here connect that ancestor with Menes, giving you each step in the male descent, as follows: —

1. Menes.
2. Athotis son of.
3. Kenkenes son of.
4. Ouenephes son of.
5. Ousaphaidos son of.
6. Miebidos son of.
7. Semempsis son of.
8. Bienekes son of.
9. Boethos=Tethmosis IV.
10. Kaiechos=Amenophis III.
11. Binothris.
12. Tlas.
13. Sethenes.
14. Chaires.
15. Nephercheres.
16. Sesochris.
17. Cheneres=Schaigh.

This will show you, first, that the descent is not split up in such an artificial way as would appear from the dynasties in Africanus; for although, for example, all those 17 names belong to the list here given still those which belong to the 2d dynasty, so called, aside from the actual monarchy are only 6 in number instead of 9, for Amenophis who was the same with Kaiechos, was king as was also Cheneres, who was the same with Schaigh, his seventh descendant. The lists in Africanus before his 18th dynasty, appear to me to have been made somewhat in the artificial way in which a tailor makes a coat; but after he has begun his 18th dynasty down to his 21st, the whole thing appears fragmentary, nothing complete, nothing finished, the object evidently being the obscuration of the subject.

Under the head of his 2d dynasty he gives us the important information that in the time of Boethos, our Tuthmosis IV., "there occurred a remarkable chasm in the earth at Bubastis." Would this have been in accommodation to the name he had given him, Boethos, *i.e.*, Bythos, *i.e.*, Abyss? Or, would Tuthmosis IV. have been called Bythos on account of that occurrence? He also says that "in the time of Kaiechos," our Amenophis III., "the Bull Apis, at Memphis, and Mnevis, at Heliopolis, as well as the Mendesian goat were constituted gods." Would this be the reason the name Kaiechos was applied to our Amenophis (Amun-Saophis)? Now, the ruling house of the descendants of Amenophis III. being called Memphite does not imply that the seat of the administration did not continue to be at Thebes, for there is scarcely any doubt that this continued to be the seat of government of the monarchy. I take it the term Memphite was put in there by some historian simply as a variation of the subject or perhaps because Tuthmosis IV., who is said to have erected the Sphinx near Memphis, may have have had his residence in that city before he became king.

But you will inquire why we understand Cheneres, No. 17 of our last list, to be identical with the priest Schaigh. In explanation allow me to say, first, that it is a variation of the same name; for, in the Gaelic, the clan Aedh is the clan Schaigh or Seth, and also the clan Chathan, pronounced Chaun, and Chathanair, pronounced Chonari. The root of Cheneres, as here, is Chener or Chenre and is our name Henry, which in the Gaelic is Chathanair or Chathanri, or Chathair, or Chathri, which last is our name Harry. And so Mac Aedh or Mac Aedhan equals Mac Shaigh or Mac Shaighan, translatable respectively "son of Jack" and "son of John;" as also Mackay and McCon. The name Sesochris, as above, No. 16, next before Chenercs, is Seth-Cheres. This man is said by Africanus to have been five cubits and three spans high, which left him to have been over ten feet.

Secondly, the name Cheneres is understood for the father of Rameses the Great, from the fact of its occupying the 17th place in the list, which is the place given by Africanus to Othoes (Aedh) the first of his sixth dynasty, (which is shown to connect here directly with the 2nd dynasty so called, without the intervention of any 4th dynasty); and is the place which I have found for him from my independent researches carried out practically upon the

basis of Lepsius, deductions. You have, therefore, Schaigh that is Cheneres, that is Othoes, that is, Aedh, occupying the throne and then his three children after him in succession occupying it for 100 years or less. These were, noticing them in connection with the 6th dynasty Athotis or Methosouphis, proper place No. 18; Armais or Phios, No. 19; and Rameses-Sesostris or Phiops, No. 20.

You can now understand more clearly how that the first Ramesside house, according to the Tablet of Abydos, traces back its genealogy to Menes through the 2nd dynasty, while the second house of the Ramessides traces it back through the 3rd dynasty, so called, that is, they both trace back to Menes through Amenophis III. the common ancestor of the parallel and contemporary 3rd and 2nd dynasties, so called.

To his 18th dynasty Africanus gives 16 names, Eusebius 14 and in Josephus I count for it 18 or 19 names.

Now, although the father of Rameses, the Great, is in most lists entered as Rameses, still I deemed it better and tending much more to clearness of subject to enter him by his monumental name Ai, according to Champollion Schai, of which a full form is Schaigh, a variant of the root Scheth in Palai-Scheth (Philistine) from whom the local name Pelusium, called also Avaris or city of the Hebrews. Thus Rameses, in the old language, equals Raamschaigh, meaning chief King, tall man, Sun-born.

It is easily supposable that counter or rival lines of Kings might have sprung up from the royal stock, existent at Elephantina, Memphis or elsewhere; but there could, I think, be rivalry to the established monarchy, situated at Thebes, only in pretension; the regular establishment putting contemporary dynasties, *de facto* out of the question. But of one of the branches from the stock of Menes, going back through the old 2nd dynasty to the house of This or Abydos, was the priest-King, ancestor of the Rameses.

Now, Tuthmosis III. is seventh or eighth ruler after Menes, although he be only the third in genealogical succession from him, and it might be thought to appear from the tradition quoted by Josephus as from Manetho, that for several reigns before his there had existed trouble with a contending dynasty called variously Shepherds or Herakleopolitan, or perhaps Elephantin. This trouble, forsooth, ended with the departure of the troublesome pastors in the days of this Tuthmosis, whose father's euphonius name is put down in our tradition as Misphragmuthosis and the re-

nowned departure of those pastors must needs have been contemporaneous with the Exodus of the Israelites under their celebrated legislator Moses. It is, indeed, fortunate for chronologers and for the world that our Scriptural Moses did not have the prefix Tuth to his name, otherwise there might be a confounding of the two great men, Tuthmosis and Moses, and the departure of the Shepherds from Egypt with the Exodus therefrom of the Israelites. What prevents us from supposing, which would not necessarily be concluding, that those contending dynasts about whom there has been so much noise, may have also sprung from a son of the founder of the monarchy? Eratosthenes calls his fifth king Pemphos (Amenophis) also Heraklides, from whose descendants since he was succeeded by Momcheiri, the Memphite, it is most probable arose the name Herakleopolitan. All those stock of Menes were doubtless originally of the Asiatic shepherd or the Ethiopic priest-pastor kind.

It so happens that a name which has been understood by some as for Sesostris the Great falls under the same number 34, in the first and second columns. Hitherto or before Prof. Lepsuis made and published his researches, there was a good deal of difficulty in determining as to who the great Sesostris was. This arose, I think, largely from their making Sethos the Great, to have been a different person from the first Rameses, the fact being that both names referred to the same man. Thus divided, as he found the names, Bunsen decided, on the whole, that Sethos was the great hero. This Sethos, No. 20 of our right-hand column, also called Rameses I., is the man who, by Diodorus and Josephus, was called Ægyptus, the man after whose name, Ægyptus, that country was as now designated, and who was aslo called the Great Sesostris and the Great Rameses. Tracing back through the second dynasty through Pemphos (Amenophis III.) or Herakleides, No. V. of Eratosthenes, we find the first house of the Ramessides must needs have been Herakleopolitan, although they have been understood by some to have been Phœnician Shepherds: and they were also the builders of the pyramids as the 5th dynasty.

Those who were satisfied in their minds from the study they had given to the subject in the authorities they possessed thereon, that there had been a Middle or Hyksos empire established in Egypt for 1000 years more or less, found reason from the data they had to conclude for themselves that there had been two great

heroes, one being of the Old Empire, before the Hyksos period, and one of the New Empire after that period, who were both recognized by the name of Sesostris. This Ægyptus, however, to whom we have now referred, was the supereminent Sesostris to whom the Egyptian history points back and was also their Rameses the Great. Thus far I have pointed out how that the man they call Sesostris was their Sethos the 1st, and also, their Rameses the 1st, and I will now add that he was the same with the Rameses II. of many of their old lists, who is said to have reigned 66 years.

The next remarkable hero in our list is that one whom the old lists have usually entered as Rameses III., but who, in my list, is entered as Rameses II. He is 28th of my list, column 3, being the eighth successor of Rameses I., corresponding to that Mares in Eratosthenes' list, whom Diodorus specified as being "12th after Ægyptus." It is not impossible he may have been 12th successor on the throne, but he could not have been more than 8th in descent from Ægyptus, who is that one who is called, by Eratosthenes, "Apappus, the Great." This second Rameses, of my list, to whom some have mistakenly ascribed the capture of Old Tyre, was far enough removed from the first Rameses to be called a second Sesostris; he has not, however, ever attained to that honor, for he has not by any historian been mistaken for Sesostris the Great.

Now, Prof. Lepsius thought he had good proof from the monuments that the five immediate successors of Rameses II. were his sons. If such were the case these would be in my list Rameses III., IV., V., VI., VII.; Rameses VIII., according to Lepsius' hypothesis, being grandson of Rameses II., by his son Rameses VI., which last he makes to be the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus, the predecesor of Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid. It appears from this that the brother of Rhampsinitus intervened between him and Cheops. In one authority I have seen the number of brothers who succeeded to Rameses II. as their father is given at four. But the succession of four or five brothers to each other on the throne of any country, a position in which the occupant is ordinarily supposed to live out the term of his natural life, is such a thing as I cannot recall an instance of in history. Now, there are two circumstances to prove that this story of the succession to each other of four or five brothers is not founded on truth. In the first place my last two columns' tabulation shows our Rameses II. to be the 6th King of the old 5th dynasty and in that dynasty there were just 9

Kings, so that only three of his sons at the most, viz., Rameses III., IV., and V. could succeed him before the incoming of the new dynasty, the old 12th, in the person of Amenehmes I. of Eratosthenes, the Sesonchosis of Africanus and the Rameses VI., of my tabulation. According to the tabulation of Africanus' 5th dynasty Rathoures, No. 29, would stand for my Rameses II., No. 28, next to whom his son, Mencheres, *i. e.*, Menophres or Amenophis, is No. 30, and then Tatcheres and Onos, Nos. 31 and 32 respectively; so that in this left-hand column of my two-columns' arrangement, No. 33 begins the old 12th dynasty and is my Rameses VIth, No. 32 of my list, in the right-hand column. The point here is to make plain that neither in Africanus nor in Eratosthenes did more than three names succeed Rameses II. upon the throne before the introduction of the 12th dynasty, which leaves the hypothesis concerning five sons, or even four sons of Rameses II. succeeding each other after their father on the throne to fall to the ground. According to the reckoning of Eratosthenes his Mures No. XXVIII., that is, our Rameses II., and his three successors reigned 99 years, which would make nearly fifty years each for two generations.

If, however, we could suppose Manetho or Eratosthenes or both to have understood for our Rameses II., Sethos, the apparent chief of the old 5th dynasty, who succeeded queen Tasesar, but is entered as a son of Amenophis, which doubtless he was, they perhaps not understanding it so, then we find the aggregate of the reigns of himself and his four successors is, on the reckoning of Eratosthenes, 71 years, that is, 71 years for the five immediate successors of Queen Nitokris. If any one wishes to consider this seemingly probable, I will say the name presents no difficulty, for Sethos is but a short form of Rameses, as seen above, Rameses I. having been first called Sethos. I will say here, however, that I would not understand either the No. 23 or the No. 28 of my list as the Rameses who captured old Tyre and did the mighty acts put to the credit, by the historians generally, of their Rameses III.; but I would understand my Rameses VII., corresponding to Stamenemes, No. XXXIII of Eratosthenes and to Amenemes, the immediate predecessor of him called Sesostris, No. 3, of Africanus' 12th dynasty, to have been that Rameses who conquered Old Tyre and Phœnicia. The time my reckoning gives for the first year of our No. 33, viz., 1262 B. C., may be concluded as definitely supporting this position. Bunsen's

Synchronisms make his Rameses III. to have captured Old Tyre in 1287 B. C., which would be the next year after his ascent to power, according to my calculation, of the first King of the 12th dynasty.

Speaking in relation to the 20th dynasty of Africanus, as restored by Lepsius, Bunsen says: "In the case of the latter kings we are still unable to settle the genealogy; their order of succession is, for the most part, established by the Apis inscriptions, which state the name of each king in whose reign a sacred bull was born or died. They have also recorded an important historical fact, namely, that the Ramesside family was overthrown by Herhor, high priest of Ammon, chief of the palace, and of the army, who, after the death of Rameses XII. takes the title of king of the two lands." "Considering with Lepsius one of the Ramessides (Ra-Mama-Miamun) to be a later variant of Hikma Miamun, that is of Rameses III., we have exactly twelve kings Setnekht (Mernra) the founder of the dynasty and eleven Ramessides; otherwise we must take 12 as the number of the Ramessides and give 13 kings to the dynasty, which is just possible" (Egypt IV. 525).

But to bring this matter to a focus I may say that while we have in No. 20 of our list the great Sesostris, called, by Diodorus, Ægyptus; and in No. 28 our Rameses II., called by Eratosthenes Meures, who or one of his sons was doubtless the Mares of Diodorus, whom he put 12th in descent from Ægyptus, we have in No. XXXIV. the man called by Diodorus Chemis and by Herodotus Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid. The name given to this man by Eratosthenes is interpretable as follows: "Sesostris, the son of Hermes, the strong Hercules." Judging by this title Eratosthenes deemed this man worthy of greater honor and distinction than any other man on his list; and he might be thought to have understood him as the great Sesostris, as Diodorus apparently did. If, however, they meant that this man was the great conquerer, especially called Sesostris by the Egyptians, they were mistaken; for while in No. XXXIII., we recognize in Rameses VII. (Sethechopschef of Lepsius) the Stamenemes (Sethi-Amenemes) of Eratosthenes we have in No. XXXIV. (Chaem-Miamun) the Chemis of Diodorus, the Cheops of Herodotus, the builder of the great pyramid. And in No. XXXV. we have Rameses IX. (Rameses Mri-Amn; Ra khepher Ma Sutp N. Ra) doubtless the Chephren, brother of Chemis, the builder of the second pyramid. And in No. XXXVI. we have Rameses X. (Siphthah), being the name Siphoas of the same number of Eratos-

thenes, who was doubtless grandson of his No. XXXIV. This man is, therefore, Souphis or Cheops II., the same with the Mencheres or Mykerinus of Diodorus and Herodotus, who is said to have partially built the third pyramid. In our Rameses XI. and XII. we, therefore, have the correspondents of Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. respectively of Eratosthenes' list.

As intimated before Africanus, not having given us the names of the kings of his 20th dynasty, so called, but only the number of them, as 12, and the aggregate of their years as 135 (185 in Lepsius) we are somewhat in the dark as to the particular history of the last ten, but hope more light may yet be derived to us from the monuments. It is seen, however, that as far as we give information concerning them it is rather of a definite character. But I will say here, that the arrangement of an 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, as here, may not appear to be so systematic an arrangement as to the number of the dynasties given in the histories for the time, as that of five successive ruling dynasties, which I have pointed out in the arrangement of Africanus as from Manetho, although this may be one too many. And in explanation of how these three dynasties, so-called, stand for the five successive ruling dynasties in Africanus I will remark as follows: —

The 18th dynasty to the number of about 16 names as in Africanus is really one dynasty; but up to that point it has been entered in the books as two, viz., the 1st and 3rd, arising from the following circumstance: Two sons of Amenophis III. there were from one of whom, doubtless a younger one, descended the regular line of rulers for 8 or 9 successions or down to and including the 16th; and from the other son mentioned, doubtless the older of the two, descended in the male line the father of the great Rameses as explained above. Now, long after the first house of the Rameses had come into power the male line of the ancestors of Rameses the Great up to Amenophis III., was entered in the history (doubtless, as an honorary title, for they were not kings of Egypt) as "the second dynasty." This, of course, necessitated that the regular line from Amenophis III. to its replacement in power by the first Rameses, should be styled "the third dynasty." This, therefore, accounts for the first three dynasties of Africanus, of which, as you see according to my last tabulation, of two parallel columns, only two, the first and third, were in succession and in power.

The next dynasty is the first house of the Ramesidæ. It is third

in succession, but is the 6th as in Africanus. Parellel and contemporary with this ruling dynasty, called the 6th, which connected, as we have seen, in male line directly with the 2nd, was the 4th dynasty so called, which was parallel and contemporary with the 6th as the 2nd with the 3rd; that is, it was like the 2nd dynasty an *ex-officio* line, not a continuation, indeed, of the 3rd dynasty, but a parallel house of Ramessides descended, as I suppose, from a brother of Rameses the Great. Our priest Schaigh, who at the head of the 6th dynasty is Othoes, and as the last name of the 2nd dynasty is Cheneres, is at the head of this 4th dynasty Soris.

The 5th dynasty, properly understood, is doubtless the continuation in the male line from the first king of the 4th; for I take Sebercheres, No. 7 in the 4th dynasty, to have been husband of Tasesar, although he may have never ascended the throne himself. The name Thamphthis, which next succeeds his, as No. 8 of the 4th dynasty, is a female name, as is indicated by the feminine form, Tha, of the article, instead of the masculine form Pha, being prefixed to the name. It is here another form of name representing in this list of the 4th dynasty, the same person as the Tasesar or Nitokris of the 6th. Eusebius continues the 5th dynasty, after the 4th, as if he understood it to be in some way, a continuation in the male line of the latter.

The Sethar, No. 27 of my regular list, is the same with the Chuthar No. XXVII of Eratosthenes' list, and the Cheres, which is fifth name in Africans' 5th dynasty. And my Mernra No. 26, which is the proper Neilos of history, and was also called Schethar, pronounced Schihor, which is another name, for the Nile, is the Semphru krates or Herkules Harpokrates, No. XXVI of Eratosthenes' list, and the Sisiris, which is the fourth name in the old 5th dynasty of Africanus.

Speaking in relation to Neilos, I may say that to the last four or five kings of Eratosthenes' list there would seem to have been some of the names as well as actions transferred, which properly belong to Sesostris, the great, No. 20 of my list, and to his son, grandson and great-grandson, ending properly with No. 26.

We perceive, therefore, the 2nd house of the Ramesides to have been the old 5th dynasty, called Elephantin, and to have descended in the male line from Menes though the 4th and 2nd dynasties.

This name Sethos or Rameses, which was understood as its equivalent, was often turned into Oser, Ouser, *i.e.*, Sesar, as is seen in Ra Sesar, No. 16 of the Papyrus, for the name of the father of

Rameses and Ra-Sesar, No. 18 of the same Papyrus, for Rameses the Great, himself. Sebek and Seber were understood as variations of the name Sethos, or vice versa, as Seb or Seph of Seth, at least in the written histories. For the names, then, as appearing in the 4th dynasty of Africanus we thus account: Soris, No. 1, is the same with Othoes No. 1 of the 6th dynasty. Thamphthis No. 8 of dynasty 4th with Nitokris No. 6 of dynasty 6th. Then we have the following running contemporary and parallel: —

Saophis	of Eratosthenes		Souphis	of the 4th Dynasty		Phios	of 6th Dynasty		Athotis	of my regular list.
Saophis II.		with	Souphis II.		with	Methosouphis		with	Armais	
Mencheres			Mencheres			Phiops			Rameses	
Mosthes.			Ratoises			Menthosouphis			Amenophis	
Pammes			Bicheres			Nitokris			Tasesar	
			Sebercheres							

Of the men represented in the 6th dynasty here Phiops, *i.e.*, Rameses the Great, lived to an extraordinary age, having reigned, according to Eratosthenes and others, 100 years, which may possibly account for one more generation appearing in the contemporary parallel line of the 4th dynasty.

Whether or not for other remarkable accomplishments of his as well as for the building of the great pyramid, our Rameses VIII., the Sesostris No. 35 of Africanus' old 12th dynasty, appears to have been in the mind of Eratosthenes the greatest character of the Egyptian history. As I have said before the first very remarkable character as in my list was Sesostri's 1st, after whose name, Ægyptus, the country was called Egypt. The second remarkable hero was Mares, whom Diodorus makes 12th after Ægyptus, which Ægyptus, being in the mind of Diodorus 17th or 18th in the list of kings, would make Mares to be the 29th or 30th. But Herodotus may not have been entirely correct in saying that Mares was dead scarcely 900 years at the time of his visit to Egypt; if, however, he were nearly correct, we should have for the approximate date of Mares 450+900=1350 B. C., which would come within the time we get for our Rameses II. and his three successors, whom some have supposed to have been his sons, *i.e.*, 1387—1288 B. C. But, if we take Sethos I., No. 23 of my list, as Rameses II. proper,

then some might suppose that his four successors, 24 to 27 inclusive, were his sons, as according to the theory of the four or five brothers succeeding their father Rameses II. Of these two, Siphthah and Amenemseth, are put down as the Sons of Tasesar and although there be no pedigree given of Mernra and Sethar my own opinion is that Sethar was son of Mernra, and the latter son of Sethos, who in turn was son of Amenophis, son of Sesotris. This time would be about 1454—1387. For our Mares, then, considering the place given in the list for him by Diodorus and the approximate time given for him by Herodotus, it is most reasonable that we hold on to our Rameses II., No. 28 of my list, especially since the name given against that number in Eratosthenes is Meures. For the accomplishment of all the works ascribed to him I think it reasonable to count in his two or three immediate successors with himself, these being in the list of Africanus respectively Rathoures, Mencheres, Tatcheres, Nos. 29, 30, 31, of the left-hand column of the two where Rathoures is for Mares. So much as to Mares, who might be called Sesostris II., as we have him Rameses II.

The third great character they seem to specify is Sistosichermes, Chaem-Miamum, our Rameses VIII., before mentioned as the builder of the great pyramid, and doubtless the performer of other remarkable deeds; for the name Sistosichermes, *i.e.*, Si-Soth-Si-Hermes, means "the son of Sothis," the Star of Egypt, "the Son of Hermes" or Thoth, the God of letters and science. And Africanus, as from Manetho, after telling us how Herodotus informs us that Cheops built the great pyramid, adds: "This man also was a contemner of the Gods and compiled the Sacred Book, which, as a great desideratum, I, when in Egypt, procured a copy of for myself." I have not learned the religious tenets of that book, but would not wonder if Cheops' faith were a variety of the Hebrew. This system of tabulation would make him to have belonged to the 5th ruling dynasty; but while this be artificially so, he may have been really of the 4th.

For, as to the male descent of our Rameses VI. the Amenemes No. XXXII. of Eratosthenes, who is supposed to have begun the old 12th dynasty, so called, I may say that in Africanus the name, as I interpret it, is given as "Amenemhes, the son of Sesonchosis." This, too, may be concluded the correct reading from the name Sesonchosis preceding that of Amenemes on the Tablet of Karnak; and from the fact that in Eratosthenes this first Amenemes stands

second after Soikunios. Appears it not plain that Sesonchosis is the same with Soikunios* and that Amenemes directly succeeded to his own or his father's brother? If so, and it is more than probable, then Amenemes did not begin a new dynasty and so the tradition is true that the great pyramid was built by the 4th dynasty, which, in the way it has been made out, completes the successive ruling dynasties of the old Empire.

Now, from the ascent to power of our Rameses II. to that of our Rameses VI. the founder of the 12th dynasty, so called, there are four reigns in 99 years, which look not impossible for two generations, that is supposing that those three successors of our Rameses II. were his sons. The first of these successors, No. XXIX., is given by Eratosthenes a reign of eleven years; the second, No. XXX., a reign of 60 years; and the third, whom we might suppose a younger brother of the preceding, a reign of 16 years, which, with the 12 years given for the reign of Rameses II., himself, makes up 99 years. According to this, too, our Rameses VI., the founder of the 12th dynasty, so called, was the son of Rameses IV., the eighth King of the old 5th dynasty.

But the discovery of our 12th dynasty being descended in male line from the 8th King of the 5th sets us to find out how it could have been, in any reason, called the 12th; for before this the 6th was the highest up we got in the number of the dynasties. We suppose there was a reason for giving it the title of the 12th dynasty and the following appears to have been that reason. There came to be doubtless, in the progress of the old fifth dynasty, several parellel lines through which the genealogies of the monarchs were traced back, whether in male or female line, and called by different names, such as Herakleopolitan, Memphite, Theban, etc., of which now no representation remains in the books. These would, in the books be called dynasties, in an honorary way, because of the descent through them of some of the distinguished monarchs, such as Mares, or Sesonchosis, or Amenemes, or Cheops, just as the 2nd dynasty got that title from descent through it of Sesostris-Rameses.

In relation to what I have said farther back as to the names in my first and second 3 columns' systems not agreeing as to numbers,

* Soikun=Seaghan=Gegan, earth born, gigant, which is the name Se-Son-Chosis, *i.e*, the two forms are for the same root name, only the last has affixed the Egyptian adjective Chosis for Tosis, from the root of "to rule," "to govern." Sesonchosis = Soikunios = the ruling dynast.

referring to those tabulations again you will see the name of queen Nitokris standing under the 31st number in the middle column of the 1st and 2nd 3 columns' arrangement, in the former case 27 and in the latter case 9 names farther down than as it stood in the list of Eratosthenes. But, on the other hand, you will find in the 3rd column, that is my own list, Queen Tasesar No. 22 answering exactly to the place Nitokris has in Eratosthenes' list; Tasesar means simply "the queen," being made up of the feminine article Ta and Sesar. This is a title by which the historians have entered Queen Nitokris. Some might think this last was not the name of that queen; but it is either a name by which she was called or an historical title, for it is Egyptian, Neith-akar, meaning Athena-victrix, and not an affectation of the historians. Bunsen, in the Synopsis he gives of the Egyptian history of Herodotus, represents that historian as saying that Nitokris was a foreigner to Egypt; but Herodotus says distinctly "she was a native of the country" and in another place Bunsen states this matter correctly.

The result we have now arrived at with remarkable definiteness would have the effect of amazingly curtailing the figures given by Syncellus as for Manetho's complete Egyptian empire from Menes to Nectanebo inclusive. For, according to Prof. Lepsius' computation, the 20th dynasty ended in about 1115 B. C. Now, 1115 minus 350 B. C., the approximate termination of the 30th dynasty, leaves 765 years for the new empire, which added to the 1076 years of Eratosthenes' list for the old empire gives 1841 years instead of 3555 as stated by Syncellus. This computation also gives the date of Menes as something later than 2200 B. C., a date which, according to Usher's chronology, would, a person should think, be about the same with that of Mizraim, the grandson of Noah, thought to have been the same with Menes. (See dates given at the head of the middle columns of Gen. X, XI.) It may be remarked that the dates arrived at by both Usher and Lepsius are only approximative and that an exact result, if attainable, would likely bring them to the same numerical result and to the same man in regard to Egypt. The date we got for Menes upon the reckoning of Lepsius' ending for the 20th dynasty, is 2191 B. C.; which, considering Menes to have been identical with Mizraim and the Hyksos to have left Egypt in 1542 B. C., would leave the sojourn of that people in Egypt to have been for 649 years.

The date we get for Menes is, doubtless, nearly that which Usher

would give for Arphaxed the grandson of Noah and first cousin of Mizraim; for, according to the chronology of that celebrated bishop the creation was 4004 B. C.; the deluge about 2348 B. C.; the confusion of tongues about 100 years later or 2248 B. C.; and then it would require, say 57 years for Mizraim and his Schethites to have become established in the land of the Nile and in the adjacent country of Libya and Ethiopia, having his occupation there quietly, according to this, in 2191 B. C. But, though the assistance, which the researches and deductions in Egyptian history and archæology of Prof. Lepsius have rendered, is received by me with a proper and realizing sense of their worth, still I doubt not the data I possess will enable me to find a more correct date for Menes and to show before having finished with this illustrative critique that our Menes, so celebrated in history, as the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, was probably a grandson of the patriarch Abraham and no other than our Jacob-Israel, the ancestor of the twelve Palestinian tribes.

Eratosthenes appears to have spelled his list of names in a very coarse manner, but there is no doubt but that this coarseness may have at least partially arisen from the interpolation of certain letters in some of the names by copyists in the times posterior to Eratosthenes. If, for example, we cast the first r out of Phrouoro, XXXVII., we shall have the name in a more simple form and meaning the same. Phrouoro may be compounded either of Phre And Uro, that is a word for King repeated, the first being preceded by the definite article, or of Ph-Iara, meaning the river (Nile). This Phrouoro is also called Nilos by Eratosthenes; but it is more than likely this river had to the Egyptians all the meanings of river, King and God. He is our Rameses XI. It is remarked that in the time of this Nilos Troy was taken; but I have remarked before that Old Tyre was probably taken by Rameses VII. Erathosthenes gives to the successor of Phruru, the last man of his list, a reign of 63 years, and to Phruru himself a reign of 19. Lepsius makes his 12th dynasty to terminate, after having existed 185 years, in 1115 B. C. Now, if we suppose Troy (whatever ancient city that may have been) to have been taken in the second year of the reign of this Phruru, we shall have for the date of its capture 1115+17 +63=1195 B. C.; but, as I have said elsewhere, Bunsen puts the date of the capture of Old Tyre by Rameses II. in 1287 B. C., and I myself put it in about 25 years later. In my mind Old Tyre was the real Troy. Would there have been some other old

Pergamus, delightful city, destroyed in the days of our Phruru or Nilus, which would have given rise to this tradition?

We learn from the Apis inscriptions that our Rameses XII., the Amuthartaios, No. XXXVIII., of Eratosthenes, was succeeded in the Kingdom by Herhor, high priest of Ammon, who introduced in his person a new dynasty (21st). His name at the head of his dynasty is given as Smendes (Si-Bai-n-tet, son of Amun Bai-n-tet), (the goat of Tatu, Osiris, Brugsch), (Si-Amn HR-HER, High Priest). A person need not wonder at the names of the ancient Egyptian Kings appearing of different forms, as we find them in the different lists, for the name we get of a King in one list may, for example, be of his personal appellation, nomen or only prenomen, while in another list he may be set forth to us under one of his titles.

The name Aahmes is said to mean the young moon, and the wife of our Amos or Menes is said to have been styled the Princess Aahmes Nefru-Ari, or Aahmes the very good defender. Aahmes is also the name of a man which arises from the fact that Aah, A, Ao or Io, the word for the Moon, in ancient Egyptian is masculine. The same word means the Moon-God, Thoth or Hermes, as well as the Moon itself, hence Thothmes and Aahmes and James (English, James, Heb., Jacob) are exchangeable as written words. The names of the sun-god, Hercules, was also sometimes applied to the moon-god. Would the reason why the god of letters came to be identified with the moon-god be that scholars who devote themselves to learning work much at night?

It is thought Aahmes Nefruari, the beloved wife of our Amos, was Theban, but of an Etoiopian house, as the accounts represent her as black and unlike all the other Egyptian races. It is found, too, that our Amosis was on good and amicable terms with Ethiopia and and that a portion, at least, of that country paid him tribute. In a sepulchral inscription of the time "a captain of the Egyptian navy relates how he had served at Tanis (the Zoan of Scripture) under Amosis up to the 5th year of his reign. Then war broke out in the South and he was ordered to Kesh (Ethiopia) whither the King also afterwards repaired in order to collect the tribute." Over an inscription at the quarries of Mokattam is the scutcheon of the King and on each side thereof that of his wife. Bunsen considers her to have been "an heiress in whose right her husband ruled and took her name of Young Moon, perhaps, on account of the inheritance.

At any rate, says he, it had reference to her and was afterwards dropped." (Egypt III, 113.) Here he confesses that Aahmes was not the name of this King but of his wife. His proper name then was Mentuhept (Menes) the rising sun, the fixed, established. Josephus simply calls him Tuthmosis, which would be an equivalent for Aahmes or Amosis.

In another place Bunsen says: "Tuthmosis I. never appears as the son of Amosis. He was, however, a younger brother or a near kinsman." Speaking of his reign he says: "We find in the first place as regent, Aahmes, the royal wife, divine spouse, lady of both countries, the royal sister." (Id. III, 115.) This would, on the whole, point to the equality of the names Tuthmosis and Amosis and to their mutability with each other. I have mentioned before how that the Hebrews are supposed to have been connected with this King under a name Chnebron and the youth and manhood of Moses are connected with him in the narratives of Josephus. The name of the King's daughter by whom Moses is adopted and brought up is Thermuthis. We are told by Josephus that the Ethiopians, a little before this time, had invaded Egypt and done much damage to that country, in order to have satisfaction for which Moses was placed in command of an Egyptian expedition against Ethiopia. When arrived in that country at the head of his force he succeeded by means of the good offices of Tharbis, the daughter of the Ethiopian King who had become enamored with him, in taking their capital city, which having accomplished he married this Ethiopian princess. I wonder Bunsen did not mention this coincidence in connection with Amos: but it seems not to have occurred to his mind, although, he displays elsewhere a great readiness in scriptural references. It appears certain that at the time of this Amos or Menes there existed a very intimate connection between Ethiopia and Egypt. Would Misraim have made conquest or settlement of the whole Nile's Valley, Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia and Libya when once he had set out from his Scythic home in Asia, after the confusion of tongues? The inscription above mentioned tells us that Amosis in person went into Ethiopia, while Josephus informs us that Moses had command of the Egyptian expedition thereto in the time of this same King. Moses, then, must have been his lieutenant general, his alter ego, standing in a like relation to him as Joseph sustained to the Pharaoh of his time. The whole bearings of the case, sutcheons and all, show that Amos was married

to an Ethiopian princess. Would he as well as his general, Moses, have been so fortunate as to have secured a good wife, an excellent Ethiopian princess, as one of the results of his expedition? Would not the name of this King Amosis or Tuthmosis, either of which might be as easily written Moses, as his appellation Chnubra would be written Hebron, have suggested the name of the celebrated Hebrew law-giver as connected with this period, although according to Usher's chronology, he did not live at this period, but in some generations later?

The account Josephus gives of Moses in connection with Thermuthis would indicate him to have been understood as an adopted son, at least of Pharaoh. In his antique style he says as follows (Ant. II. IX. 7): "Thermuthis, therefore, perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And, when one time she had carried Moses to her father, she showed him to him and said she thought to make him her father's successor, if it should please God that she should leave no legitimate child of her own; and said to him 'I have brought up a child, who is of a divine form and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river in a wonderful manner I thought proper to adopt him as my son and the heir of the Kingdom?' And when she had said this she put the infant into her father's hands; so he took him and hugged him close to his bosom; and, on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and, in a puerile mood he wreathed it round and trod upon it with his feet; which seemed to bring along with it an evil presage concerning the Kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe (who was the same person that foretold that his nativity would bring the dominion of that Kingdom low) saw this, he made a violent attempt to kill him, and crying out, in a frightful manner, he said, 'This, O King, this child is he of whom God foretold that if we kill him we shall be in no danger; he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon the government and treading upon thy diadem. Take him, therefore, out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him: and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him.' But Thermuthis prevented him and snatched the child away. And the King was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the King to

spare him. He was, therefore educated with great care; so the Hebrews depended on him and were of good hopes that great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because if Moses had been slain there was no one either akin or adopted that had any oracle on his side for pretending to the crown of Egypt and likely to be of great advantage to them they abstained from killing him."

In this passage the river is personified, where Thermuthis says she has received him from the bounty of the river. In the margin of the Bible, the name Moses is said to signify "drawn out of the water." This would be one of the meanings of the name Am, from, Seth (from which Seh) water, from the water. Seth means also the sun, while being the word from which our "Sea." But for another meaning of the name you have Ma, true, and Seth or Seh for Teth, scribe, thus "true scribe." Thoth, Mercury or Hermes, was the Scribe of the Gods. In a passage of the "Book of the Dead," we read "Tet otherwise Set." See translation by Birch, also Egypt, I., 427. In the Bible Cain slays his brother Abel, and in the Egyptian Mythology Seth slays his brother Osiris, which is explained by the interpreters, as meaning that the flood drowned the world. Seth is Cain, Abel is Osiris. Sometimes also, Seth is represented as the same with Osiris: it is the same differently manifested, and when you say you can (Cain) you say you are Abel (Norman Fr., Habel, Eng. Able). The name Thoth is also spelled Athoth, and of Seth Aseth, Am-aseth, Amosis, Moses; Amathoth, Mouthosis, or Tuthmosis.

Yet, the Greek Thoth is the most important of all the Cabiri, the sons of Sedyk. His sign is the Ibis, and his name, judging from the Coptic form of it, is connected with the Egyptian root for word Tet, to speak; Gr. λόγος, word. He is the Scribe of the Gods and called "Lord of the Divine Words," "the Scribe of Truth;" the "great-great guardian of the pure souls in the hall of the two Truths" (on account of his signing the sentences on the souls of the dead): the self-created, never born." He is the God of Ses or Sesen, the eighth region, and of Eshmunaim or Hermopolis magna. In a temple built for his worship by Ergamun, King of Ethiopia, about 280 B. C., he is called Pn-nbs, Pan-Nubes. The Greek inscriptions there call him Pantnuphis. In a temple at Samneh in Nubia, he is called, according to Wilkinson,

son of Kneph. This is the same as son of Neb, as above, or Nub, Num, Chnub, Chnum. It is the Greek Pneuma, wherein it is seen that p or ph is the prefix representative of c, g, or ch in the Egyptian in this case. But Thoth is Chnub. The moon's disk on his head is sometimes his distinguishing mark in allusion to his planetary nature (he being called "Lord of the Moon"). Sometimes the ostrich feather (as sign of Ma, truth), and the writing tablet with Stylus in allusion to his headship of Hades and his office in the trial of souls. The connection between Tet and the moon, Wilkinson thought, might refer to the primitive use of a lunar year. The ancients had early remarked that the moon in Egyptian, was masculine, not feminine as the Greeks and Latins generally had it. Still Thoth was the particular moon-god. There is met with a deity called after the moon, Aah (Coptic Ooh, Ioh), either as a mere personification or as Thoth, in whom the agency of the moon and nature was represented as a living principle. In the tombs of the Rameseum, we find it so represented opposite to Phre. He is, according to Champollion, often met with in the train of Amun. He makes him green with the four sceptres and cap of Ptah by the side of which is a kind of infantine lock, denoting child or son. In the tombs a moon-god is represented sitting on a bark and holding the sceptre of benign power, to whom two cynocephali are doing homage, followed by the crescent and nuter god. The consort of Thoth is called "Mistress of the Writings." On her head she carries a pole with five rays and two horns over them, or with seven rays and two horns. Bunsen agrees with Birch that her name means "Seven." Lenormant and Lepsius translate it "yesterday." Her name probably referred to "the past," and she may be the prototype of the Grecian Muse of History.

Mau, commonly read Mu, Mui, is called in the hieroglyphics, son of Ra (the Sun). He is distinguished by an ostrich feather, which signifies light, intellect (coptic meui, intellect), and is also the sign of Ma, Truth; he has sometimes, moreover, a feather ornament, like that of Amun. In the Ritual he appears as God of the Lower World. This must be a variation of the idea of Thoth. In another representation in which he is pictured as the strong, victorious, he is adorned with a bull's head and standing with hands upraised as it were blessing the people. Champollion considered him as Hercules and translated his name Djom=Shem, without, however, being quite sure that he was correct. At Biban

el Moluk he sits with a fillat and feather exactly like Ma, red and, again, standing, green with two large feathers like the sculptures in the temple at Ipsambul. To him and a female deity, standing at his side, Rameses is offering sacrifice.

The Hall of Justice in the Lower World is named after Ma, Truth, Justice. She is frequently called Daughter of Ra (the Sun). She appears sitting, sometimes winged, sometimes without wings. Representations of her are frequent on the monuments of the old Pharaohs. She is styled Goddess of the Lower Country. Of the connection between Ma and Ptah, the creator of the world, there is no doubt. Ma, Truth, typifies the world, the Cosmos, containing in itself the real and true image of God. Doubtless, on this account, she occurs more frequently as Mau, inasmuch as she typifies the properties of God in nature as well as in man, which prove the reality of their existence merely by the reality, that is, truth of their appearance. Mau and Ma have the character of administrative deities. Truth is intimately connected with light, intelligence: and in regard to its composition, Am-athoth or Moses would seem to receive a more literal translation as "Scribe of Truth" or "True Recorder" than as "Drawn out of the Water." Truth, troth, truce is Toth causative?

Seti, in the coptic sate (arrow sunbeam), appears as the consort of Kneph. This would mean, from what we have seen before, consort of Thoth. By very slight variation of the name, or none, the same deity is represented as male or female. In the quarries of Elephantina, where there are inscriptions of the time of Caracalla containing the names Chnubis and Juno those in the Egyptian language contain that of Sate. A Latin inscription at Syene mentions Jupiter Chenubis and Juno Regina; and a statue at Philæ is dedicated to Chnubis and Sate by Ptolemy Euergetes. Horapollo (1, 11) contrasts Sete (Hera) with Neith (Athena) in reference to the visible expanse. She rules over the upper as Neith does over the lower firmanent. To Ptah or Pthah, the creator, it appears to me Neith corresponded; and Bunsen says (Egypt 1, 387) "In Ptah and Neith the Deity completed its manifestation as to the soul of the world; and they both entered directly into the Theban representation of the first principle." To Seth or Ra, the sun, the Lord of the upper world, Sate corresponded.

Seth was Nubi, Chnubi. Canopus (Canopy) is one of the forms of his name in Greek. The orator Aristides was informed by an

Egyptian priest that Canopus meant "the golden floor," but that the pronunciation of the Egyptian word is difficult to catch and to express in writing. The golden floor has, of course, reference to the firmanent. Heraclides of Pontus, the pupil of Plato, stated that "the Oracle of Canobus is that of Pluto;" this being so he is equivalent to Serapis and Osiris and Seth. In a myth preserved by Plutarch Thaueris was lover of Seth, whom she left and attached herself to Horus. The latter received her and slew the serpent by whom she was pursued. According to others this lover was likewise called Aso, the queen of Ethiopia. Jablonski thinks that Ethiopia may be meant, that name, whose Memphitic rendering is Ethoch and Sahidic, Eskoch, being incorrectly given in the Coptic Bible as Asōs; but it is more likely an Ethiopic-Theban deity is meant. According to Wilkinson this god Set or Nubi whom he always calls Obtaut (Uab-Thoth the Pure or Priest Taut) is represented at Karnak as sharing with Atumu the highest veneration, and pouring out his blessings on Sesostris. Set-Nubi was a distinct deity from Amun-Khem and yet the internal connection between them is undeniable. The crocodile is sacred to Set as well as to Chemmis. As regards all those deities the internal and external points of connection and of distinction are noticeable.

The forms Sut and Sutech are also ancient for Seth. He occurs in Salvolini's extract in the MS. of Aix as an ass, where he quotes the Greek transcript of the name Seth. Epiphanius, also, describes the ass as Seth. "The Egyptians," he says, "celebrate the festivals of Typhon under the form of an ass, which they call Seth." The hippopotamus, however, was sacred to him as well as the crocodile, ass and dog-star. According to Plutarch Typhon's complexion was of a reddish tinge. The struggle of Horus and Seth or Typhon is referred to in the Book of the Dead as the "Day of the battle between Her and Set."

Besides his other names of Bar which is Baal, Plutarch calls Typhon Apophis, the monumental Apep (*i.e.* Seth and Sesostris = Apapus). He says also that according to most of the priests the two names Osiris and Apis were joined in one, because Apis, the Memphite ox, was the image of the soul of Osiris; and Wilkinson finds the two joined together in a hieroglyphic inscription Apis-Hesiri. At any rate there is little doubt that Serapis is for Osiris-Apis. He has another passage which is thought to allude to the identity of Osiris and Typhon. He is combatting the notion that

Osiris is the sun's disk, the sun, as some maintained, because the Greeks called him Seirios. This he supposed to signify that the word Osiris is Sirius with the article prefixed. Afterwards he adds that in the Hermetic Books, where the sacred names are mentioned, Hermes (Thoth) is said to be Apollo and to represent the rotatory motion of the sun, while the power that gives activity to the mind is by some called Osiris, by some Serapis and by others Sothis, which last is equivalent to Seirios which equals Seth. The word Sothi signified childbearing, pregnancy (κύειν). Osiris and Isis are the Nile and Egypt. The myth of Osiris typifies the solar year; his gentle power is the sun in the lower hemisphere, the winter solstice. The vernal equinox is typified by the birth of Horus; the victory of Horus by the summer equinox, the inundation of the Nile. Her is a new form of Hesiri as the God of the natural sun and of physical life. Typhon (Seth) is the autumnal equinox, the sun in his strength. Osiris is slain on the 17th Athyr (13th November) and thence till the middle of December the rule of Typho lasts. During this period many a Jacob in those regions, within certain geographical limits, has to wrestle with this powerful Edom and become an Israel or succumb in the sand.

Misor, in the Phœnician Mytholgoy, was the brother of Sydek, the just, and the father of Thoth, the God of Knowledge, who invented written characters. He himself was the freely-acting God and in the Syriac version (in Acts xiv, 12) Mercury (Thoth) is rendered by the same word mesare, the Redeeming. Misor and Sydek, the Redeeming and the Just, are of cognate signification and sometimes used in apposition with each other; and Varro informs us that the Phœnicians worshiped heaven and earth under the names of Taaut and Astarte.

LIST OF THE TURIN PAPYRUS.

I will now submit to you the fragments from the Turin Papyrus which I suppose to contain those 38 names represented in Eratosthenes' List: —

Fragment I (vi. 72) 9 scutcheons.

A. Ra S. Hept Het.

1. Ra Khu Ta.
2. Ra Pekh Kar.
3. Amenemha.

4. Ra S. Hept Het.
5. Aufna.
6. Ra S. Ankh Het.
7. Ra S. Men Kar.
8. Ra S. Hept Het.
9. Ra Men Kar.

Here one or more names are wanting.

Fragment II (vi. 76–79) 14 scutcheons.

10. Ra Hem Het.
11. Ra Sebek Hept.
12. Ren Snab.
13. ——
14. Ra S. Tef.
    hem Khu teti.
15. Ra Pekh Sebekhept.
16. Ra Seser S. Hept N Ra.
17. Ra ——— Ka.
18. Ra Seser ——
19. Ra Pekh Kar Sebekhept.
20. Ra Sha Kar Nefruhept.
21. Ra Hat —— Mentusa.
22. Ra Sha Nefru Sebekhept.
23. Ra Sebekhept.

Names of the following two Kings supposed restored by Lepsius:—

24. Ra Sha Karu Nefruhept.
25. Ra Sha Ankh Nefruhept.

Fragment III (viii. 81) 8 scutcheons.

26. Ra Sha Hept.
27. Ra Uah Het Ahet.
28. Ra Mer Nefru.
29. Ra Mer Hept.
30. Ra S. Ankh — N. Shtu.
31. Ra Mer Ankh — Anka.
32. Ra Snab Kar — Hera.
33. Ra —— M. Kar. Nub.
34. ——

"Uncertain Fragments."
Fragment V. (viii, 94, 95) 9 scutcheons.
1. ..... Su.
2. ..... Ma —Ah.
3. ..... Uben — Har.
4. ..... Kar.
5. ..... n

The next Fragment is VI. (ix. 97) consisting of 8 to 11 scutcheons, the chief of the line being Ra Nahasi (Ethiopian Helios).

Independently of this Fragment V., under the head of uncertain Fragments, it might, perhaps, be concluded that we have in effect our list of 38 kings in the foregoing somewhat defaced list from the Papyrus. For, says Bunsen, in relation to this: "It would be in itself a most improbable notion that no names should be wanting between the Fragments. As regards the first three, 3 names at least are omitted between them." (Egypt II. 483.) He may be mistaken as to the omission of just three names between the above three Fragments; but it would seem a most probable conclusion that those three Fragments (I, II, III, as above) were originally a copy of the list of the rulers of the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties so called, or of Eratosthenes' List, consisting of 38 names; for even those two lists last mentioned show us that the ancient Egyptian Scribes entered the appellations of the same persons somewhat differently in different and independent lists.

Bunsen says (Id.) that "the points of contact between the Tablet of Karnak and the Theban names in the Papyrus are limited to the first fourteen scutcheons of the former." Which may mean very little, but if it do mean anything it tends to show that the Tablet of Karnak belonged to a reign long posterior to that of Tuthmosis III., to whom the erection of this Tablet has been by some of the historians ascribed. But, while Bunsen in the support of his Middle Empire theory was endeavoring to connect the names in these Fragments with it, or with an earlier period of Egyptian history, how boldly you will perceive the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties are represented in all the features of those three Fragments in their somewhat obliterated state. Even in the 3rd and 5th names of Fragment I. you can notice the female names spelled here, Amenemha and Aufna which are respectively in the other lists, Amensis and Misphra, and here the Ra (which, however, is sometimes prefixed to names of females) is wanting.

Queen Taseser I suppose to be the Ra Hat — Mentusa, No. 21 of our Fragment II. of the Papyrus, which being No. 22 of our regular list in 3d column may indicate that there is only one name wanting in the Papyrus list up to that point and that the three or four names which Bunsen notices as being wanting in the three Fragments must rightfully belong after this name. A consideration of these three Fragments, as a whole, will perhaps show that the few names that are now absent from them are those of females.

When it is remembered that in the ancient Egyptian "the K is occasionally interchanged with the T" (Egypt I. 466) it will be the more easily understood how Ra Khu Ta (No. 1 of our Fragment I.) must stand for King Thutha or Tuthmosis I. You can also see these elements of Teth in Nos. 4, 6 and 8 of that Fragment, standing for Tothmes II. III. and IV. You will, moreover, easily recognize your Amenophis I. II. and III. in Nos. 2, 7 and 9 of the same Fragment.

Josephus has "Sethos, called also Egyptus," to be the 18th name in his dynastic list; but, even according to him, he would have been in effect 19th, his brother Harmais, reign, as his deputy over Ægypt, being usually reckoned before his. Some of the names Josephus has introduced are only substitutional forms for the real names of the rulers. In this manner has Africanus also acted to some extent and they both left out some names, at least of two of those who, according to the restoration of Lepsius, occupied the throne. It would seem to me that Ra Seser, No. 18 of our Fragment II., is for Rameses the Great or Sesostris and that the two or three immediately before are the members of his father's family, as I have explained in my list.

By a close study and comparison of other lists in connection with the history I have had reasonable grounds for every step I took. And now, for example, in my concluding Sethos I., as put down in Africanus' and Eusebius' list as the first of the 19th dynasty, to have been identical with Rameses I. and II., and also with Sesostris the Great, I had the following reasons: First, we are informed in the list of Josephus that Sethos was called Rameses as well as Ægyptus, and I find in Lepsius' royal genealogies that his father, the priest Schaigh, must needs have introduced a new dynasty in his person and that the name Schaigh (Seth=ses) which means of itself King, gave rise to the name Rame-Schaigh (Rameses) which means chief king. Schaigh, then, is entered as having

been a king of Egypt, as we reasonably suppose after his wife's death, and so his name had to have a place in the royal list. After him, third in place, then is Rameses, his son (his daughter and another son intervening), which makes him 20th in place with the list simplified, having, as far as possible, the primitive forms of the names, thus obviating the use of the substitutional forms which are found in the other lists.

Secondly, Herodotus informs us that "Sesotris, the Great, was the only Egyptian king who succeeded in conquering Ethiopia." Now, while we read of Sethos I., having made conquest of Cyprus, Phœnicia, Assyria and Media; of the Rutenu, the Shasu and the Libyan Shepherds, we do not read under that name of a conquest of Ethiopia, while we find this Sethos doing other remarkable things which Heredotus ascribes to the great Sesotris, namely, the making of the great wall to protect Egypt from the attacks of the North-eastern nations, the making of canals, etc. But under the next name, that is, Rameses, called the Second, and by all "the Great," we read first of his conquest of Ethiopia and the Negrite races; of the Libyans; the Chethites, the peoples of Mesopotamia, etc. Putting all this together and comparing it with itself, and knowing the name of the father of this Rameses, and that he had been a king of Egypt not under the name of Rameses, I concluded that Rameses I., Sethos I., and Rameses II., of what may be called the repetitionary or substitutionary lists, were names all referring to the same man, who was also called Apappus, Ægyptus and Sesotris the Great. Apappus is really an equivalent for Sethos as Typho (Pepi) is for Seth. And in the division of his name the form Sethos was made to occupy the place in the list which belonged to the name of his brother Harmais

The matter of the time given to these two names of the two brothers in the list would constitute another proof of this position; for it is well known from Herodotus and others how that Armais was dethroned and chased from the kingdom by his brother, Sethos, on his return from his Asiatic campaign, which some say lasted all of 9 years, others more, others less. Now, the time given by Bunsen to his "Sethos the Great" is 9 years, just about the time Armais would be expected to have occupied the throne in his brother's absence. And the time he allots to Rameses II., the Great, is 66 years, which was a little enough time, a person would think, for him in which to accomplish all that has been ascribed to

him in the way of conquest, building, etc. Witness the piles he erected at Karnak, Luxor, Ipsambul, etc., after his conquest of Africa, Asia and part of Europe, and the public works he executed in the way of walls, canals, etc., by means of the prisoners he brought into the country from his expeditions. "On his return to Egypt," says Herodotus, "he employed the captives of the different nations he had vanquished to collect those immense stones which were employed in the temple of Vulcan. They were also compelled to make those vast and numerous canals by which Egypt is intersected. In consequence of their forced labors Egypt, which was before conveniently adapted to those who traveled on horseback or in carriages, became unfit for both. The canals occur so often and in so many winding directions that to travel on horseback is disagreeable, but in carriages impossible. The prince, however, was actuated by a patriotic motive. Before his time those who inhabited the inland parts of the country, at a distance from the river on the ebbing of the Nile suffered great distress from the want of water of which they had none but from muddy wells."

The following paragraph is an illustration of the substitutionary method in Josephus where he had not the real names or the times of the kings:—

"He (Rathotis, *i.e.*, Queen Athotis,)
was succeeded by Aramais..... 4 yrs. 1 mon.
then Rameses..... 1 " 4 "
then Armeses Miamum.....66 " 2 "
then Amenophis.....19 " 6 "
then Sethosis, who is also Rameses...

The latter possessed a body of cavalry and a navy. He appointed his brother Armais viceroy and gave him all the authority of a sovereign," etc. There appear to be six men specified here, but there are really only three: Armais, Rameses the Great, who is also Sethosis, and reigns 66 years; and Amenophis. But although the six apparent names he gives here only represent three persons, still these apparent names may surely be considered substitutes for the real names of six successive occupants of the throne in the time represented, which names Josephus did not know.

After Josephus relates how that Armais, in the absence of his brother Sesostris, had exceeded the bounds of the administration

which his brother had committed to him and how that the high priest sent a dispatch to Sesostris to that effect, he says: "Upon which he came suddenly back to Pelusium and reassumed the government." Nothing can be more natural. This shows that Armais was king of Egypt during the series of years which his brother was abroad: for if his brother had not given up the government to him on his going away that brother could not be said to have reassumed it on his return. Consequently, although Armais is to be counted in place in the list of the kings for a certain number of years, yet his years are properly included within the years allotted to Sesostris. Not so the years of the reign of their sister, Athotis, who preceded them, the years of whose reign are not included in those of her brothers. Josephus says in connection: "Now after Sethos had deprived the latter of the sovereignty he reigned 59 years. The eldest of his two sons, Rameses, succeeded him and reigned 66 years." (Contra, Apion I. 15, etc.) The two sons here refer to the same two brothers, Armais and Sethos, and the latter, "whose name was also Rameses," reigned 59 years plus the number of years occupied in his first campaign in Asia and Europe, which made 66 years or 68 as according to Eusebius. This must be so for his son, Amenophis (whom some have called Manduophis, but Bunsen Amenephtha or Menephthah) was his immediate successor, as seen above, and is entered for a reign of 19, but by Eusebius of 40 years. This son and immediate successor of Sesostris Herodotus calls Pheron, that is a Greek variation of Pharaoh, "the king," and at the same time gives a confirmation of my position as to the Sethos I., Rameses I. and Rameses II. of the lists being the same man. "On the death of Sesostris," says Herodotus, "his son Pheron, as the priests informed me, succeeded to his throne. *This prince undertook no military expedition;* but by the action I am going to relate he lost the use of his eyes." If then Rameses II. were the great Sesostris he must needs have undertaken military expeditions, which Herodotus says here he did not. Moreover, the Egyptian priests informed the Emperor Germanicus, when pointing out to him the monuments of the most celebrated hero of their nation that they themselves were accustomed to call him Rameses. The truth is that his name after that of his father was Schaigh (Sethos), which in the old languages has among other meanings, "a king," "the Sun;" and this man, having attained to so great a supremacy as he ultimately did, was called Raamschaigh, Rameses

or the chief king in the Egyptian, being a term equivalent to the king of kings among the Persians. His regular family name of which a Greek form is Sethos, the Greeks used making it Sesostris (Sethosdair). Champollion thought it the highest meed of his labors to be able to identify him on the monuments and in the lists.

A point I will mention here before going farther is that my identification of Sethos the Great and Rameses, called the Second and the great, has the effect in my writings of making the distinguished conqueror No. 28 of my list, called by Bunsen and others Rameses III., to be Rameses II. The great Sesostris, the list being properly set forth, with the original sign of each name in its proper place, and without any repetition, is Rameses I.

A FULLER ACCOUNT OF THE TURIN PAPYRUS.

M. Drovetti, the French Consul General to Egypt who attained such great celebrity in the days of Napoleon for his love of Egyptian art, brought to Europe a roll of Papyrus, which was deposited in the museum at Turin. Here it lay neglected until Champollion discovered it in 1824, and being much interested in its appearance inserted a notice of it in the "Bulletin Universal." A closer inspection showed him that this Papyrus contained a list of the ancient Egyptian dynasties and so he set himself to work to arrange the principal fragments, passing over, for the present, those of smaller dimensions.

This MS. was found to be 6 feet long, 14 inches wide and arranged in 12 columns, each containing from 26 to 30 lines. On it vestiges appeared of over 200 royal names and from the number of unconnected fragments it was thought there must be all of 250 names. On the back were calculations in which the name Rameses occasionally appears, a circumstance which was supposed to establish, at least approximately, the date of the compilation. The mention of the name Rameses would not necessarily indicate that the compilation was made in the time of any one of the Ramesidæ — for the calculation would be made simply back or forth from the time of the Rameses referred to — and I have no doubt the Turin Papyrus was of a comparatively recent compilation. To Mr. Seiffarth is accorded the merit of having, at considerable pains and after considerable time, affected a restoration and reconstruction of this MS. even to its smaller pieces, which Champollion had thrown

aside; and which work of his was finally consummated by Lepsius. The general exposition of it given by the latter is as follows: —

Its list begins with the dynasties of the Gods. Six names are preserved — Seb, Osiris, Seth, Horus, Thoth and Ma — by the side of the 7th, in which name Salvolini thought he discovered the Hawk, Lepsius found appended the number 400. According to the latter 3140 years are ascribed to Ma; and to Thoth, as he thought, 3226. By the side of one of the dynasties of Gods, or, as some think, at the conclusion of the list of the Heroes and Manes, stands, according to Salvolini, the subjoined notice: —

"Sum total: 23 reigns, 5613 years, — months, 28 days."

This is taken as indicating that the Egyptian historic lists were arranged into dynasties; the commencement of a new dynasty or a division in the same being supposed to be indicated by red characters.

In the second column the names Menes and Athotis are preceded by computations, which the manipulators did not succeed in interpreting: but in line 9 behind Horus, we read 13,420 years and then follows: —

Kings up to Horus 23,200 years (it is sagely noticed here that, "the decimals may have dropped out"). Next to this come two mutilated data, where, however, they thought they could yet recognise the name Menes (lines 11, 12) — the 13th row still exhibits that of Athotis, the son and successor of Menes as according to the lists.

Lepsius has arranged the remaining royal rings of mortal kings as follows: —

34 kings in 10 Fragments which he supposed to be those before the 6th dynasty (terminating with 3 kings of the 5th).

20 kings in 6 Fragments from the 6th to the 12th dynasty closing with the latter.

54 Thus making for the old empire 54 names in 16 Fragments.

65 kings in 6 Fragments.

119 Thus making 119 names in all, 65 of these being for the new empire. From the 21st to the 30th dynasty, these two inclusive, there are reckoned in Africanus 47 kings. If to these we add the three Persians, Ochus, Arses and Darius, which

constituted the 31st dynasty, we have for this period 50 kings down to 332 B. C., when the Greeks took possession of the government. If to this we add 18 or 19 Greek rulers of Egypt from 332 down to the death of Cleopatra, in about 26 B. C., we shall have 68. The appellations of these Grecian kings of Egypt were in order, as I find them from Rollin (if we except Alexander the Great and Aridaeus, who never were known as kings of the country) as follows: Ptolemy-Lagus, Soter, Philadelphus, Euergetes, Philopater, Epiphanes, Philometer, Physcon, Lathyrus, Alexander, Alexander II., Auletes, Philometer, Physcon, Lathyrus, Alexander, Auletes, Cleopatra. Ptolemy was their distinguishing appellation as kings of Egypt of the Macedonian line, somewhat, perhaps, as Pharaoh was the distinguishing title of the old Egyptian kings. Now, supposing this reckoning to be correct and that there are no repetitions in the names of these rulers, we have eighteen for 300 years, making the average reign 17 years. But if there be a repetition of 3 names, as I have vaguely thought there might be, then the average reign is 20 years. But, however this may be, we have here a pretty well authenticated piece of history both as to time and number of successive rulers recognized therein, and one which might be thought a fair indicator as to the ancient average length of reign. As mentioned above Africanus gives us 56 names from Menes down to the end of his old 12th dynasty, all inclusive, against the 38 in Eratosthenes' list. Would the Papyrus have meant to count in 54 out of the 56 names given in Africanus, as represented by the 34+20 in those of its Fragments considered "certain?" If so and we add the 54 of Africanus to the 50 from the end of the 12th dynasty to the Macedonian conquest and then the 17 or 18 we find for that supremacy we shall have 54+50+18=122, which is 3 names more than we reckon in the Papyrus. But we have noticed above that there are some names lacking on the Papyrus Fragments which we found to correspond with our list of 38 names and it is quite possible we may have reckoned in one too many for the Ptolemaic dynasty; so that all things considered our Papyrus monument seems to match our history pretty well. And so we can begin to reckon the old, the middle and the new empires not quite as before, but as the first embracing the 18th to the 20th dynasties, so called, inclusive; the 2nd embracing the 21st to 31st inclusive; and the new empire being that of the Macedonians from 332 B. C. to, say, the Christian era. Or keeping, if we wish, the Macedo-

nian and the last Persian dynasty out of view we can still, in the face of all facts adduced, concoct in our mind some distinction in the old Egyptian empire, so as by hook or by crook to yet walk abreast in the hitherto deemed respectable company of Africanus, Eusebius, Syncellus, etc.

Now, in regard to the systems of those who supposed a Middle or Hyksos Empire to have existed for a longer or shorter period, I may say that those men have a good deal to say about a dynasty they call the 12th, and about certain kings they call Osortesen, etc., which they turn into Sesotris and connect with that or some other dynasty. Wilkinson, in his system, supposes Joseph to have been in Egypt the time of his Osortesen I., putting his time at about 1706 B. C., while Champollion and Rosellin put the time of that Sesortesen in 2082 B. C.; and Bunsen's time for Joseph's elevation to power by the same Sesortesen is 2755, and of Jacob's arrival in Egypt about 2747 B. C. As said before he supposed the Hyksos to have left Egypt in about 1542 B. C., and the Israelites to have then entered into a state of bondage for 215 years, so that his exodus would take place in (1541 — 215) = 1326 years B. C. approximately. Bunsen has his volumes replete with captions, many of them being of rather a turgid or grandiloquent order. One of those relating to the subject under consideration is as follows: "The immigration of the Israelites into Egypt did not take place under the Hyksos but under the Pharaohs, namely, under the Sesortosidæ, and, *indeed*, under Sesortosis I." This, you will say, is talking pretty definitely as to what he supposed happened over 2700 years B. C. Another heading relative to the same subject is as follows: "The number 215 is the measure of the period of bondage or of the last section of the sojourn in Egypt." (Egypt III. 329, 331).

In connection with this subject I give you as follows in tabulated form the idea of Wilkinson and of Col. Felix, who directly connected the 12th dynasty with the 18th so-called, placing their foundation mainly in the monumental research: —

FELIX, 1828 (1830).	WILKINSON, 1828 (1835 and 1837).
17th Dynasty of the Osortesen: 7 Kings.	16th and 17th Dynasties: altogether 7 Kings.
	XVI.
1. Osortesen I.	1. Osortesen I., 43d year 1740 B. C. (Joseph in Egypt B. C. 1706).
2. Ammoneith — Thota I.	2. Amuni — Amumeneit I. 1835: (Amun — m — gori I).
3. Ammoneith — Thota II.	3. Amuni II. (1835, Amun — m — gori).

	XVII.
4. Osortesen II.	4. (1) Osortesen II.
5. Osortesen III.	5. (2) Siphtep, also Osirtesen III. (1835: Nofritep). 14th year.
6. Ammoneith — Thota III.	6. (3) Amuni (Amun — m — gori, 1835) III., 41st year.
7. Ammoneith — Thota IV.	7. (4) Name destroyed, only the prenomen known. B. C. 1580.

Felix, as you see, arranged these seven names into a 17th dynasty; Wilkinson into a 16th and a 17th arbitrarily. What some consider to have been the family name of the Tuthmoses Felix translated Ammoneith — Thota, Wilkinson Ammon — m — Gori. They correspond with Africanus in having seven rulers for this house, but theirs are supposed seven males, the last of his is a female. The names do not seem exactly to correspond to the last six or seven of the series of Eratosthenes and yet they bear some resemblance to them. It is possible they may not stand exactly in their proper order, as in Felix and Wilkinson's arrangement.

While Felix and the Duke of Northumberland were traveling together in Egypt they discovered a name which they deciphered as Osortasen upon an obelisk which appeared to them of more ancient date than the times of the Ramessides. While on the same tour they discovered at Beni-hassen a series of kings, four in number, two Osortasens and two they supposed to belong to the same race, which they read Amuneith-Thota. The prenomens on this series they supposed corresponded with those of the immediate predecessors of the 18th dynasty upon the Tablet of Abydos. In such ways were names discovered upon different monuments which they supposed to be the same with certain names upon the tablets.

Differing tabulations appeared of those names in the progress of time, those of Champollion and Rossellini being found to correspond with each other and those of Felix and Wilkinson, on the other hand, not to differ much. Wilkinson, it is plain, tried to square his system with his knowledge of the Scriptural history of the Jews. Bunsen, however, in making the Exodus to take place in 1326 B. C. or thereabouts differs from Usher's chonology very considerably and from Wilkinson, who agrees with Usher.

In regard to the existence of a Hyksos Period, as so called, Lepsius, in looking around among the monuments of Thebes, thought he observed certain indications in some of them which pointed to an age of disorder and misrule as having existed. In the temple palace of Karnak, for example, whose erection is ascribed to the

first Osortesen, he saw indications which led him to conclude that, between the time of the building of the most ancient portion of it and the subsequent additions, there had intervened a period of desolation which he supposed, as did Bunsen, must have been the Hyksos period. This he thought to be the more remarkable from the style of the columns in the said Osortesen's reign and that of the other known Egyptian buildings. Doubtless this was one of the works on which Sesostris the Great employed the foreign artisans he brought into the country with him after his expeditions. Lepsius, indeed, thought those so-called Osortesens to have belonged to that closing period of the Old Empire called the 12th dynasty, which would correspond to either the 20th or the 5th dynasty as in my arrangement.

The sum of the reigns of those kings of the 12th dynasty as well as the names of its last two he supposed he had correctly made out in the Turin Papyrus and so much of the remains of particular kings were registered as not to leave him in doubt as to how many of those kings were registered. From all this Lepsius inferred that the sign which had hitherto been read User, Oser, must be pronounced Sesor, Seser, inasmuch as the forms Sesonchosis and Sesostris in Manetho could not be explained upon any other principle. Previously he had discovered in the Tablet of Abydos not only the family name Amenemes, heretofore unknown, but the name of another king which he tabulated Sebeknefru; so that he thought he had now discovered names for all the kings of this dynasty that were represented in the Papyrus and in Manetho. Lastly, after he had performed a journey to Turin for the purpose he came off satisfied he had substantiated a before doubtful number in the Papyrus, which made everything now more clear to his mind with respect to the dates of those reigns.

The 23 names in Fragments I. and II. of our Papyrus correspond, at least as to number, with Africanus' 18th and 19th dynasties, which are as follows:—

XVIIIth Dynasty.

1. Amos.
2. Chebros.
3. Amenophis.
4. Amensis.
5. Misphres.

6. Misphragmouthosis.
7. Touthmosis.
8. Amenophis.
9. Oros.
10. Acherres.
11. Rathos.
12. Chebres.
13. Acherres.
14. Armesses,
15. Ramesses.
16. Amenophath; reigned total 263 years (the exact number given by Africanus to his first dynasty, so called).

XIXth Dynasty.

1. Sethos	51	years.
2. Rapsakes	61	"
3. Amenephthes	20	"
4. ————	20	"
5. Rameses	60	"
6. Amenemnes	5	"
7. Thuoris	7	"
Total	224	"

the exact number of years reigned contemporaneously by the second and third dynasties after they had separated from each other on the death of Amenophis III. But I have explained to you farther back how there came to be a 1st, 2nd and 3rd dynasties; how that the 4th dynasty ruled over Egypt only in the persons of the rulers of the 6th; how that the 5th dynasty succeeded to the 6th from the reason that the latter constituted the real, personal 4th, so far as that was properly a dynasty, which caused that the 5th succeeded to or continued the 4th; and how that all the other dynasties, so called, from the 6th to the 12th, arose most probably from the names of dynasties having been applied to some genealogical lines of the distinguished kings of the 12th dynasty, so called, in an honorary way, the numbers of which lines only have survived in the books. The 6th dynasty, then, in its connection with the 4th, so called, it is quite important to under-

stand and no less important to understand it in connection with the dynasty which succeeds it.

I will here, therefore, add, in connection with what has gone before in relation to these matters, that Othoes, the first name in Africanus' 6th dynasty, is, in the old Gaelic tongue (which last is a safe genealogical guide in this Egyptian line), Aedh, which is read sometimes, briefly, Ai, and is the same with Schaigh, was the father of Rameses — Sesostris, the Great, and the founder of a new dynasty, that which succeeded to the 3rd, so called. This Othoes, who was the same with Cheneres, the last of the 2nd dynasty, so called, being a king of Egypt, shows you that not only several of the first names, but also the last name in the list of the 2nd dynasty, in Africanus, were of kings of Egypt, and so that the title of dynasty for it was not altogether a misnomer, nor given altogether in an honorary way: Secondly, this Othoes or Cheneres being the same with Souris, the first of Africanus' 4th dynasty, and being a king of Egypt, as the monuments prove, shows you that not only the last two names, but the first of the 4th dynasty, so called, were of rulers of Egypt, so that in the case of the 4th, also, the title dynasty is not altogether a misnomer nor applied altogether as an honorary title to a genealogical list.

The second name in the list of the 6th dynasty is Phios, which is equal to Phis, as, for example, in Memphis, properly Men-phis, that is, Men-Seph or Men-Seth for Menes. This Phis or Seth, which last is Aedh with the consonant S prefixed, and spelled Aigh or Schaigh, variously in the old tongue, was for the Armais of the old lists, which in the original Egyptian hieroglyphs is the same with Rameses, that is, Armais, Armeses and Rameses are but variations in the modern languages of the one hieroglyphical name.

The third name in Africanus 6th dynasty is Methosouphis, a female name, and corresponding to the Athotis which, in our regular monumental list, comes next after Schaigh. The name is made up of the components, Meth or Ameth, also spelled Ma, the goddess of Justice, which in the Greek is Themis (root am — the or eth), and which we often see a statue representing blindfolded, with a scale in her hand, on the domes of houses of Justice at the present day. The names Phios and Methosouphis here seem to have changed place, as compared with how they stand in other lists. It appears plain from the relative positions in the list that Armais, independently of the story of his viceroyship, given in Josephus,

as from Manetho, was an elder brother of Rameses, the Great; and I had judged the sister to have been older than Armais, but here she stands in the list after him. We have a similar case in the names Sebercheres and Thamphthis, supposed husband and wife, at the end of the 5th dynasty in its connection with the 6th, in which I have thought it might have been a question of precedence in the mind of the compiler, which caused him to put the husband's name before the wife's in the list.

The fourth name in the list of Africanus' 6th dynasty is Phiops, which is the monumental Apep, an equivalent to Seth, Seph or Teph (Typho), and is here for Rameses — Sesostris.

The fifth name is Menthesouphis, the same with Amenophis, son of Rameses the Great, of the regular lists; while the sixth and last name in this dynasty is Nitokris, who is the queen Tasesar, of my regular and monumental list. If Lepsius were correct in his deductions then this lady was sister of Amenophis, instead of his wife, as given in some lists under the name Nitokris: and, Thus, being a daughter of Rameses the Great, and it being evident from all the histories that she held the throne in her own right and left at least two sons after her who occupied it in their turn, it is quite as evident that she was married and that her husband or son begun the new dynasty, which directly succeeded to the son of Amenophis. Would Tasesar have been "sister and wife?"

When, it is somewhere said that the tablet of Karnak, for example, traces back genealogy to Menes through such and such dynasties and that of Abydos, through such and such other dynasties, it is seen from what has gone before that the meaning may be that they both trace back through the same, or a line of genealogy through different men, for example, of the same dynasty. The markings of the tablets have done some service in enabling us to straighten out the subject of the dynasties genealogically; but from the partially obliterated condition in which these tablets were found it is evident that the meaning of most of the symbols, which as yet partially appeared, could only be made out approximatively. But although these remarks are not concerned in the genealogy of the husband of Queen Tasesar, for that appears plainly enough given in the line of the dynasties from Menes to him, still I would suggest it as very probable that he was one of those scions of the royal stock of Menes, who had his residence at Elephantina, in Upper Egypt. By this the dynasty would have goten its name of Ele-

phantin, as we have gathered from some source another dynasty, called the 3rd, got its title of Memphite from its founder having his residence at Memphis before he came to the throne. There seems no doubt whatever that there were families of the stock of Menes settled at Memphis, Elephantina, Herakleopolis and elsewhere as well as at Thebes, who were of considerable importance in the way of wealth and political influence, who continued to be connected by marriage and otherwise with the ruling dynasts.

Now, our Sethos I. is called in the old histories son of Amenophis and so grandson of Sesostris and in the same authorities he is made to begin a new dynasty, which appears unreasonable. For how can it be said that a man whose father has been sole sovereign of a country, when he has himself attained to the sovereignty has begun a new dynasty? But this Sethos immediately succeeds to queen Tasesar and begins a new dynasty, which makes it more probable that the division in the list appears in the wrong place, that Sethos, the son of Amenophis, belonged to the preceding dynasty and that the new dynasty, called the 19th, began with the husband or son of Tasesar.

This Sethos is called son of Amenophis not only in the histories but in the legends; for you have read farther back how that the King Amenophis, after he had greatly oppressed a large body of the people by compelling them to work in the quarries and at other public works, at length decided to set them free; how that having been liberated these people congregated to a very large number at the city of Avaris (Abaris, the city of the Hebrews); how that they fortified the place and organized a government of their own; how that, upon this being done, they invited their friends, the Hebrews, from Jerusalem and Judaea to come and assist them in conquering for themselves the Kingdom of Egpyt, which having attained, would be a recompense to them for the labor and oppression they had undergone; how that the invited people came to Avaris in great force from Jerusalem and, having joined arms with their friends there and effected a complete organization of their joint forces, they overran Egypt, took possession of its administration and continued to hold the same for the space of thirteen years; you have seen how that during this time Amenophis and his vast army were absent in Ethiopia, patiently waiting a (to them) more favorable turn in home affairs and meantime subsisting on the provisions furnished them in great abundance, to-

gether with comfortable quarters, by the then King of Ethiopia; how that Amenophis, on his departure for Ethiopia, with an army of 300,000 men and his Egyptian gods all gathered about him, left a son of his named Sethos, then five years old, with some of his friends in a cave to be kept for him till his return; how that on his return to Egypt, the boy Sethos had grown to be 18 years old and greatly assisted his father in reconquering his patrimony out of the hands of the Hebrews. Thus the foregoing; but another version has it that Sethos was not born at the time of his father's departure for Ethiopia but that his mother, pregnant with him, was left in a cave with some friends so that on the return of Amenophis the boy could have been scarcely 13 years old at which time he could not have assisted his father much to his return in the face of an established government. In the former account, however, he is said to have greatly assisted his father in his return and in his ridding the country of the foreign government therein established and in his chasing the Hebrews out of the country even to the bounds of Syria.

Now it is evident that Sesostris, the father of this Amenophis, had conquered and inflicted great losses not only upon Ethiopia but upon Phœnicia, Syria and the adjoining countries; and if either one of these nations, assisted by a revolt of a large body of malcontents in Egypt, succeeded in conquering the country and holding it for 13 years, it would give rise to such a state of things as we seem to have represented here, the rise of a new dynasty which continued for 13 years; and if at that time there were a foreign domination of Egypt for 13 years, the Ethiopians were more likely than any other nation except the Palestinians to have possessed its government.

It is plain to my mind, though, that the whole story of the Ethiopian connection at this time may have arisen from the introduction of a new dynasty, the Southern or Elephantine, or old 5th, so called, in the person of the husband or son of Tasesar. Of course it is well known, historically, that Sesostris accomplished much public work for Egypt by the means of foreign labor, that of the prisoners, doubtless largely of the skillful kind, whom he brought into the country after his campaigns; but the whole story of the Hebrews conquering the country at this time and administering its government for thirteen years hath an exceedingly legendary aspect.

The seven kings of the so called Nineteenth Dynasty are evi-

dently the seven Diodorus specifies as being of little account, excepting one, whom he calls Nilus. Herodotus represents the good old time as ending with the Amenophis, whom he calls Remphis; and both he and Diodorus represent the builders of the pyramids as having succeeded these seven kings; so that no reasonable doubt can exist that we have correctly pointed them out in the 20th dynasty, so called, restored, and that the builders of the largest pyramids, at least, were of the 5th dynasty nominally considered.

The following from Africanus' 21st dynasty: 7 Tanite Kings.

	Years.
1. Smendes (Code A, Smedes)	26
2. Psousenes	46
3. Nephercheres (Nefru-Kera)	4
4. Amenophthis	9
5. Osokhor	6
6. Psinakes	9
7. Psousemes (Code A, Sousennes)	14
Sum total	114

None of these names correspond in form to those of the builders of the pyramids as given by Diodorus and Herodotus; nor do those of the seven of the next dynasty, 22nd, nor those of any of the succeeding dynasties; so that we may rest satisfied that the great pyramids were built by the third house of the Ramessides, so called, of the old 12th dynasty. The name Nephercheres means the good king; it is found as No. 3 of the old 5th dynasty, and No. 1 of the third. Independently of any idea as to Egypt's being possessed for thirteen years by the Hebrews, it appears plain that the compulsory labors of a portion of that people among others were used by Sesostris and his son, Amenophis, in the accomplishment of works of a public character. But at this time the Hebrews would be regarded as Egyptian Indigenæ, the time referred to being about 280 years anterior to the founding of the great pyramid by the third king of the old 12th dynasty. The circumstances of the case would imply the Hebrews to have been only among the number of the oppressed, who were undoubtedly, for the most part, captives of war. In the labors performed at this time there is no mention made of the pyramids. The inter-

val of time between this Amenophis and the building of the pyramids was too great to allow us to suppose that there were any stone then prepared at the quarries for those structures. From Menes to the first year of Rameses the Great, there intervened 570 years; from the death of Rameses to the accession of Cheops, 230 years; and from the death of Cheops till Herodotus' visit to Egypt there passed all of 700 years. Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid which was one of the oldest of the pyramids, perhaps the oldest of all, was the thirteenth successor on the throne of Amenophis, son of Sesostris the Great. They were public works which were done, but of a different character from pyramids. Speaking, however, in reference to the second predecessor of Cheops, the eleventh successor of this Amenophis, and to Cheops himself, Herodotus says: "I was also informed by the same priests that, till the reign of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was remarkable not only for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who succeeded this prince," (Cheops was his second successor) "degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct. He barred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices. He proceeded next to make them labor servilely for himself. Some he compelled to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were appointed to receive them in vessels and transport them to a mountain of Libya," etc. He is here speaking of the preparation for the building of the great pyramid. In the study of the history of a people, the time spaces, and the changes which they are likely to bring about are always to be closely observed. The age of Amenophis, the son of Sesostris, was considerably different from that of Cheops, and the age of the latter considerably different from that of Herodotus, in Egypt.

You must have noticed that in the fragmentary way in which he dealt with the subject that while the average reign Africanus allows to his kings of the 18th and 21st dynasties is only a little over 16 years in each case, the average reign for his 19th dynasty is 32 years; but we already know that his 18th dynasty really consists of two, the 1st and 3rd, and that he expressed only the years, 263, pertaining to the first of these. As said before, for his 20th dynasty he simply states "12 Diospolitan (Theban) Kings in 135 years," without giving any names, or any other information. For this dynasty Eusebius gives 182 years (245 being given in brack-

ets). Lepsius, in his systematizing, gives it 185. But one of these sums may be said to be as nearly correct as the other; for the period is that of the last twelve kings of the List of Eratosthenes, to which that author gives 340 years, being an average reign of $28\frac{1}{3}$. Double of the period, as given by Eusebius, would be not far from that given by Eratosthenes, which doubtless, is about correct. The giving of only 135 or even 185 to so many reigns as four or five reigns sometimes exhaust, and the giving to the old 18th and 19th dynasties an aggregate of years only a little over half of what they reigned * was undoubtedly meant to obscure the subject of the history at this juncture of it in subservience to some vain notion or concoction of the mind in an endeavor to lay the base for establishing some historic religious origin, that is, on paper, a notion which was worse than nothing and vanity and plainly shows the effeminacy and iniquity of mind of those who concocted and tried to establish it. Is not a Schemite or a Cushite all the same as to race, whether he have been born at the sources of the Nile or of the Euphrates or Jaxartes, on the Mountains of Kurdistan, in the plains of Chaldæa, in the plains of Dongola or Meroë, all of which places these races inhabited in what may be called the mythic or beclouded ages of history? Even in the Egyptian language the name of Ethopia is Kesh or Cush as well as it is Cush in Kurdistan in Gedrosia and Caramania and Cuth in Persia and Chaldæa. In fact the whole fragmentary exhibit of the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties so called, as found in Africanus and Eusebius, tells its own story on its face, namely, that its object is to obscure the whole subject of the history and make believe a state of things to have been which could have been so only allegorically.

While, as I have before noticed, Diodorus agrees in general with Herodotus in regard to the time of the building of the largest pyramid, yet it appears that he had himself no settled ideas on that subject; for in another place he gives it as his opinion that "Armæus built the first of the three great pyramids, Amosis the

* 263+224=487, which if multiplied by 2=974. Then 1076 years, the whole period to the end of the 20th dynasty, so called, minus 974=102 years. If to this last number we add only 33 years, or one generation, we shall have 135 years, the number Africanus allows his old unexpressed 20th dynasty to have reigned, showing us plainly that only a little over half of the number of years really reigned are by him given to the 18th and 19th dynasties, together, and more than one generation less than half the number reigned by his so-called 20th dynasty.

second, and Inaron the third, which some ascribed to Rhodopis." The name of Armais, which was that of the brother of Sesostris, would put the building of the great pyramid all of three centuries before the time at which Herodotus put it and at which it was built. This Armais, whom the Greeks called Danaus (Da-Naus the ship), is said in the tradition to have settled an Egyptian colony in Greece. If he were such a man as some historians picture him to have been, one would not suspect that he undertook or carried out any such a work as the building of a pyramid; and it appears evident that the other two, to whom Diodorus ascribes the erection of the other two great pyramids, lived at a period by far too late for them to have had anything to do with the building of the pyramids. Amosis, the friend of the Greeks, lived not more than a generation or two before the Persian invasion. And the Inaron referred to is doubtless that one called Inarus, the Libyan, "the son of Psammetichus," who, in connection with Amyrtæus of Sais and the Greeks, revolted from Artaxerses in about the year 460 B. C. This man had, however, only four or five years of reign afterwards, which did not allow him sufficient time to have built any pyramid, if he had not done so before. This was not far from the time at which Herodotus visited Egypt, when the pyramids were already old structures. Lucan (Phars. ix. 155) takes notice to this and says: "Diodorus (464) says some attribute the second pyramid to Amosis; the first to Armæus; and the third to Inaron as well as to Rhodope."

Now it is noticeable that those who get from some Greeks the credit of having built the great pyramids we reall Egyptians who had been not only very friendly to the Greeks, but were very peculiarly connected with them, and it is reasonable to suppose that they would be more inclined to attribute to those rather than to others something of a noble and extraordinary character. Speaking of the time of the building of the third pyramid Herodotus himself says: "Some of the Greeks erringly believe this to have been erected by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they do not seem to me even to know who this Rhodopis was; if they had they never could have ascribed to her the building of a pyramid, produced at the expense of several thousand talents. Besides this Rhodopis lived at a different period, in the time not of Mykerinus, but of Amasis and many years after the monarchs who had erected the pyramids."

In his summing up of the ancient history of Egypt Diodorus re-

counts in succession the ancient Egyptian sages and legislators (c. 94 seq.): —

I. Mnevis (Menes or Menphis) who after the dominion of Gods and Heroes was the first king who gave written laws. He succeeded in persuading the people to live according to these, professing that he had received them from Hermes. Of all kings he was the most magnanimous and popular.

II. Sasuches, a sovereign of very diverse talents, enlarged the code of his predecessors, regulated the forms of religious worship, and invented geometry and astronomy, both theoretical and practical.

III. Sesoosis, the great warrior, legislated for military affairs in general, but particularly for the warrior caste.

IV. Bocchoris, all matters connected with the duties and privileges of the sovereign were treated by him, also laws concerning treaties. He was of a delicate constitution and avaricious beyond all his predecessors.

V. Amasis, the friend and counsellor of Polycrates; — to the governors and general administration of the nomes his enactments related.

VI. Darius, on account of his wisdom, virtue and respect for the sacred books and ordinances of the Egyptians, was during his lifetime honored as a god and at his death was ranked among the most upright princes."

As far as he goes Diodorus appears, in the main, not to disagree with Herodotus his arrangement and order being about the same; but he is more particular chronologically, meaning to give the number of generations between points, etc. But it should be remembered that the chronology of Herodotus really commences with Psammetichus, who became king about 640 B. C., or about two centuries before that historian visited Egypt. In his reckoning by generations however he is found to have been pretty correct in his conclusions. In both historians the heroes and some of the dynasties of the old and new empire appear to have been confounded; but Diodorus has remarked that the history of Sesoosis (Sesostris) for example, is related in very different ways.

The Tablet of Karnak.

The very interesting monument called the Tablet of Karnak was discovered by Mr. Burton at the southeast angle of the temple-

palace erected by Rameses II., the 28th of my list. When first discovered the Tablet was in a tolerable state of preservation and published by the discoverer in his Excerpta Hieroglyphica in 1824. Wilkinson, again, in his Materia Hieroglyphica, printed at Cairo in 1828, gave the series in a more complete manner; but to Lepsius, assisted by Dr. Mill, of Cambridge, pertained the labor of explaining it in a more satisfactory manner than had been done before.

In regard to the monument itself, let us imagine a tolerably spacious square chamber, having one small door in the center of one of its sides. On entering this door four rows of figures in calcareous sandstone, representing kings in a sitting posture, one above the other, present themselves to view. The kings are seated on thrones, whose backs at a central point, exactly opposite to the door, touch one another; so that, in each of the four rows, one-half of the figures have their faces turned toward the left, the other half turned toward the right. With one or two exceptions, where the number is but seven, the rows in each subdivision contain eight figures. The first three figures of each subdivision are on the wall opposite the entrance, which has, consequently, in all, six in each entire row; the other five or four are on the side wall contiguous to it on the right and left. At the end of each side wall in front, opposite to the sitting kings, stands twice repeated, above and below the figure in large proportions of Mares (Ra Mer Nefru, the good King Mares, No. 28 of Fragment III, Papyrus) represented in the act of offering sacrifices. Each figure of Rameses is exactly equal in height to two of the four rows, so that one of them is exactly opposite to the two upper, the other to the two lower rows. There stand before them the tables of sacrifice, with offerings thereon, occupying sometimes more, sometimes fewer pannels of the rows of kings. The rows, therefore, contain on the left, 31 (8+8+7+8) and on the right 30 (8+8+7+7) figures. Each king is holding out his right hand to receive the offerings and over his head is his royal ring or shield with the customary imperial titles. In one hand, Rameses himself has the sign of life, the so-called key of the Nile; with the other he presents to the enthroned kings the gifts which are spread before him on the table. As to the offices of the persons to whom the offerings are presented all doubt is meant to be removed by an inscription appended to the right of each figure in the following words:

"The Royal offerings
To the Kings of the Upper and Lower Country."

The erection of this tablet has been by some ascribed to Tuthmosis III.; but Salvolini and others have correctly read the name Mares, Mer-Ra, beloved of Sol. To Rameses II., and his sons, whose names stand in my list the 21st to perhaps the 24th in succession from Tuthmosis III. are fairly to be ascribed those many campaigns and works which are wont to be ascribed in the histories to the latter. It is not necessary even to imagine that all of the 61 figures on the Tablet represent kings; family groups, doubtless, to a limited degree, find place, the most renowned members of the family, even though not kings, being sometimes deemed worthy of representation. Bunsen finds that the succession on this Tablet is largely through men, who were not kings, but whom he calls dukes (Erpa). This must be so, namely, that both sides of the royal house is represented to the degree deemed requisite by the erecters of the Tablet, seeing there is a collection of figures amounting in number to 61, and the renowned Mares is, according to Diodorus, only 28th in succession from Menes, these two inclusive, which is proved to be correct by the place of Mares, No. XXVIII, of the list of Eratosthenes, and by the Turin Papyrus list wherein you will find the first Ra Mer Nefru, or "the good Merra," to be in exactly the 28th place. Now, it is thought from the researches of Lepsius and others that Rameses II. was succeeded on the throne by two or three of his sons, the one after the other, and while he is, himself, the first Ra Mer or Mares of the Papyrus list, you will find by referring to that list again that his son and immediate successor, No. 29, is called Ra Mer Hept, "the devoted to Merra," and his third successor, No 31 is called Ra Mer Ankh-Anka. In Lepsius his son and immediate successor, No. 29, is called, as to his name, Rameses, Mri Amn Hk Ma; and his third successor, No. 31, has also Mri Amn, as his name or title. If now you refer to No. 6 of the Papyrus list, which by right ought to be No. 7, you will find the word Ankh as a part of the name of Tuthmosis III., which may have caused the name of this last-mentioned monarch to be confounded with that of the erecter of the Tablet of Karnak, namely, Rameses II. (called by others the IIIrd) and his sons Rameses III. and V. as in my list. Now, although it is quite proper to connect the name of our Rameses II., a renowned conqueror, with his sons in the matter of the erection of the Tablet of Karnak still there are some considerations which would lead to the conclusion that the name of our Rameses V., No. 31 of our list, is to be directly connected with its dedica-

tion. In the first place, the part of his name referred to as likely to give cause for the confounding of his name with Tuthmosis III., to whom the erection of the Tablet has been (perhaps thus) erroneously ascribed: In the second place, he is a Mares, which was the name properly deciphered by Salvolini and others as that of the erecter of the Tablet, a name which Tuthmosis III., to whom its erection has been ascribed, did not bear. And, thirdly, our Rameses V., Mares Ankh, is 31st in succession from Menes, these two inclusive; and the side of that Tablet, which contains the 31 figures, may reasonably be supposed to go back in the male line of the ancestors of this king to Menes, while the 30 figures on the other side may continue it beyond Menes in the male line of the Auritæ or Aberamitic kings, a supposition which I regard as altogether more probable than that the one side of the Tablet should be understood as representing the father's and the other the mother's side of the ancestry of the monarch back to Menes.

And, besides, in our consideration as to which of the Rameses it was that erected this Tablet, or rather, which of the Rameses it was, in whose reign it was dedicated; for, considering our Rameses II. and his sons we may not be averse to the supposition that some of his sons with himself, considered as principal, did originally concern themselves, to some degree, in the origination of the plan and the erection of the monument: I say taking this whole thing into consideration it would be safe to conclude that the general plan may have been originated in the old age of our Rameses II. and that the work may have been finally accomplished and the monument dedicated in the reign of his third successor, Rameses V. called Tatcheres, *i.e.*, King Thoth,* in Africanus' list. To originate the plan of such a monument and execute the 61 figures with such fineness and completeness of finish as this must needs have been done, it appears to me would require more than the time of one generation; but here we allow at least the time of a generation and a half; for while we, in effect, give to Rameses II. the Mares of Diodorus and Herodotus, the XXVIIIth name in the list of Eratosthenes, the honor of the origination of the plan and the erection of the monument, called the Tablet of Karnak, still we may consider his sons as superintending the carrying out of the business for him after his death, and the monument as being finally completed and dedicated in the reign of his third successor, Rameses V. It is more than probable that some of the great accomplish-

*Rameses=Armais=Hermes=Thothmes. Bryant's Myth. IV.

ments ascribed to our Rameses II. belong to some of his near successors. To him, for instance, is ascribed the capture of old Tyre; but my reckoning makes him rather early for that event. My own opinion would incline to the conclusion of Rameses VII., the immediate predecessor of Cheops, who began his reign in 1262 B. C., being the conqueror of Phœnicia and Tyre. Of the reign of our Rameses II., "the inscriptions make mention of only the 11th and 12th years;" but it doubtless was of many years' greater duration. He appears, on the whole, to have died at considerably past his middle life; but he is represented in some of the paintings as of a luxurious turn, which tends to abridge the human existence; and thus his sons may have had a longer tenure of his throne. The campaigns attributed to him seem to have been a succession of victories, some of which were the result of prolonged and hard fighting. These accomplishments, as I say, may be safely ascribed to Rameses II. and a few of his successors and his relation to the Tablet taken to be as I have above explained.

The Tablet of Abydos.

This monument, which is properly ascribed to Rameses, the Great, is about of eight or nine generations earlier date than that of Karnak. It has been adopted since its discovery as an authentic basis of hieroglyphical research and determination and as a criterion in the restoration of the old 18th and to some extent the 19th dynasty so called. Lepsius' copy or transcript of this Tablet has been found of great importance in the work of restoring the ancient Egyptian chronology.

This series consists of fifty-two figures sculptured in fine limestone on the walls of a chamber, now destroyed, within the temple palace, built or restored by Rameses the Great, in that ancient royal city of Abydos (supposed the same with This, from whence Menes). The lower part of this Tablet, comprising the legs of a deity swathed in bandages, is seated on a throne, holding in both hands a kukufa sceptre. This Lepsius restored as Osiris, who appears here as the Lord of the West and the Pluto of the Hades of the deceased kings. He is looking towards a double row of rulers (in sculpture) 26 in number (52 in all) who are represented seated under their rings, swathed like Osiris and wearing alternately the upper and lower portions of the Pshent, the sign of sovereignty of Upper and Lower Egypt. The horizontal line of hieroglyphics placed over their

heads Lepsius has translated as follows: "A libation to the Lords of the West by the offerings of their son, the king Rameses, in his abode." And the two perpendicular lines of hieroglyphics on the right convey the response of the kings as follows: "The speech of the Lords of the West to their son, the creator and avenger, the Lord of the World, the Sun who conquers in truth; we ourselves elevate our arms to receive thy offering and all other good and pure things in thy palace; we are renewed and perpetuated in the paintings of thy house; we beg to approach at thy side with thee, to rule it like the Solar gate of the heaven where is the Sun forever."

The last nine figures in the lower row, supposed to be the most ancient rulers, are entirely wanting. In the upper row the oldest htirteen are likewise obliterated, but the other half of the series is more or less preserved. It has been remarked above that there are 26 figures in each row, thus making 52 in all, but the last two of these, one on each side, represents Sesostris himself, who is portrayed as being alive at the dedication, in the act of offering.

One result Lepsius arrived at from the examination of this Tablet was that, allowing the Sesortosidæ, aforementioned, to have constituted the 12th dynasty, the intermediate dynasts, claimed by the Hyksos Empire theorists as having existed between their 12th and their 18th dynasties, were entirely wanting. But to those who still saw fit to hold on to the idea they had before supported of a Middle or Hyksos empire this meant nothing more than that the kings of their Hyksos Period, which they maintained were represented to the number of the 30 on the right side of the Tablet of Karnak, found no place on the Tablet of Abydos.

It becomes me, therefore, to give you here the principal data upon which the theory of a Hyksos Period or Middle Empire, so called, is built up.

Data as to a Hyksos Empire.

This is derived to us through Josephus, as he claims from Manetho. In his Treatise Against Apion (Bk. I. 14, 15), Josephus brings forward arguments from various sources to prove the origin and antiquity of the Jewish nation and in this he proceeds as follows: —

"Now, this Manetho, in the Second Book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the identical man him-

self into court for a witness: 'There was a king of ours, whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came after a surprising manner men of ignoble origin out of the Eastern parts and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country and with ease subdued it by force, *yet without our hazarding a battle with them.* So, when they had gotten those who governed us under their power they afterwards burnt down our cities and demolished the temples of the Gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis and made both the Upper and Lower countries pay tribute and placed garrisons at points which were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed at securing the Eastern frontier, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom and invade them; and as he found in the Sethroite Nome a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called Avaris, this he rebuilt and made very strong by the walls he built about it and by a most numerous garrison of 240,000 armed men, whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time partly to gather his corn and pay his soldiers their wages and partly to exercise his armed men and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years there reigned after him another, whose name was Beon, for forty-four years, after him reigned another, named Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years and then Jonias fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them who were all along making war with the Egyptians and were very desirous gradually to eradicate their race. This whole nation was styled Hyksos, that is, Shepherd Kings; for the first syllable Hyk, according to the sacred dialect denotes a king, as is Sos a shepherd — but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hyksos; but some say that these people were Arabians." "Now," says Josephus, "in another copy, 'it is said that this word does not denote kings, but, on the contrary, denotes captive shepherds, and this on account of the particle Hyk; for that Hyk with the aspiration in the Egyptian

tongue again denotes shepherds and that expressly also; and this to me seems the more probable opinion and more agreeable to ancient history." He then represents Manetho as speaking again as follows: "These people whom we have before named kings and called Shepherds also and their descendants kept possession of Egypt for 511 years. That after these the kings of Thebes and of the other parts of Egypt arose against the Shepherds and that a terrible and long war ensued between them. That in the time of a king whose name was Misphragmouthosis (Euseb. Misphragouthosis) the Shepherds were subdued and driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres; this place was named Avaris; Manetho says that the Shepherds built a wall around all this place, which was a large and strong wall and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that Thuthmosin (Euseb. Thmouthosin) the son of Misphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie round about them; but that upon his despair of taking the place by that siege they came to a composition with them that they should leave Egypt and go without any harm to be done them, whithersoever they would; and that after this agreement was arrived at they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judaea, and that large enough to contain this great multitude of men, and named it Jerusalem.

Now in another book Manetho says that this nation thus called Shepherds were also, called captives in their sacred books. And this account of his is the truth, for keeping of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient times and leading a nomadic life they were on this account called Shepherds. Nor, was it without reason that the Egyptian historians have called them captives, inasmuch as one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the King of Egypt that he was a captive and afterwards sent for his brethren to come into Egypt, the King consenting to provide for them. But about these matters I shall make a more exact inquiry elsewhere," the result of which promise is not now extant.

"But now," he proceeds, "I shall produce the Egyptians as

witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall, therefore, again bring in Manetho and what he says concerning the order of the times, he thus writes: "After the departure of the people of the Shepherds from Egypt he who effected their exodus, namely, King Tethmosis (Aram. Sethmosis,) reigned afterwards twenty-five years and four months and then died, after him his son Chebron, administered the government for thirteen years; after whom Amenophis twenty years and seven months. Then his sister Amesses (Arm. Amenses) twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres for twelve years and nine months; and then Mephramouthosis for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Tuthmosis (Thmosis) nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis for thirty years and ten months; then Orus for thirty-six years and five months; then followed his daughter Acenchres for twelve years and one month; her brother Rathotis, then for nine years; then was Acenchres twelve years and five months; and then another Acenchres twelve years and three months; then succeeded Armais for four years and one month; and then came Rameses for one year and four months; after him came Armeses Miamon for sixty-six years and two months; after him Amenophis for nineteen years and six months; after him Sethosis and Rameses, who had an army of horse and a naval force. This king appointed his brother Armais to be his deputy over Egypt, etc., as above.

As to the Time of Rameses II.

In regard to the time of our Rameses II., who was called by some Mares, who or one of his sons has been understood as Tuthmosis III. and who with his son and successor appears to have created the Rameseum, called also the Memnonium after his son name Amenophis, I may remark that in an unpublished commentary upon the Almagest of Ptolemy by Theon, an Alexandrian scientist at the close of the 4th century of our era, which has been hitherto deemed a very trustworthy authority, there is the following passage: "If we compute the years from Menophres to the end of the Augustan era, we get a sum total of 1605 years; if we add to these the 100 years which had elapsed since the beginning of the Diocletian era, we get 1705 years." * The Augustan era in Egypt

* Larcher, Treatise on Herodotus, II. 553; 2nd Edition.

ended in A. D. 283; and the Diocletian era began on the 29th of August, 284. Hence the period from Menophres down to the close of the Augustan era in Alexandria is . . 1605 years
of which there passed after the Christian era . 283 "

leaving 1322 years B. C.

for Menophres, which name in Africanus is spelled Mencheres, he being the seventh ruler of the old 5th dynasty, and stands in the place of a son of our Rameses II. In the astronomical subjects introduced in the decoration of the Rameseum or Memnoneum, erected by this Rameses II. and his son, in the western part of Thebes, is the arrangement of the 12 Egyptian months, under their usual heads of the three Tetraminies. Between the last month, Mesare, and the 1st of Thoth a space is left corresponding, as is reasonably supposed, to the five days of the Epact (introduced between the end of Mesare, and the beginning of Thoth of the ensuing year), and beneath this is the figure of Sothis, representing the heliacal rising of that star. This, then, must have occurred at the beginning of Thoth or in the middle of the first days of the Epact and it serves to indicate the year in which the building was erected. And since the canicular period commenced when the 1st of Thoth fell on the 20th of July, 1322 B. C., we may assign this date to Menophres or Mencheres, the son of our Rameses II., in whose reign it was completed. This was the man whom Wilkinson (mistaking his father for Sesostris the Great) supposed to have come to the throne in 1355 B. C. The forms Menophres and Mencheres are for Amun-phre and Amun-chre, the ph and ch interchanging, both phre and cheres meaning the Sun or the King. This is also exchangeable with the forms Amun-Phthah, Menephthah or Amenophis. It appears to me that the derivation of Ptah must be P-Theth, meaning "the" revealer, opener, enlightener, and so creator. It must be the original of our word patent, the Latin root pate, to open, and the Phœnician Pataikoi, meaning the Cabiri, in which words the first T of the component Theth is lost or understoood to be replaced by P. In the composition of names or at least as some names are commonly used, the word Thoth is often found in an abbreviated form, thus Manetho is for Amunthoth or Thothmes. The statue of the ram was one of the chief adornments to the temple of Amun at Thebes. This might suggest the word ram as a formation of the word Amun. If then we prefix R

or Ra to Amun, in its root form, that is, Raam, and add on Phis, which equals Seph or Seth, etc., we have Ramphis or Rameses and so Amenophis, might by some ancient Egyptian historians have been written Ramenophis and so by abbreviation Remphis, as in Diodorus. Memphis is a form of this last name, while Thebes is Tep (Typho) which equals ap-ep and Seth for Teth. One of the best known meanings of both the forms Amun and Seth is a pillar, and they both being of like meaning are often compounded together as in Amenseth or Sethamun, which is exchangeable again with Thothmes. The Latin root am, I love, and the English root am, meaning to be, to live, is the same with the Egyptian root am in Amun, which means the self-existent, he who lives and loves, which last two words are variations of each other, for to love truly is realy to live.

Now, as to our quotation from Josephus relating to a Middle or Hyksos empire, he notices that the Shepherds, an ignoble race, coming from the eastern parts succeeded in overrunning Egypt and in putting themselves in possession of the government at a time when one, whom he calls Timaeos, was king. This name, as in Josephus, I would understand as for Tethmosis, which, as according to Lepsius, from the inscriptions, is spelled Ttms. Josephus would, of course, throw off one T and spell it Timaios, as in the ordinary Greek. The name evidently refers in this case to the chief of the 18th dynasty; but he does not appear to have lost the government of Egypt to any invading force; for he and his descendants continued in its possession for thirty eight reigns.

Josephus and Africanus, both speaking of six particular Shepherd kings would, at once, in the circumstances, suggest to the mind that this 18th dynasty, consisting of just six generations, were the Shepherd kings whose first dynasty consisted of exactly six generations.

The following is the direct line of the generations of the 18th dynasty from Lepsius' Genealogy. I give herein only one representative of each generation: —

Aahmes — Nefruari
Thothmes I son
Thothmes III son
Amenhept II son
Thothmes IV son
Amenhept III son
Her, son
dies without male issue

1625—1410 B. C. equals 215 years, making about 31 years for a generation. Prof. Lepsius, while not allowing to these seven the average length of life of 31 1-2 years, has yet done better than Africanus who allowed to them and the next dynasty only about half the number of years they reigned. Here there are six generations, besides the father, which would be counted seven, and this was the reason, doubtless, that while the two writers above mentioned reckoned six generations of Shepherd kings in the start, Syncellus, in his Laterculus, gives the number as seven. The significancy of Lepsius' discovery that the duration of this dynasty of seven generations (compare the seven days of the week and of creation) he might have still further strengthened in proof of the literality of the Biblical narrative, by telling us that the name Aahmes, standing at the head of the genealogy, is exchangeable with our English name James and with the Hebrew Jacob. How long then, are we going to hesitate before accepting this 18th dynasty as that of the Shepherd kings, so called, of Egypt and the patriarch Jacob as their chief? But according to the Scriptural narrative, Jacob lived only seventeen years in Egypt, he being 130 years old when he immigrated to that country; and, according to Eusebius, the Exodus of the Israelites under Moses took place in the reign of Amenophis IV., whom he calls Achchencherses, the brother of Her or Horus. Thus, you can reckon about two half generations off the seven, for the sixth generation, as a matter of course, departed from Egypt in the prime of life, thus leaving six generations in all for dominancy and sojourn in Egypt. It may strengthen the idea of our Hebrew or Shepherd dominancy in this 18th dynasty to further reflect upon how Josephus tells us they came into possession of the government, that is, they overran Egypt and took possession of the government of the whole country *without having had to fight a battle.* Must there not have been some miraculous agency in their introduction to the administration? But somehow it appears to me, after taking pains to read this narrative over in the Greek, that it is not susceptible of such literal interpretation as at first sight a person might think it was. And according to Josephus not only did those Shepherds come into possession of the government without having had to risk a battle, but after they had administered the government for, according to Josephus, seven or eight centuries, and according to Lepsius, 215 years, they manage it so as that they are able to

leave the country (after having been entertained in the city of Avaris for a while) without having had to fight a battle with those who caused their departure. The whole affair, indeed, appears miraculous and providential for the Hebrew pastors.

The ancient Egyptians certainly had an understanding of some kind as to a race they called, Hyksos. But in regard to the particular Shepherd Kings that are specified by the Epitomists of Manetho, Josephus, etc., some of them specify six, Eusebius, four, Syncellus, seven. They differ likewise as to the forms of the names they give them. This, however, should not be taken as counting for anything against the real men who might be represented by those variformed names, that is, supposing the names, such as they were, to have stood for real men. It is, however, pretty plain that they did stand for real men and that the whole narrative, varying as it is, is susceptible of an interpretation. As I have intimated before the Scriptural narrative may be thought to imply that the race of Mizraim (Menes) was Asiatic, being descendants of Noah: consequently they were Scuthic of the Shepherd, or Nomadic kind. The languages of Egypt, and all the northern nations of Africa, and even of Ethiopia, distinctly point to a very ancient Asiatic origin. The languages of Africa and Asia must, of course, have been always reciprocal, but what I have now stated is the simple expression of a broad truth. While the African and Asiatic nations could in all ages have made their wants known to each other by means of interpreters, yet it is well known to philologists that the ancient Chaldaean and Egyptian were a common language in the far distant past; or it may be expressed better, perhaps, in this way, that these two languages, namely the Chaldaean and Egyptian, were but variations of the same ancient original language; and descending to identity of language we arrive at identity of the people who speak it. If I should say the language and civilization of the ancient Nimrodic empire were in the days of that mighty hunter those of the Nile's valley, and of Ethiopia, I would simply thus indicate my idea of the antiquity of the race and language spoken of. If the race of Aahmes or Menes were the Hyksos who were in power in Egypt at an early day yet it may not have been so early as has been thought by some.

Now, the list of Eratosthenes, being plainly that of our 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, or of what is to be understood as the old Empire of Menes, then the limit of the list of Eratosthenes in years

is the limit of the sum of the years of those three dynasties or of the Empire of Menes, so called. But while in Africanus the sum of the largest number of years given for those three dynasties named is only (263+224+135=) 622 years; in Eratosthenes the sum given for his list of 38 names for the same time is 1076 years. If, then, we add to this number of Eratosthenes the sums of the years given in Africanus to the dynasties from the 21st to the 30th, both inclusive, and then add to this the number of years from the end of the 30th dynasty to the Christian Era we will see how the result will compare with what we got from the computation which we entered into further back as to the date of Menes. For the dynasties concerned I will take the largest numbers given in Africanus, but I do not find that he varies much for the space.

	Years.
Limit of Erastosthenes' list for old Empire.....	1076
Africanus' 21st dynasty	130
" 22nd "	120
" 23rd "	89
" 24th "	6
" 25th "	40
" 26th "	150
" 27th "	124
" 28th "	6
" 29th "	20
" 30th "	38
Sum total from Menes to the 30th dynasty inclusive...	1799
The number of years Before Christ.....	352
Date of Menes.....	2151 B.C.

A preceding calculation upon the base of Lepsius' termination of the 20th dynasty got the date of Menes 2191; upon another calculation we got it 2130; and here we get it 2151 B. C. I think it safe to conclude the date of 2170 B. C., which Prof. Piazzi Smythe thought, in his interpretation of the Great Pyramid's markings, referred to the founding of that monument, really refers to the founding of this Shepherd empire by Menes, Amos or Jacob, whatever you call him. But now, while it is evident the epitomists curtail by over one-third the number of years really due to their

18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, as is shown by the figures Eratosthenes gives for the same period, yet I see no good reason underlying why the figures for the dynasties given by Africanus from the 21st to the 30th inclusive, as above, sho uld not be very nearly correct, since we know the representation given, such as it is, of those three dynasties named, is simply a fragmentary and obscured representation of all that prece ded it, introduced here for the purpose of confusing the mind and thus supporting a certain historico-theological hypothesis in regard to a certain well-known national theocratic system. If, therefore, this such representation of the three dynasties named, and for such a purpose as that named, were an achievement of monkish skill or ingenuity, it would be naturally supposed by its inventors to answer the general purpose intended, not only with the comparatively ignorant masses of readers, but with a large body of the intelligent, who generally are disposed to take what they find in books for granted without entering into criticisms. I say it would be supposed by them to answer the purpose they had in view without their necessarily obscuring or mutilating any dynasty *after* the three named.

But if people would proceed on the basis which the calculation of Africanus would be thought from its surface appearance to imply, namely, that the Hyksos were a different race from that of Menes, and thus allow the duration of the sojourn of the Hyksos in Egypt to have been that which Africanus ascribes to that race, then they should have for a Hyksos Middle Empire: —

518 years for sole reign of the Hyksos;
151 " of rule divided with the Thebans;
126 " of the 18th dynasty, so-calle d;

Making a total of 795 years until the time of the departure of the Shepherds from Avaris. This, supposing with Josephus the Hyksos to have been Hebrews of the stock of Jacob, w ould leave that people to have sojourned in Egypt for 795 years after the death of Joseph, or 815 years after the immigration of Jacob to Egypt. This would make one patriarchal, cosmic year of 600 solar years plus 215 years, or 195 after Joseph's death.

If, however, they were disposed to take in preference to the foregoing, the calculations of Eusebius and give to four Phœnician Shepherd Kings, 103 years of the 17th dynasty, the first of which Kings, Salatis (the viceroy), it would be well for them to suppose (and thus help out Wilkinson) was the patriarch Joseph, then they

should have by putting the departure of the Shepherds in the very early part of the reign of Tuthmosis III and thus taking 112 years, instead of, as before, 126 of the 18th dynasty, they should have thus, I say, for the duration of the sojourn of the Hyksos or Phœnician–Israelites in Egypt, just 215 years (103 + 112 = 215). This last position might be thought by some to be without support, outside of Eusebius, that is, considering the 18th dynasty as aside from the Shepherds, and as strictly containing the first dynasty of the empire of Menes; but, on the other hand, there has been so much confusion introduced into the narrative and so much that ended to obscure the subject of the history, that some, through at misunderstanding, thought Eusebius' position derived support from the statement of Diodorus, namely, that between his Mendes, or Mares, and his Ketes, or Ketna, there intervened a period of anarchy of five generations. This statement refers to the time of the parallel lines of the 2d and 3d dynasties, so-called, and to the space of that time in my list, beginning with Amenophis IV., called elsewhere Akencheres, No. 12, and ending with the undoubted unity of the kingdom under Rameses, the Great, No. 20, who was the Ketes, or Sethos Diodorus referred to, and was about of the fifth or sixth generation in male line of the 2nd dynasty, beginning with the name Tlas, corresponding to the No. 12 of my list. But the Mendes Diodorus referred to was Amen-des, that is, Amen-Seth, or Seph, which is Amenophis III., No. 10 of my list, the father of Amenophis IV.

The number of 215 years is the limit given by the Septuagint to the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt and is included in my computation found near the end of my 2nd volume of three complete patriarchal cosmic years from the creation to Christ. If in my last computation of the time of Eusebius' four Phœnician Shepherds I took from the 18th dynasty 106 instead of 126 years, I then would have 195 years for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, but this would be for the period after the death of Joseph. From the immigration of Jacob to the death of Joseph my reckoning is 20 years, and, as you know, the sojourn in Egypt is usually reckoned from the immigration of Jacob at 215 years.

Considering what has been said both by Hebrew and Christian writers as to the exodus in the period of those six generations between the first of the 18th dynasty, so called, and Amenophis III. inclusive, a person would naturally suppose the Hebrews were in

some way connected with the 18th dynasty. Africanus, for instance, puts Moses and the Exodus in the reign of Amosis, who is Menes. Josephus, who identifies his Hebrew people with the Hyksos, puts it in the same reign but gives the King the form of name Tethmosis instead of Amosis. Eusebius, on the other hand, puts Moses and the Exodus in the time of Amenophis IV., the brother of Horus, the 11th reign in succession from Amosis, or the 5th after Tethmosis III., in whose reign, as according to Bunsen, the Shepherds left Egypt.

It is seen, therefore, these writers are much disagreed as to the particular time the Exodus took place; and Bunsen's supposing it to have taken place after the interval of 215 years of bondage from the departure of the Shepherds, or in the reign of Mencheres or Menophres, the son of Rameses II., as seen above, might in the judgment of some imply that the 18th, so called, Egyptian dynasty were the people from whom the Hebrews, Tyrians, and all those kindred peoples and languages derived their origin. This, then, brings us to a digression which may ultimately throw some light upon this subject.

The great antiquity which the Egyptian priests assigned to Hercules furnished Herodotus with matter for reflection; for if this were true how could he have been the son of Alcmena, whose age he thought he knew perfectly well. He resolved, therefore, to investigate the subject to the extent of his ability and did so with his usual perseverance and ingenuity, as he tells us in the following words: "Now being anxious to obtain as clear an insight as possible into these matters I embarked on board a ship bound for Tyre, in Phoenicia, where I heard there was a temple sacred to Hercules." (II. 43, 44). Arrived there he enters into a conversation with the priests of the temple of Melkarth as to its date and was informed by them that "it was as old as the building of Tyre, and that Tyre had been inhabited for *two thousand three hundred years.*" Herodotus' visit to Egpyt is given variously at 445 to 460 B. C., if therefore we take the first date, which is that most generally adopted, we shall have for the building of Old Tyre and its Temple 2300+445=2745 B. C.

Now, if it should turn out that the immigration of Abraham from Chaldaea into Canaan as well as the physical phenomena at the Dead Sea by which the cities of the plain are said to have been destroyed, if it should turn out, I say, that these accounts we have in

the Bible could be supported by history this might furnish a satisfactory explanation as to who the people were who built Old Tyre and its Temple and as to who the Hyksos were who settled Egypt, say, at some date from 2100 to 2300 B. C.

We are now, therefore, for the first time gotten into a position wherein we can understand and apply a tradition transmitted by Justin Martyr, which like the traditions generally in his 18th book, we have reason to believe, was derived from good Phœnician authorities. He says (XVIII, 3): "The Tyrian people were akin to the Phœnicians, who being visited by an earthquake left their homes and settled, first, on the Assyrian Lake, from whence they moved to the sea coast, where they built a city, to which they gave the name of Sidon, owing to the abundance of fish; for in Phœnician, Sidon signifies fish." Sidon means literally the place of fishermen not fish. The Assyrian Lake or *Assyrium Stagnum* spoken of here does not refer to the Sea of Galilee but to the Dead Sea. The people who lived around it were called Edom or Adam, or, with the prefix, Cadam or Sodom of which name, Edom, Phoinike is an exact equivalent. It signifies, as to color, red. The passage means that the Tyrians, who were of the race of the Phœnicians, having left their homes, the former cities of the plain, they settled first nearer the Dead Sea, from whence they moved to the sea-coast and built the celebrated cities of Tyre and Sidon. Or if this did not refer to the disruption spoken of in the Airyan books which caused the removal of that people from the primeval land would it be likely to refer to a disruption of later date in southern Chaldaea, which caused the removal of the Phœnicians to the neighborhood of the Red Sea? This last hypothesis would rather better agree with the account of the migration of Abraham which takes in in its course not only Canaan but Edom and Philistia and Egypt. I do not see anything recorded in Berosus' history relating to an earthquake in the provinces of Chaldaea, his records being brief and relating mostly to the Kings; but in the Bible, we have the account of the destruction of the cities of the plain," "by fire and brimstone from the Lord out or heaven," (Gen. XIX. 24) in one of which cities Abraham's brother's son Lot had been residing. Not long, therefore, after the migration of Abraham to the west of the Euphrates the Edomites were driven away by an earthquake from the reigion of the Syrian inland sea, the original formation of which apparently by a subsidence of the ground below the level of the ocean is a phenomenon pertaining to the Edomite

or pre-Adamite world. History, however, gives an account of an earlier migration from the Upper Euphrates, and Armenia, to those countries. Alexander Polyhistor, the learned freeman and intimate friend of Sylla (In Euseb. Praep. Evang. IX. 19) quotes the following out of a work of one his contemporaries, Apollonious Molon or Melon, a native of Caria, held in high estimation at Rome, but, as we learn from Josephus, hostile to the Jews, as follows: "Man (*i.e.* Adam or Edom) was driven with his sons after the flood by the inhabitants of the country from their home in Armenia and they gradually moved on through the sandy regions to the then uninhabited mountainous district of Syria. This took place three generations prior to Abraham the Wise, whose name signifies Father's Friend. He had two sons, one by an Egyptian wife, the patriarch of the twelve Arab princes, the other named Laughter (Γελος) by a native woman. Laughter had eleven sons; and a twelfth, Joseph, from whom the third (of the Patriarchs) Moses is descended." Joseph is here ascribed as a son to Isaac, but he was only his grandson, and great-grandson to Abraham. Bunsen puts the birth of Isaac, and consequently the 100th year of Abraham, in 2854 B. C. (Egypt, III. 353). This, considering the date we get for Menes, which perhaps, we may now synchronize with the 130th year of Jacob or the beginning of the 18th dynasty, so called, should be according to the figures we get for it about as follows:—

(Gen. xxi, 5)	Age of Abraham at Isaac's birth . . .	100 years.	
(Gen. xxv, 26)	" " Isaac " Jacob's " . . .	60 "	
(Gen. xlvii, 5)	" " Jacob, as he stands before Pharaoh .	130 "	
	From Jacob stands before Pharaoh to the 100dth year of Abraham	190 "	
The date we get for Menes		2170 "	B. C.
The 100drth year of Abraham		2360 "	B. C.

Now, first, supposing, for the sake of illustration, our patriarch Jacob to have been so fortunate as to have attained to the throne of Egypt on his immigration to that country with his company of Shepherds and their families when he was in the 130th year of his age; and, secondly, that he was identical with our Aahmes (James or Jacob) the chief of the 18th dynasty so called, then we may probably conclude that he reigned the seventeen years which remained of his life as king over Egypt. He then would be identical with our Menes, a name which probably would be pronounced in

the ancient Egyptian somewhat as the Gaelic Seamus, English James, for which Jacob. This Menes, then, would not be the Mizraim who was grandson to Noah, but of the 10th generation farther down in time, which, reckoning at the rate of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years to a generation, would make the first Mizraim or Menes to have lived in 2503 B. C., approximately; for 2170 B. C., the date of our Aahmes — Menes, plus 333 years the time of 10 generations, according to the ordinary reckoning, makes 2503 B. C., for the date of Mizraim, the son of Chem, the son of Noah. This is all, as said, for the sake of illustration, for some suppose the duration of human life and so the average length of a generation to have been much greater among the ancients than in the really historic ages it is found to be; and so the date of Mizraim, the grandson of Noah, cannot be spoken of with any degree of certainty.

Although the Scriptures represent Abraham as visiting Egypt and sojourning therein for a time with his wife Sarah they yet do not intimate that he planted any colony there; but if he did it would be naturally under a son of his and so would have been, at the end, of one generation longer sojourn in Egypt than the colony planted by Jacob. Abraham was, of course, of the Shepherd race, and we seem to get in the Bible the historic idea of his grandson Jacob and his great-grandson Joseph having planted a colony of their people in Egypt, a colony which attained even in the first generation of their sojourn to great power and importance in the state. Do you say that Menes came from the eastern parts into Egypt? Then so did Jacob and his son Joseph, both of whose remains the Scriptures inform us were finally interred in their native Canaan.

In regard to the above quotation of Polyhistor from Molo, Movers identifies the Mountainous district of Syria, mentioned therein, with Southern Judaea, the region of Hebron, the home of the children of Anak, who built Kirjath-Arba, afterwards called Hebron. The Edomities then in the time of Abraham occupied not only the country about the Dead Sea, but Canaan to the coast of the Mediterranean. In Hebron the Bible places the home of Isaac where it represents the birth of Esau and Jacob as having taken place; and in an ancient Phœnician (Gaelic) story concerning this family, Rebeka, the wife of Isaac, is styled "the Queen." After the time of Jacob, doubtless, some of the Edomites or Phœnicians began to be called Israelites.

Most of the Babylonian and Assyrian dynastic arrowheaded in-

scriptions hitherto deciphered refer to Southern Babylonia, east of the Tigris, that country called Susiana (Cushiana) as being the cradle of the ancient sovereignty. To the ruins of the vast cities in this region Rawlinson called attention, cities whose foundation long antedated ancient Babylon. The oldest sacred legend of the Chaldaeans, that pertaining to Oannes, mentioned by Berosus, accords perfectly with this reference in the inscriptions, namely, that the first dawn of civilization was in Southern Babylonia and that the teachers of mankind came from the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

That Phœnician story, which has been accorded so much credit, borrowed by Justin Martyr from Trogus Pompeius, as mentioned above, appears, when properly discriminated to be deserving of credit: Its historical value consists in the statement "that the fathers of the Phœnicians were compelled by an earthquake in the region of the Dead Sea to migrate from thence to the coast of the Mediterranean. Precisely from the neighborhood of that lake did Abraham and Lot depart," says Bunsen. We must, however, take care not to confound the occurrence of the phenomena in the vale of Siddim (S—Edom) by which some of the cities were overwhelmed (doubtless by an enlargement of the Asphalt Lake) with the depression of the land and sea surface, which took place in primeval times, the consequence of which was the formation of a lake whose surface is more than 1,500 feet below that of the Mediterranean. The former occurrence is, when compared with that last referred to, quite recent.

The language of Sidon "the first-born son of Canaan" and that of the renowned Tyre the ancient mart and mistress of the commerce of nations, was pure old Hebrew. The old alphabetic characters of the language were what are commonly called the Phœnician, from which have sprung the Greek and Roman letters; the characters we now call Hebrew are Chaldaean, derived from the time of the captivity of the Jews and Phœnicians generally in Chaldaea, in which seventy years, if these people did not adopt the Chaldaean language they yet adopted the Chaldaean alphabetic characters as a vehicle for their own. Speaking of the Etymologiæ Ægyptiacæ of Ignazis Rossi, where he ascribes to the author a considerable degree of merit, Bunsen says of him that: "He rests unconsciously on the notion that the Coptic is a corrupt Hebrew." But, as he says himself, "all words

of the Coptic not Greek are Egyptian" it being derived from the demotic or language of the people rather than from the hieratic or that of the priests of Egypt. A more general research into the subject of the origin of languages in general and that of the Egyptian and Hebrew in particular, than it appears Rossi had accomplished, enabled the former to "take it for granted that more than one-third part of the old Egyptian primitive words in the Coptic will be found in the Semitic and particularly in Hebrew and about one-tenth part in Iranian;" and a closer introduction to the copiousness of the Coptic, gives a still more important proportion and thereby an incontrovertible proof of original unity. For the affinity extends over two-thirds of the copia verborum known to us," which, however, is almost only from the translation of the Bible and the lives of the Saints." (Egypt V. 774–5). As regards the mode of reading the old Egyptian language, which was hieroglyphical, I find some words are read from right to left, as in Hebrew, and some from left to right as in English, according to the indications of the hieroglyphs. Sir William Jones found the Iranian, or ancient Persian, to have had a near kinship to the Hindoo, Ethiopic, ancient Egyptian and Chaldaean. Various were the indications which satisfied him of the identity of origin of the African Ethiopians and Hindoos, among which he mentions the style of the architecture and the ancient inscriptions, as well as the languages as to root, construction and general analogy.

The remains which we possess of the ancient Phœnician appear in some of their forms more archaic and in some more modern than the Hebrew. The Carthaginian colonists who passed over to the North of Africa in the 9th century B. C. brought with them their mother tongue and preserved its forms in comparative purity to the end of their existence as a nation.

Isaiah (xxiii, 12) calls Tyre "Daughter of Sidon," or a colony of old Zidon. Homer speaks of Sidon but does not mention Tyre. We learn, on the other hand, from Herodotus that the Sidonians themselves were before a colony of islanders, who inhabited the entrance to the Persian Gulf opposite the month of the Euphrates. To these we must ascribe an antiquity great though indeterminate, since it was from them the most ancient cities of the west of Africa and of Europe derive their origin. They were indeed, colonies of the Hindoo Scuthians who scattered in ancient Chaldea, the seeds of knowledge and civilization. They were derived, too, to India, to

which they gave name, from high Asia and the languages of their northern quarters must be to a considerable extent of a common stock with the Sanscrit, though variant through time.

Thus, we learn that navigation must have been perfected in very remote ages since it established a communication between places in the far orient and occident. "By means of the Erythrian colonies," says DuPuis, "composed of Assyrians, Persians, Indians, Arabians and Phœnicians, the east communicated its arts and sciences, its commercial genius and all the productions of India, Persia and Arabia to the West." The best established ancient chronology of Greece is that of the war of Troy; but the people adjacent to the Persian Gulf and the islanders of the Erythrean sea had established colonies in the western isles of Europe long prior to the age in which Agamemnon and Ulysses lived or in which the Argonautic expedition is said to have taken place.

TWO FOOT-NOTES.

1. Note in relation to the whole that if Herodotus were correct in saying that the only female sovereign among the successive rulers of ancient Egypt was Nitokris, then Lepsius, and those who have thought with him in this matter must have been mistaken in supposing any other of the list of 38 rulers to have been other than a male. Considering the number of generations which I concluded there were in the 38 successions I, in my proceeding, thought there was no reasonable doubt that Lepsius was correct. But I have now to say, in retrospect of the whole, first, that about, if not all the names, which he supposed to have been of females, are, as far as their forms in the original are concerned, just as applicable to males; and, secondly, that so far as the original gives to understand there is no reason why most of those names he thought to have been of females should not have been of males. Let that matter have been as it may the 38 successions on the throne would represent 30 or at the most 31 generations. The matter as to the gender of a few of the rulers we can well afford to be easy about, suppose we have properly gotten the successions and their respective dates, and as to these, doubtless, time will show that we have attained in the foregoing to a closely approximative correctness.

2. That that the Auritæ or Abrahamites were the people who dominated in Egypt for somewhat over two centuries prior to Menes I have before intimated or given as my understanding. The Auritæ would thus be, if not the stock of Menes, yet of the same stock as he. As seen above from Josephus and the Scriptures Abraham had many sons besides Ishmael and Isaac and it is more than proba-

ble that the dynasty of the Auritæ descended from some other son than either of these two. Thus, the incoming of our Menes-Jacob instead of the Auritæ would be understood as the introduction of a new dynasty, for the distance to the common ancestor would have been of eight or nine generations.

The dynasties directly succeeding to the Auritæ, as given in the "Old Egyptian Chronicle," particularly as this is set forth in Bryant's Mythology, which corresponded to the old Empire of Menes as this is represented in Era tosthenes' List would be as follows: —

	YEARS,
Cunic, or royal cycle, 15 generations	443
16th dynasty, 8 Tanite kings	190
17th " 4 Memphite kings	103
18th " 14 " "	348
	1084

This gives, in its aggregate, 8 years more than Eratosthenes has for the old empire and the aggregate of rulers here is 41, which is 3 more than his number. It is seen that this reckoning, beginning as it does with the 15th dynasty, would find only about half the number of dynasties for the Egyptian Empire, from Menes to Nectanebo, given in Africanus. This is about as I find it.

PROPHECIES OF DANIEL AND REVELATION

DEVELOPED IN THE

HISTORY OF CHRISTENDOM.

A TREATISE WHICH SEEMS TO INDICATE A LAW UNDERLYING THE LIFE OF MAN BY WHICH THE EVENTS OF HIS HISTORY COME ABOUT; OR, IN THE WORDS OF THE POET, THAT "THERE IS A DIVINITY THAT SHAPES OUR ENDS ROUGH HEW THEM AS WE MAY."

BY

ROBERT SHAW, M. A.

AUTHOR OF

"CREATOR AND COSMOS;" OF THE "HEBREW COSMOGONY;" OF THE "ORIGIN OF THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION WITH REFLECTIONS UPON THE MIRACLES AND HEROES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT;" OF AN "INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY;" OF THE "ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION OF THE NILE'S VALLEY;" OF A "CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT;" OF A "CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTS OR GAELS," WITH A GENERAL DISQUISITION INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE SCYTHIC RACES; OF A "SKETCH OF THE ANCIENT COSMOTHEOLOGIES OF THE WORLD;" OF THE "PHŒNICIAN COSMOGONIES;" OF THE "CHALDÆAN AND HEBREW AND THE CHINESE AND HINDOO ORIGINES," ETC., ETC.

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INTRODUCTION.

(*Prophecies of Revelation.*)

There are periods in human history, corresponding, in some sense, to the cycles of the physical cosmos. In the natural world we have in the species the rotation of seed, plant and seed again. Experience teaches there has to be the seed in order to the existence of the plant from which the seed. And so it is said, whether or not strictly with truth, speaking analogously, that "history repeats itself." In regard to the subject of this treatise, therefore, prophecy may be thought of as the seed or germ of which history is the full developed tree in all its ramifications and foliage. From the prophetic word, symbol or expression spring the volumes of human history. It is the same power that is the author of the objects of nature, which foretells and develops human history in its seemingly cyclical manifestations, which, indeed, knows the beginning, the progress and the issue of all things.

That this book demonstrates the fulfillment of the prophecies of the book of Daniel in their connection with those of the book of Revelation, a careful reading of it will show. Moreover I am very doubtful if any such full demonstration in this way could have been made before this time. That there has not been such a demonstration made before this is certain, for before the issuance of this edition of my books (now 1892) I myself was not competent to make it, and I do not find that it has been done by any other up to this time. This arose, I am persuaded, not from want of ability in those who have treated on this subject, but because the time had not arrived for the complete demonstration to be made. The history had not advanced far enough so as to allow the complete retrospect of it and its parts in connection with the prophecy: And, as the history is the prophecy fulfilled, of course the history has to be in the main developed before the complete coincidence of it with the prophecy can be shown.

This work I have designed to make as complete as might be expected upon the prophecies; and to this end I added to that part on Daniel a chapter on Gog and Magog from Ezekiel. The treat-

ment is not sectarian; but where there is a religious tendency it is to Gospel or Evangelistic Christianity. It keeps close to the prophecy as fulfilled in history, giving proof of the positions taken.

With this I ask the readers to attend to the book itself, forewarning them that the prophetic style, especially of Revelation, is figurative to a most refined degree, and involved and inrolled in a most systematic yet apparently complicated manner. If, therefore, they find not the seven seals, the seven trumpets, or the seven vials, etc., of the book of Revelation in which the history is symbolized, to develop themselves in the chronological orders in which they might be disposed to think they should, they must not be surprised at this; but take time and go through the whole, and then comparing the one part with the other reflect upon the wonders of prophecy in history and the marvelous and evident cyclings of the man Cosmos, which a consideration of the basis of the numbering derived from Daniel indicates to be founded on a principle of orderly progression.

R. S.

St. Louis, 1892.

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PROPHECIES OF DANIEL AND REVELATION.

PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.

Preliminary.

A Commentary on Chapter XXVI. of Leviticus.

This chapter is prophetical and divisible into seven parts, considered in regard to the condition of the Israelitish people in the successive periods of their history.

1. The first fourteen verses indicate their condition in any age, as connected with their obedience to God.

2. Verses 14–18 indicate generally their condition in any age as connected with their disobedience to the divine law, while they show particularly their condition under the judges, when at frequent intervals they suffered at the hands of their enemies, on account of their disobedience to God: Verses 14–18 as follows:

"But if ye will not hearken unto me and will not do all these commandments; and if ye will despise my statutes or if your soul abhor my judgments, so that ye will not do all my commandments, but that ye break my covenant: I also will do this unto you; I will even appoint over you terror, consumption and the burning ague, that shall consume the eyes and cause sorrow of heart; and ye shall sow your seed in vain, for your enemies shall eat it. And I will set my face against you and ye shall be slain before your enemies; they that hate you shall reign over you; and ye shall flee when none pursueth you."

3. Then, verses 18–21 have doubtless reference to the Jews under the Assyrians and Babylonians. Here evidently their conquest is pre-indicated. Verses 18–21 as follows:

"And if ye will not yet for all this hearken unto me then I will punish you *seven times* more for your sins. And I will break the pride of your power; and I will make your heaven as iron and your earth as brass: And your strength shall be spent in vain; for your land will not yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the field yield their fruit."

Has not all this been abundantly fulfilled, has not the pride of their power been broken, and has not their heaven become as iron

and their earth as brass, all humankind, as it were, out of sympathy with them, when their kingdom of the ten tribes was conquered and its people taken away captive by the Assyrians, and their kingdom of the two tribes conquered and its people taken away captive by the Babylonians? (See 2 Kings XV.–XVIII.; and XXIV., XXV.)

4. Then, verses 21–23 must have reference to the Jewish state under the Medo-Persian rule. They are as follows:

"And, if ye walk contrary unto me and will not hearken unto me, I will bring *seven times* more plagues upon you according to your sins. I will also send wild beasts among you which shall rob you of your children and destroy your cattle and make you few in number; and your highways shall be desolate."

After Ezra and Nehemiah we find no more Jewish governors of Judea under the Persians, and it is thought most probable the province was directly administered by the governor of Syria in whose jurisdiction it was. There is no doubt there was much oppression of the people by those governors, and Tytler (Elements of General History) says there was much from their own ecclesiastical rulers: "From this time," says he, "we may ascribe most of the misfortunes, which befell the Jewish nation, to men who aspired to the sacerdotal dignity through ambition and avarice more than zeal for religion. The candidates purchased the office from the Syrian governors and retained it by means of money. Hence they oppressed the people with taxes that they might fulfill their pecuniary engagements." Hence we perceive that this kind of wild beasts induced upon the people subject to their rapacity a living death; while the wild beasts, which invaded the colonists of Samaria (2 Kings XVII., 25), may be thought to have acted more humanely, inasmuch as they may be supposed to have killed outright those they attacked, thus rendering them unconscious of suffering. Ochus (359–341 B. C.) transplanted many Jews to Egypt and to Hyrcania on the shores of the Caspian sea.

5. Verses 23–27 have undoubted reference to the period of the Macedonian Supremacy. They are as follows:

"And if ye will not be reformed by me by these things, but will walk contrary unto me, then will I also walk contrary unto you and will punish you yet *seven times* for your sins. And I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant; and when ye are gathered together within your cities I will send the pestilence among you; and ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy. And when I have broken the staff of your bread ten women shall bake your bread in one oven, and they shall deliver you your bread again by weight, and ye shall eat and not be satisfied."

If one read the history of those eastern Macedonians in their relation to the Jews one cannot help but see that this prophecy has been fulfilled by them, say by Ptolemy Lagus, Ptolemy Energetes, very eminently by Antiochus Epiphanes, and by others to a less noticeable degree. But the passage: "And I will bring a sword upon you that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant, and when ye are gathered together within your cities," etc., would seem clearly to refer to the massacre of the people of Jerusalem and the desecration of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes and his generals. In verses 25–26 are threatened against the Jews, on account of their disobedience, the sword, pestilence and famine, all of which visitations they undoubtedly experienced during the dark and oppressive period of Macedonian rule.

6. Verses 27–40 have undoubted reference to the period of the Roman supremacy. Verses 27–32 as follows:

"And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me, but walk contrary unto me; then I will walk contrary unto you also in fury; and I even I will chastise you *seven times* for your sins. And ye shall eat the flesh of your sons and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat. And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images, and cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols, and my soul shall abhor you. And I will make your cities waste and bring your sanctuaries into desolation, and I will not smell the savor of your sweet odors."

Does not this clearly portray the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish polity as realized in the history? Read, for example, the account of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans given by Josephus. Has not Jerusalem and the land of Palestine been a desolation, so far as the exercise therein of the Jewish government or religion is concerned, since the year 70 A. D.? Were not the Jews during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus reduced by famine to such extremities as we do not know of them to have been driven before. At that time their cities all over Judea were made desolate and their synagogues laid waste.

Verses 32–33: "And I will bring the land into desolation; and your enemies who dwell therein shall be astonished at it. And I will scatter you among the heathen and will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate and your cities waste."

Has not this been literally so, consequent upon the Roman conquest of Judea? Have not the Jews been scattered all over the world, and have they not been persecuted in all Christian countries so-called? Has not the sword of persecution been drawn out after them, and their life, in many countries, been rendered very burdensome?

Verses 34–5: "Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; then shall the land rest and enjoy her sabbaths. As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest, because it did not rest in your sabbaths when ye dwelt upon it."

This foreshows that the Israelitish people, after they had come into possession of the land God had promised them, would neglect to allow the land to rest one year in seven, as was enjoined upon them in the Mosaic law. And according to 2 Chron XXXVI., 21, Jeremiah had prophesied that the Jews would be taken to Babylon and kept there for seventy years, or "until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath to fulfill three score and ten years."

Verses 36–40: "And upon them that are left alive of you I will send a faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies; and the sound of a shaken leaf will chase them; and they shall flee as fleeing from a sword; and they shall fall when none pursueth. And they shall fall one upon another, as it were before a sword when none pursueth; and ye shall have no power to stand before your enemies. And ye shall perish among the heathen and the land of your enemies shall eat you up. And they that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity in your enemies' lands; and also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away."

All this pre-indicates a very unsettled, troubled and even fearful state for the Israelites while disfranchised and outcast for long ages in the church and state Christian empires. Whether or not a cloak of hypocrisy has sometimes been used to cover other motives for it I am persuaded that almost all the religious persecutions, so-called, have arisen primarily from ignorance. It is reasonably said that it was their ignorance that caused the Jews to crucify Christ. And was it not ignorance, on the part of so-called Christians, which burned the martyrs and persecuted the Jews?

The Jews or their ancestors may have been wonderful transgressors of God's law and so deserved punishment; but persecution on account of religion should be accounted a crime and if any individual or nation would undertake to persecute any one or to injure any one on account of the religion such an one professes, then such individual or nation should be branded as criminal before the world; nor should they be allowed in such matter to cover themselves with the cloak of hypocrisy; but their criminality should be made clearly to appear. The Jews by their usury and extortion may have committed enough of sin in Spain in the ages preceding to justify Ferdinand and Isabella's banishing them from that country; God only knows whether this be so or not; but is it not high time that all laws appearing on statute books authorizing the persecution or punishment

of people on account of the religious opinions they profess, should be expunged as in their nature unjust and criminal? The children suffer for the sins of the fathers, yea the descendants of many generations after; and it is here said, in verse 39, that the Israelites would pine away in their enemies' land on account of their own sins and those of their ancestors.

7. The remaining verses of this chapter, 40–46, while still considering the Israelites as sojourning or dwelling among the Gentiles, promise, in the case of their repentance, that God will not cast them away nor destroy them utterly; but that, on the contrary, he will, in his grace, remember, in their interest, the covenant he had made with their ancestors, whom he brought out of Egypt under Moses in the sight of the heathen. This refers to the first covenant that God made with Abraham 130 years before the exodus from Egypt, a covenant which was realized by Joshua, in that he put them in possession of the land which God had promised and even sworn to Abraham to give his descendants. This covenant was, as I say, made good in the life-time of Joshua; but, then, it was made good on a larger scale and far more beneficially to the descendants of Abraham in the life-time of George Washington. This republic is the Israelites' country, the full realization politically of the promise which God had made to Abraham. But, spiritually, it is said, the full realization of God's covenant to Abraham is in Christ; for Zacharias in his prophecy, Luke I., 72–3, says as to Christ, that he comes "To perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant: The oath which he swore to our father Abraham." The American republic, however, where the descendant of Abraham may enjoy, if he will, the full blessings of Christianity, as well as of civil liberty, which he does enjoy, is the seventh or eighth state of the Israelites, which the chapter I have just gone over contemplates, and the full realization, as far as we know it can be realized, of God's promise to Abraham.

WHAT AGE OF THE MAN COSMOS DO WE LIVE IN? THE MOSAIC AND CHRISTIAN DISPENSATIONS COMPARED WITH EACH OTHER IN OUR INVESTIGATION OF THE AGE IN WHICH WE LIVE:

When we say that the Mosaic Dispensation is a shadow of the Christian we mean that it is a type or image of it, however imperfect.

In order to have a proper base for the comparison of those two systems in time we require to know the point or epoch in the New Dispensation, which corresponds to the entrance to Canaan by Joshua in the old. Well, in regard to the system of state and church of the Roman empire, as established at Constantinople, this was the birth of Christ; but in regard to the system of state and church of what was called the "Holy Roman (German) Empire" or the empire of the West, this point was the council of Nicea in 325 A. D.

A most important key to the interpretation of the times given in all the Scriptural prophecies is found in the proper understanding of the seventy weeks of Daniel. In the phrase "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people" etc. (Dan. IX. 24), the words "are determined" express only the figurative sense of the Hebrew original, nechtac, its literal meaning being *cut short*, *limited*, *abbreviated*, *abridged*, etc. In the Vulgate or Latin version, this passage is rendered as follows: *Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatæ sunt tuum populum*, which is literally translated: "Seventy weeks are abbreviated in relation to thy people." In the Septuagint, or Greek version, nechtac is rendered by Sunetmethesan, whose literal meaning is to cut, cut short, abreviate, etc., as in the other case. The meaning, therefore, is deemed clear by the ablest expositors, namely, that the seventy weeks were of the abbreviated kind including only labor time and not rest time also which required to be added in order to make the whole time. Seventy labor weeks, therefore, of days or years, implied the co-existence of rest time, which last consisted of sabbath days, legal holidays, and sabbatic years. To find the full amount of solar time transpiring in seventy labor weeks the co-existing rest time must be added. The amount of such time to be added must be determined by the amounts of rest time enjoined or established in the Mosaic law. As to what the time is which is to be added to the labor time in order to make the full time, verses 34 and 43 of Leviticus XXVI., which I have just commented upon, leave no obscurity or doubt.

What then is the proportion of time to be added to a year of labor time? This has to be determined by the enactments of the Mosaic law itself: And, first, I may say and as is well known one-seventh of all time amongst the Hebrews consisted of Sabbath days, there being in the week six working days and one Sabbath or rest day. Secondly, one-fifty-second part of all time consisted

of legal holidays, there being just seven days in the year observed as such, or time amounting in the aggregate to one week out of the fifty-two weeks in the year.

And, thirdly, one year out of every seven, or one-seventh of time again was given as a rest to the land and is usually called Sabbatic time In making this last addition there has to be subtracted from this $\frac{1}{7}$th the $\frac{1}{7}$th of itself on account of the Sabbaths and the $\frac{1}{52}$d of itself on account of the holidays, the Sabbath days and legal holidays being appointed to be observed continually as well in the Sabbatic as in the ordinary years. In reckoning up the prophetic time, therefore, the foregoing is the process to be strictly observed. The following is the list of the legal holidays in the Mosaic Code:—

1. Feast of Unleavened Bread — a rest day — 15th day of 1st month; Lev. XXIII., 5–7.
1. A rest day — 22d day of 1st month; Lev. XXIII., 7–8.
1. Feast of Pentecost or Weeks — a rest day — 50th day after the Passover; Lev. XXIII., 15–21.
1. Feast of Trumpets — a rest day — 1st day of 7th month; Lev. XXIII., 15–21.
1. Day of Atonement — a rest day — the 10th day of 7th month; Lev. XXIII., 28–32.
1. Feast of Tabernacles — a rest day — 15th day of 7th month; Lev. XXIII., 35–36.
1. Feast of Tabernacles — a rest day — 22d day of 7th month; Lev. XXIII., 35–36.

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7 days aggregate.

There were no rest days connected with the new moons. $\frac{1}{7}$th of the years were rest years for the land, Lev. XXV., 2–4 and 8–12. This last reasonably implies $\frac{1}{7}$th of this $\frac{1}{7}$th to be deducted on account of the Sabbath days included in the Sabbatic years; and also $\frac{1}{7}$th of the $\frac{1}{52}$d for the festivals.

$\frac{1}{50}$th of all time was for Jubilee rest year: Lev. XXV., 11–12. Of this also $\frac{1}{7}$th has to be deducted for Sabbath days and $\frac{1}{52}$d for holidays.

What is said as to Festivals after the thirty-eighth verse of this twenty-third chapter of Leviticus is repetitional of what has gone before in the same chapter, so that you have in the above tabulation the correct enumeration of the rest days connected with the Festivals, as given by Moses.

In comparing the periods of the old and the new dispensations with each other we shall find the forty years wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness to answer to the 325 years intervening between the birth of Christ and the Council of Nicea: and the prophecy in Leviticus XXVI., 27–40 has reference to this period of Roman domination over the Jews, which here, in effect, begins. Thus (verse 28) God tells them that consequent upon their wickedness he will chastise them *seven times*. The first remarkable chastisement which we have recorded as administered by God to the Israelites on account of their disobedience to him was that of the forty years wandering in the wilderness (Numbers XIV., 33, or this whole chapter); and if we multiply this forty years wandering by 7 we have 280 years, which represent labor time only; and adding to this one-seventh of itself for Sabbath days and one-fifty-second of itself for legal rest days besides, we have 325.38 A. D., the year and month of the convention of the Council of Nicea, when the Jew, in the way of Christianity, came into possession of the Roman Empire, which is the enlarged Canaan. Adding to this result one-seventh of 280 years for Sabbatic time (minus one-seventh for the Sabbath days, and one-fifty-second for the legal rest days besides); and then one-fiftieth of 280 years for Jubilee time (minus one-seventh and one-fifty-second for Sabbath days and legal rest days) we are arrived at the period of 363.6 A. D., the date of the establishment of Christianity in the empire by Jovian after the death of Julian. This is the complete Jubilee period, as according to our mode of reckoning, and from this time Church and State Christianity may be considered as established, no emperor after this having taken a position towards its disestablishment in the East or West. This last period of forty years (325–364 A. D). appears clearly to correspond to the time of Joshua and his generation in Canaan, referred to in Judges 2, 10.

Now, according to Paul (Acts XIII., 20) the Israelites were under the dominion of judges for 450 years, from the death of Moses to the ascent of Saul to the kingship; and if you reckon up the years given in the book of Judges for this period, taking for granted that the years for Joshua and Samuel, for whom there are no years specifically entered, are included under some other names, then you have exactly 450 years, and are arrived at the ascent of Saul in the old system and at the date of the restoration of the Western Roman empire by Charlemagne in the new.

This period of 450 years of the Judges, a period largely of turmoil, slavery and anarchy for the Israelites, was, indeed, on a small scale, very much like the condition of the Roman empire for a period of fully 450 years, from 325 A. D. to the revival of the empire of the West. Let us have hereunder a tabulation of those particular periods, which shows the aggregate period to be 450 years.

Chushan-Rishathaim	8 years	— Judge	III.,	8,	corresponds to	A. D.	325–333
Othniel, son of Kenaz	40 "	"	III.,	11	"	"	333–373
Eglon, king of Moab	18 "	"	III.,	14	"	"	373–391
Ehud, the Judge	80 "	"	III.,	30	"	"	391–471
Jabin, king of Canaan	20 "	"	IV.,	3	"	"	471–491
Deborah, the Judge	40 "	"	V.,	31	"	"	491–531
Midian	7 "	"	VI.,	1	"	"	531–538
Gideon, Judge	40 "	"	VIII.,	28	"	"	538–578
Abimelech	3 "	"	IX.,	22	"	"	578–581
Tola, Judge	23 "	"	X.,	2	"	"	581–604
Jair, Judge	22 "	"	X.,	3	"	"	604–626
Philistines and Ammonites	18 "	"	X.,	7–9	"	"	626–644
Jephthah, Judge	6 "	"	XII.,	7	"	"	644–650
Ibzan, Judge	7 "	"	XII.,	9	"	"	650–657
Elon, Judge	10 "	"	XII.,	11	"	"	657–667
Abdon, Judge	8 "	"	XII.,	13–14	"	"	667–675
Philistines	40 "	"	XIII.,	1	"	"	675–715
Samson, Judge	20 "	"	XVI.,	31	"	"	715–735
Eli, Judge	40 "	I Sam.	IV.,	18	"	"	735–775
	450 "	Aggregate for the Judges					
Saul, King	40 "	Acts XIII.,	21	"	"	.....	775–815
David, King	40 "	1 Kings II.,	11	"	"	.....	815–855
Solomon, King	40 "	1 Kings 11.,	42	"	"	.....	855–895
	570 "	Aggregate for the Judges and first three kings.					
	975 "	from Solomon to the birth of Christ.					

1545 years from entrance to Canaan to the birth of Christ.
40 " wandering in the wilderness.

1585 " from the exodus to the birth of Christ.

These are the actual figures given in the Bible, what is found there being neither increased nor diminished; and, if we compare this date for the Exodus, namely, 1585 B. C., with those given by other authors, we shall find it to be a mean between dates given for that event, as follows:

By the Septuagint, 1614 B. C.
" Bishop Hales, 1648 "
" Wilkinson, 1495 "
" Bishop Usher, 1491 "

Not speaking now of Bunsen's date of 1320 or 1314 B. C., I may say that the year 1545 A. D. might indicate, as according to the Church and State system of government established in the Christian Roman empire at Constantinople, the time of the second appearance of Christ on the earth, in whatever way this might be. It might indicate a beginning or a remarkable progress of some great politico-religious change in Christendom corresponding in a sense to the change from Paganism by the introduction of Christianity.

But it is to be remembered here that there were two great State and Church systems of Christianity, long existing in the Roman empire prior to the Protestant Reformation, first that established at Constantinople, and, second, that established at Rome and in the empire of the west. The first of these, which was the established religion of the Roman empire of the east, we reckon of in reference to the date given for the coming of Christ. This was established as the religion of the empire by Constantine, as having been first introduced to the world 325 years before in Palestine by Christ himself. 1545 years before Christ Joshua or Jesus, as the name is spelled in the New Testament, introduced the Hebrew religion to Canaan; and in 325 years after the second Joshua or Jesus Christ, Constantine established what he thought to be the religion of the latter in the Roman empire, which empire may be understood as Canaan on a large scale or as the world on a small scale. The second of these great Church and State systems of Christianity, that of Rome, became after the year 800 A. D. the established religion of the German-Roman empire or of the "Holy Roman Empire," as it was called. This latter system of State and Church government, being an image of the Roman empire system, as a whole, as that existed in the days of Constantine and his immediate successors, we must refer back to this its original, in our reckoning of the times concerning it, in our comparison of it with the Roman empire of the east in its later state, and with the Jewish system of government, as every picture refers directly to its own original, but can refer only indirectly to a remoter ancestor.

In 1 Kings VI., 1, we find that it was in the 480th year after the Exodus, in the second month called Zif (April–May), in the fourth year of his reign, Solomon began to build the temple; and, in the 38th and last verse of the same chapter, we find he was seven and a half years in its erection, he having finished it in the eleventh

year of his reign, in the tenth month (December–January) in the 488th year after the Exodus.

If now we add to 480 years 1-7th of itself for Sabbath days, and 1 52d of itself for legal rest days besides, we shall have the number answering to 557 A. D., which number being based on the date of the founding of the temple, if we add the seven years for the building, we shall have about the date of the final completion by Justinian of the great church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, a building which has now long been used as a Mohammedan mosque.

Speaking of the churches which Justinian had founded and of St. Sophia in particular which since the time of Constantine had been twice destroyed by fire, Gibbon says as follows: "The principal church which was dedicated by the founder of Constantinople to St. Sophia, or the eternal wisdom, had been twice destroyed by fire; after the exile of John Chrysostom and during the *Nika* of the blue and green factions. No sooner did the tumult subside than the Christian populace deplored their sacriligious rashness; but they might have rejoiced in the calamity, had they foreseen the glory of the new temple, which at the end of forty years was strenuously undertaken by the pious Justinian. The ruins were cleared away, a more spacious plan was described, and as it required the consent of some proprietors of ground, they obtained the most exorbitant terms from the eager desires and timorous conscience of the monarch. Anthemius formed the design, and his genius directed the hands of ten thousand workmen, whose payment in pieces of fine silver was never delayed beyond the evening. The emperor himself, clad in a linen tunic, surveyed each day their rapid progress, and encouraged their diligence by his familiarity, his zeal and his rewards. The new Cathedral of St. Sophia was consecrated by the patriarch, five years, eleven months, and ten days from the first foundation; and in the midst of the solemn festival Justinian exclaimed with devout vanity, 'Glory be to God who hath thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work; I have vanquished thee, O Solomon!' But the pride of the Roman Solomon, before twenty years had elapsed, was humbled by an earthquake, which overthrew the eastern part of the dome. Its splendor was again restored by the perseverance of the same prince; and in the thirty-sixth year of his reign (563 A. D. Justinian celebrated the second dedication of a temple, which remains after twelve centuries a stately monument of his fame. The architecture of St. Sophia which is now con-

verted into the principal mosque, has been imitated by the Turkish Sultans, and that venerable pile continues to excite the fond admiration of the Greeks, and the more rational curiosity of European travelers. The eye of the spectator is disappointed by an irregular prospect of half domes and shelving roofs; the western front, the principal approach, is destitute of simplicity and magnificence; and the scale of dimensions has been much surpassed by severel of the Latin Cathedrals. But the architect, who first erected an aerial cupola, is entitled to the praise of bold design and skillful execution. The dome of St. Sophia, illuminated by four and twenty windows, is formed with so small a curve, that the depth is equal only to one-sixth of its diameter; the measure of that diameter is one hundred and fifteen feet, and the lofty center, where a crescent has supplanted the cross, rises to the perpendicular height of one hundred and eighty feet above the pavement. The circle, which incompasses the dome, lightly reposes on four strong arches, and their weight is firmly supported by four massy piles, whose strength is assisted, on the northern and southern side, by four columns of Egyptian granite. A Greek cross, inscribed in a quadrangle, represents the form of the edifice; the exact breadth is 243 feet, and 269 may be assigned for the extreme length, from the sanctuary in the east to the nine western doors, which open into the vestibule and from thence into the exterior portico. That portico, the *narthex*, was the humble station of the penitents. The nave or body of the church was filled by the congregation of the faithful; but the two sexes were prudently distinguished, and the upper and lower galleries were allotted to the more private devotion of the women. Beyond the northern and southern piles, a balustrade, terminated on either side by the thrones of the emperor and the patriarch, divided the nave from the choir; and the space, as far as the steps of the altar, was occupied by the clergy and sinners. The altar itself, a name which insensibly became familiar to Christian ears, was placed in the eastern recess, artificially built in the form of a demi-cylinder, and this sanctuary communicated by several doors with the sacristy, the vestry and the baptistery and the contiguous buildings, subservient either to the pomp of worship, or the private use of the ecclesiastical ministers. The memory of past calamities inspired Justinian with a wise resolution, that no wood, except for the doors, should be admitted into the new edifice; and the choice of the materials was applied to the strength, the lightness or the splendor of the

respective parts. The solid piles, which contained the cupola, were composed of huge blocks of freestone, hewn into squares and triangles, fortified by circles of iron, and firmly cemented by the infusion of lead and quicklime; but the weight of the cupola was diminished by the levity of its substance, which consists either of pumice stone that floats in the water, or of bricks from the isle of Rhodes, five times less ponderous than the ordinary sort. The whole frame of the edifice was constructed of brick; but those base materials were concealed by a crust of marble; and the inside of St. Sophia, the cupola, the two larger and six smaller semi-domes, the walls, the hundred columns, and the pavement, delight even the eyes of Barbarians, with a rich and variegated picture. A poet who beheld the primitive lustre of St. Sophia, enumerates the colors, the shades, and the spots of ten or twelve marbles, jaspers and porphyries, which nature had profusely diversified and which were blended and contrasted, as it were, by a skillful painter. The triumph of Christ was adorned with the last spoils of Paganism, but the quarter part of those costly stones was extracted from the quarries of Asia Minor, the isles and continent of Greece, Egypt, Africa and Gaul. Eight columns of porphyry, which Aurelian had placed in the temple of the Sun, were offered by the piety of a Roman matron; eight others of green marble were presented by the ambitious zeal of the magistrates of Ephesus: both are admirable by their size and beauty, but every order of architecture disdains the fantastic capitals. A variety of ornaments and figures was curiously expressed in Mosaic; and the images of Christ of the virgin, of saints and of angels, which have been defaced by Turkish fanaticism, were dangerously exposed to the superstition of the Greeks. According to the sanctity of each object the precious metals were distributed in thin leaves or in solid masses. The balustrade of the choir, the capitals of the pillars, the ornaments of the doors and galleries, were of gilt bronze; the spectator was dazzled by the glittering aspect of the cupola; the sanctuary contained 40,000 pounds weight of silver; and the holy vases and vestments of the altar were of the purest gold, enriched with inestimable gems. Before the structure of the church had arisen two cubits above the ground 45,200 pounds were already consumed; and the whole expense amounted to 320,000; each reader, according to the measure of his belief, may estimate their value either in gold or silver; but the sum of 1,000,000 sterling is the result of the lowest computation. A magnificent temple is a

laudable monument of national tastes and religion; and the enthusiast, who entered the dome of St. Sophia, might be tempted to suppose that it was the residence or even the workmanship of the Deity. Yet how dull is the artifice, how insignificant the labor, if it be compared with the vilest insect that crawls upon the surface of the temple!" Vol. IV., Dec. & Fall, pp. 85–89. The interest of the subject and my desire to have it perspicuous may be my excuse for this long quotation, as I did not suppose I could render the description of this temple more plain than Gibbon has rendered it; he from the books of four or five early writers on this subject. He then goes on to give a description of the number and varied grandeur of the other churches founded in Constantinople and elsewhere by this Christian Solomon, Justinian.

But at the time of the erection of this magnificent temple and of the vast expenditure for the erection and furnishing of many other churches besides by Justinian, the Roman empire, of which Constantinople was the capital, was fast hastening to its decline: and, I believe, that if Justinian was desirous to please God and promote his cause and his glory he might have succeeded infinitely better in doing this by applying the moneys, which he devoted to the erection, furnishing and support of those gorgeous structures called churches, to the general education of the people, and to having the pure Gospel of salvation by Jesus Christ expounded by city missionaries on the street corners, and by country missionaries at the cross-roads, in Gods own temple in the open air, where every one might come to hear, and where many millions, of living temples might be edified, instead of a comparatively few favored ones, that is, if there could not be modest and very moderately expensive buildings provided for them to assemble in, wherein they would have the advantage of being under cover, and protected from the inclemency of the weather which some latitudes exhibit. I do not take the position that there should not be decent and safely built houses provided wherein for the people to assemble and worship God; but I do say that the true God has no manner of respect for the gorgeous and sensuous show which those costly and magnificent temples display, which are provided ostensibly for his honor and worship, but really and in effect for the aggrandizement of a class and the subjection of the many. And, now, if what I have stated be true, has not Justinian and many other Solomons gone to great expense and trouble for nothing? Have they not spent time and money and labor of the people in vain, for all this comes out of

the people themselves? But the Justinians get the praise and the holders of the benefices have the services; of course they must have their pay, for they who serve at the altar must needs partake of the income to the altar; they cannot live on the wind while sermonizing and disseminating the seeds of the bread of life; neither can they be almoners if they have nothing to distribute. But, why might not missionaries of a more humble sort, and even (provided they have been born again and live and act out the new life) a more ignorant cult be made the almoners, if their preaching have proved effectual to the salvation and edification of souls? From what class, pray, did the founder of Christianity take his preachers? What college had Peter or John or Andrew attended? Where did they get their diplomas? Why, you answer, they had no diplomas; the president of that sacred college they attended did not write. His autograph has never appeared to our knowledge; he wrote on the ground once; that of course was soon defaced. But it is well known that he chose his preachers from the poorer and more illiterate classes of the people. He should have known best what class or classes to select from. Why cannot we go and do likewise? The apostles of Christ had the witness in their heart, and they were children of God and this they developed in their lifelong efforts to bring others to have the same happy experience. This was their diploma, sonship in relation to God, Christ being not only their elder brother but also their lord and master, to whose perfections they were always seeking to attain and endeavoring to have others attain.

If, now, to 557.8 A. D. (a number which we have arrived at by adding to 480 $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{2}}$d of itself) we add $\frac{1}{7}$th of 480 years for Sabbatic time (minus $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{2}}$d of this $\frac{1}{7}$th on account of the Sabbath days and legal rest days), we have 615,25 A. D., which is about the date given by chronologers for the rise of the *Maires du Palais*, the ancestors of Charlemagne, and the Franco-German emperors. (See Chronological Table — Clothair II., to whom the Mayor is appointed regent, 614–15.) This is, also, about the date, namely, 615, given by the Count de Boulainvilliers (in his Life of Mohammed, pp. 327–8) for the embassy of Mohammed to Chosroes, King of Persia, who had conquered Palestine and was preparing to invade Egypt, which he effected in 616. On the event of the embassy I quote Gibbon as follows: "While the Persian monarch contemplated the wonders of his art and power he received an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowl-

edge Mohammed as the apostle of God." He rejected the invitation and tore the epistle. "It is thus," exclaimed the prophet, "that God will tear the kingdom and reject the supplications of Chosroes." Placed on the verge of the two great empires of the east, Mohammed observed with secret joy their mutual destruction; and, in the midst of the Persian triumphs, he ventured to foretell that, before many years should elapse, victory would again return to the banners of the Romans." (Dec. & Fall IV., 463–4.) This prediction came true, for Heraclias won back from the Persians his eastern provinces, but the power was only transitory. Neither the Mohammedan empire nor that of the Carlovingians could yet, however, be called even nascent: the two great empires now were Constantinople and Persia.

While keeping in mind how we have attained to the number and year 615,25 I may say that if we add to this number $\frac{1}{50}$th of 480 years on account of Jubilee time (minus $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{52}$d of this $\frac{1}{50}$th on account of the Sabbath days and legal rest days besides, which should not be reckoned in twice) we shall have 623.3 A. D., which is about the date when the emperor Heraclius took the field against the Persians, entered on a campaign, which resulted finally in delivering his eastern provinces from their rule. Chosroes was killed in a conspiracy of which one of the principals was his son Siroes; the latter in 628 A. D., on the death of his father, concluded a treaty with Heraclius of which Gibbon says: "The victor was not ambitious of enlarging the weakness of the empire; the son of Chosroes abandoned without regret the conquests of his father; the Persians, who evacuated the cities of Syria and Egypt, were honorably conducted to the frontier, and a war, which had wounded the vitals of the two monarchies, produced no change in their external and relative situation. The return of Heraclius from Taurus to Constantinople was a perpetual triumph; and, after the exploits of six glorious campaigns he peacably enjoyed the Sabbath of his toils." (Dec. & Fall, IV., 484.)

The year 623.3 A. D., as is seen, is the second Jubilee period, in our way of reckoning, dating from the birth of Christ, the first such period ending in 363.6 A. D., and we have the empire still in possession of the Christians. Even within these periods, the empire had its troubles, as well after as before it became Christian; but from each of those periods the now Christian empire emerged with a kind of a triumphant air. Not from another such period, however, did it thus emerge; for in the next such period, yea

shortly after the time at which we are now arrived, the Mohammedans captured those very provinces which Heraclius had won back from the Persians. This is the epoch, too, at which the Roman empires, as after more definitely known, of the east and west, began their eternal separation.

Our mode of measure, however, has shown us that Justinian in the new system corresponds, as to time, to Solomon in the old; and it is further evident that the three successive emperors, Anastasius I. (491–518), Justin I. (518–527), and Justinian I. (527–565), in the new system, correspond closely enough to show a resemblance to Saul, David and Solomon respectively, in the old.

The first of these emperors, Anastasius I., an eminently economical administrator, whose character is somewhat variously painted by historians, the brighter colors on the whole prevailing in the picture, happened in his old age to disagree with the orthodox party, by maintaining one or more opinions concerning the nature of Christ then deemed unorthodox, and in this way experienced a stormy persecution. I quote the following from Gibbon in regard to this period: "In the fever of the times the sense, or rather the sound of a syllable, was sufficient to disturb the peace of an empire. The Trisagion (thrice holy), 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts!' is supposed by the Greeks, to be the identical hymn, which the angels and cherubim eternally repeat before the throne of God, and which, about the middle of the fifth century, was miraculously revealed to the Church of Constantinople. The devotion of Antioch soon added, 'who was crucified for us!' and this grateful address either to Christ alone, or to the whole Trinity, may be justified by the rules of theology, and has been gradually adopted by the Catholics of the East and West. But it had been imagined (invented he means) by a Monosophyte bishop; the gift of an enemy was at first rejected as a dire and dangerous blasphemy, and the rash innovation had nearly cost the emperor, Anastasius, his throne and his life. The people of Constantinople was devoid of any rational principles of freedom; but they held, as a lawful cause of rebellion, the color of a livery in the races or the color of a mystery in the schools. The Trisagion with and without this obnoxious addition, was chanted in the Cathedral by two adverse choirs, and, when their lungs were exhausted, they had recourse to more solid arguments of sticks and stones; the aggressors were punished by the emperor and defended by the patriarch; and the crown and mitre were staked on the event of this momentous

quarrel. The streets were instantly crowded with innumerable swarms of men, women and children; the legions of monks, in regular array, marched and shouted, and fought at their head; 'Christians, this is the day of martyrdom: let us not desert our spiritual father; anathema to the Manichæan tyrant! he is unworthy to reign! Such was the Catholic cry and the galleys of Anastasius lay upon their oars before the palace, till the patriarch had pardoned the penitent and hushed the waves of the troubled multitude. The triumph of Macedonius (the patriarch) was checked by a speedy exile; but the zeal of his flock was again exasperated by the same question, whether one of the Trinity had been crucified? On this momentous occasion, the blue and green factions of Constantinople suspended their discord and the civil and military powers were annihilated in their presence. The keys of the city and the standards of the guards were deposited in the forum of Constantine, the principal station and camp of the faithful. Day and night they were incessantly busy either in singing hymns to the honor of their God, or in pillaging and murdering the servants of their prince. The head of his favorite monk, the enemy, as they styled him, of the Holy Trinity, was borne aloft on a spear; and the firebrands that had been darted against heretical structures, diffused the undistinguishing flames over the most orthodox buildings. The statues of the emperor were broken, and his person was concealed in a suburb, till, at the end of three days, he dared to implore the mercy of his subjects. Without his diadem and in the posture of a suppliant Anastasius appeared on the throne of the circus. The Catholics, before his face, rehearsed their genuine Trisagion; they exulted in the offer, which he proclaimed by the voice of a herald, of abdicating the purple; they listened to the admonition, that, since all could not reign, they should previously agree in the choice of a sovereign; and they accepted the blood of two unpopular ministers, whom their master, without hesitation, condemned to the lions. These furious but transient seditions were encouraged by the success of Vitalian, who, with an army of Hunns and Bulgarians, for the most part idolaters, declared himself the champion of the Catholic faith. In this pious rebellion he depopulated Thrace, besieged Constantinople, exterminated 65,000 of his fellow Christians, till he obtained the call of the bishops, the satisfaction of the pope, and the establishment of the council of Chalcedon, an orthodox treaty, reluctantly signed by the dying Anastasius, and more faithfully performed by the uncle of Justin-

ian. And such was the event of the first of the religious wars, which have been waged in the name and by the disciples of the God of peace." (Dec. & Fall, IV., 524–5–6.)

While I may remark that I know not how Gibbon could have called this the first of the religious wars waged by the Christians against each other, for he well knew there had been many destructive contentions among them long ere this; as for example, that in 366 A. D., between the followers of Damasus and Ursinus at Rome, two candidates for the papacy, in which 137 were left dead; that between the followers of Liberius and Felix, two candidates for the same office (Abt. 358—360) in which "the adherents of Felix were inhumanly murdered in the streets, in the public places, in the baths and even in the churches; and the face of Rome renewed the horrid image of the massacre of Marius and the proscription of Sylla:" that between Paul and Macedonius, two candidates for the patriarchate of Constantinople (Abt. 357–8), when "many persons were slain on both sides, and 3150 people lost their lives in the confusion of the tumult;" all this and much more, besides some destructive quarrels at Alexandria between the opposing parties for the popedom there. Now while this is so and Gibbon well knew it he says that this at Constantinople, in the days of Anastasius I. was the first religious war between opposite parties of Christians. He must certainly have been dozing when he wrote this.

But to come to our subject directly, I may say that while this Anastasius I. corresponds to Saul in the old system, the last two of the trio were certainly of the race of the Goths (whether or not the first was) they having arisen to the empire from an humble condition of life, that of farmers or shepherds, a business which occupied them in their native Dardania, a country situated due north of Macedonia. On foot with a scanty provision of buscuit in their knapsacks Justin and two other rustics followed from their homes the high road to Constantinople and on account of their superior strength and stature, were soon enrolled in the guards of the emperor, Leo. Under the two succeeding reigns, those of Zeno and Anastasius I., Justin emerged to wealth and honors; and his fortunate escape from dangers, which at times threatened his life, was afterwards ascribed to the guardian angel, who watches over the life of kings. In the course of fifty years' service Justin had gradually ascended from one degree of promotion to another, until he attained to the command of the life guards, which impor-

tant position he held at the death of Anastasius, and which was the main cause of his own elevation to the throne.

This man corresponds to David in the old system; and being in command of the guards to Anastasius we may believe he had that monarch as completely in his power on many occasions, as David had Saul, when, finding him asleep in the cave, he cut off his skirt. These monarchs were undoubtedly, to a great extent, completely in the power of the captains of their guards; perhaps not so much in the power of the eunuchs, who guarded their chamber; for really the eunuchs, their monarchs and all were in the power of the armed force, if the highest officers of that force should conspire or concert to use that force against them. David had, indeed, many narrow escapes from his master, Saul, but never tried to injure that master when he had him completely in his power: but even when the Amalekite reported to him that he had slain Saul at his own request, and presented him with the crown and collar of the king he ordered him slain as a murderer. It seems, on the whole, to have been such a filial relation as that which subsisted between Anastasius I, and the captain of his guard, who succeeded him on the throne as Justin I.

During Justin's reign he adopted and educated his nephew, Justinian, whose name in his native Gothic tongue was Uprauda, meaning Upright, and who succeeded his uncle on the throne and reigned thirty-eight years. This one of the trio of emperors corresponds as said before, to Solomon in the trio of kings in the old system. What I have said in relation to his building the Cathedral of St. Sophia, etc., is enough for the present, as we shall necessarily hear about him often again.

On his death in 565 his nephew, Justin II., was elevated to the throne, in whose reign Italy, with the exception of that portion of it called the Exarchate of Ravenna, was finally separated from the empire. The second Justin reigned nine years (565–574), which was the length of reign of the first of that name, and in the interval, 568–570, the Lombards achieved the conquest of Italy.

This man corresponds in the new to Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, in the old dispensation, in the early part of whose reign the kingdom became divided, the ten tribes cutting loose from Judah and Benjamin who still held on to Rehoboam and had their capital at Jerusalem. You may keep in mind therefore, that in the age at which we are now arrived, the Roman empire, both in the East and West, or at Constantinople and in Italy, was governed by Gothic

peoples, and that when you speak of the Lombards and of the family of Justinian you speak of two divisions of the same Scythic people. The division of the empire at this time and in this way, a division, which continued permanent, corresponds closely enough for some mutual similarity, to the division of the empire of Solomon into two kingdoms, a division which also remained permanent. But that Rehoboam himself appeared again in the person of Justin, Rehoboam who followed the advice of the young men and so alienated from him the ten tribes, might clearly appear from the following from Gibbon: "On the seventh day of his reign Justin gave audience to the ambassadors of the Avars, and the scene was decorated to impress the Barbarians with astonishment, veneration and terror. From the palace gate, the spacious courts and long porticos were lined with the lofty crests and gilt bucklers of the guards, who presented their spears and axes with more confidence than they would have shown in a field of battle.. The officers who exercised the power, or attended the person of the prince, were attired in their richest habits, and arranged according to the military and civil order of the hierarchy. When the veil of the sanctuary was withdrawn the ambassadors beheld the emperor of the East on his throne, beneath a canopy or dome, which was supported by four columns and crowned with a winged figure of Victory. In the first emotions of surprise, they submitted to the servile adoration of the Byzantine court; but as soon as they rose from the ground Targetius, the chief of the embassy, expressed the freedom and pride of a Barbarian. He extolled, by the tongue of his interpreter, the greatness of the Chagan, by whose clemency the kingdoms of the South were permitted to exist, whose victorious subjects had traversed the frozen regions of Scythia, and who now covered the banks of the Danube with innumerable tents. The late emperor had cultivated, with annual and costly gifts, the friendship of a grateful monarch, and the enemies of Rome had respected the allies of the Avars. The same prudence would instruct the nephew of Justinian to imitate the liberality of his uncle, and to purchase the blessings of peace from an invincible people, who delighted and excelled in the exercise of war.

"The reply of the emperor was delivered in the same strain of haughty defiance, and he derived his confidence from the God of the Christians, the ancient glory of Rome and the recent triumphs of Justinian. 'The empire,' said he, 'abounds with men and

horses, and arms sufficient to defend our frontiers and to chastise the Barbarians. You offer aid, you threaten hostilities: We despise your enmity and your aid. The conquerors of the Avars solicit our alliance; shall we dread their fugitives and exiles. The bounty of our uncle was granted to your misfortunes, to your humble prayers. From us you shall receive a more important obligation, the knowledge of your own weakness. Retire from our presence; the lives of ambassadors are safe, if you return to implore our pardon, perhaps you will taste of our benevolence." Dec. & Fall. IV., 388–9.

The result of this interview was that the Avars entered into an alliance with Alboin, king of the Lombards, who marched into Italy and took possession of that beautiful country, where his descendants ruled afterwards for over 200 years, or until the rise of the Carlovingian power; while the Avars took the place that the Lombards vacated in Pannonia, now called Hungary. In any case Italy, in so far as the Lombards conquered it, and they possessed themselves of most of that country, never came into the possession of the eastern Roman empire afterwards. There was as permanent a division in this case as there had been in the case of the Israelitish kingdom in 975–970 B. C.

But mark how closely the answer of Rehoboam to the people fits into the reply of Justin to the ambassadors of the Avars: "And the king answered the people roughly and forsook the old men's counsel that they gave him: And spake to them after the counsel of the young men, saying, my father made your yoke heavy and I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." "So when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them the people answered the king, saying, what portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto their tents." 1 Kings XII., 13–14, 16. The people of Israel felt here that they had a reasonable cause for revolt, and they revolted; and so did the Avars, the allies of Justinian revolt from his suceessor, Justin II., and caused a division of the empire which remained permanent.

We have found the date of the final completion of the great Christian temple at Constantinople by Justinian to be 563–4, which must have been the date of his final completion of his State and Church laws, as he died in 565 A. D. If, therefore, to 563 we add

325 A. D., with the fractions for both, we shall be in the 889th year of the Christian era, when Arnulf governed the German empire as king. It is to be remembered that this 325 years has nothing to do with the 40 years wandering in the wilderness, which doth not pertain to the calculation of years after the entrance of Joshua to Canaan, in the first system, or after the birth of Christ in the second. The forty years doth not pertain to the reckoning of the time *after* the entrance to Canaan, nor after the birth of Christ, for it came *before* Joshua or Jesus in both cases; but it is simply a measure of the time intervening between the birth of Christ and the legal establishment of his religion in the empire, the proper quantities of time being counted in for Sabbath days and legal rest days besides.

Now, although we have found four of the eastern Christian Roman emperors in succession, who answer, with a sufficient similarity, both as to time, place, and the events of their history to Saul, David, Solomon and Rehoboam, yet in the western Roman or Carlovingian empire we do not find four emporers in succession who, as to time, place, and the events of their history, present such a similarity to those four of the Israelitish system. But we will find, even in this system, a remarkable similarity; if not in four successive emperors, yet in the history itself for the like space of time.

Speaking now of the history of Rome and Italy up to say 570 A. D., when Italy was conquered by the Lombards, and comparing it with that of the Israelites for the corresponding period after Joshua had conquered Canaan, we cannot but notice some remarkable coincidences as to times and persons or characters: Compare, for example Odoacer (proper Edacharg) the Herulian king of Italy, with Ehud (proper Eachaidh, another spelling for Edacharg) judge of Israel, and slayer of Eglon, king of Moab: And, then, compare Amalasontha, the Gothic queen of Italy, with Deborah (Deabargah, daughter of the oak) the judge in Israel. Our figures, as seen above, compel us to make Charlemagne, the first of the four kings in the Holy Roman (German) Empire, who correspond in the Jewish system to Saul, David, Solomon and Rehoboam, as the time of his reign, 775–815, exactly corresponds to the forty years given to Saul in the old system. Each of these three first kings of Israel being given a round number of forty years for his reign, if we add that aggregate of 120 (3x40) years to the year 774–5, when Charlemagne became king of Lombardy, we will have the year 895,

the very year when Arnulf, king of Germany, received from the pope of Rome the crown of the Holy Roman (German) empire: For over fifty years before this time there had been warring and contention among the descendants of Charlemagne, which may be thought to correspond to the contentions, which existed between the houses of Saul and David in the Israelitish nation after the death of Saul. (See 1 Sam. and 2 Sam.) From 895 to 1870 there is an interval of 975 years. The history of the western empire for about six centuries (800–1400) is much obscured by fiction, but it is plain that this empire as well as that carried on at Constantinople, has its prophetic marks, and is designed to bear a likeness, in its own way, to the Israelitish polity.

As appears above if we begin the reckoning of the Hebrew polity with the advent to Canaan of Joshua, leaving out of the reckoning the 40 years wandering in the wilderness, we shall have 450 years for the judges and 120 years for the three names, Saul, David and Solomon, and then 975 years from Solomon to the birth of Christ, which aggregate 1545 years. And, in our reckoning in regard to the Christian system, we arrive at the same result by subtracting the 325 years, which precede, in our era, the council of Nicea, and correspond to the 40 years, which we have neglected in the other reckoning, from the year 1870 A. D.; for 1870 minus 325 equals 1545. It might appear, therefore, that 1545 was that year of the Christian era at which an appearance on earth of "that prophet who was to be like unto Moses" could have been expected, either as to a beginning, a progress or an ending of whatever nature it might have been. With this result the prophetic numbers, with which we shall deal in their places, and which come out independently of our likings or dislikes, correspond. At the year 1870, therefore, we appear to have entered definitely upon a new phase of the Christian dispensation, in regard to the system embodied in the Holy-Roman (German) Empire; as in 1545 a new phase had been entered definitely upon, in regard to the reformation of the religion, which, having been introduced pure by Christ, had, in the course of the centuries, become corrupted. This new phase is recognized in the necessity of the council of Trent which opened its sessions in 1545. These are epochs which doubtless introduce long eras, it may be of a thousand years from the beginning of each, respectively; eras of great improvement, morally, mentally, physically and spiritually for the people. Why has there not been already established, for the government of the civilized nations, at

least, an international law of arbitration? Why has not the demon of war been already chained by such a law? Has not such a law been long called for, a law which will enable those nations to settle their international differences without resort to arms? What a spectacle for sixteen centuries! Nations called Christians arrayed in arms ready to butcher each other most barbarously; and for what? Why, to settle their differences. Are there not two contradictions here? In the first place, how can they call themselves Christians and still practice war? Is it not a contradiction in terms? Jesus Christ, whom they pretend to follow, and whose name they wear, never authorized war. Where then do they get their authority for the practice of war? Not, certainly from that reason which God has endowed them with, and, which following, they can so arrange as to be enabled to settle all the differences, which can arise among them, by peacable means and measures. There is no good man or woman, who would not delight in such an achievement, namely, the establishment once and for all time of an international law, which will effectuate a reign of peace among mankind.

Prophecies of Daniel.

Daniel's Prophecies in order, shown to have been fulfilled in the Chaldean, the Medo-Persian, and, to a certain extent, in the Pagan Roman Empire:

The first chapter of the book of Daniel gives, as preliminary to his prophecy, a sketch of his own life up to the time he begun to have an understanding of prophetic visions and dreams. It also speaks, in connection with him, of three companions of his, these being four Hebrew youths now in captivity at Babylon.

In the second chapter of that book we are presented, in Nebuchadnezzar's phophetic image of empire, with an outline of the history of mankind in the central latitudes of the eastern hemisphere, at least, from Daniel's time to the period he calls "the time of the end." We have in this prophetic image, when properly interpreted in history, a subject of absorbing interest, since it involves the history for so long periods of time of so many very remarkable nations.

It will be remembered in regard to this that it was Nebuchadnezzar the then king of Babylon, who had himself the prophetic dream or

vision, and he having forgotten it and not being able to recall it to memory nor yet any of his magicians to recall it for him, Daniel describes it to him as follows: —

"Thou, O King, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee, and the form thereof was terrible.

The image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass. His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.

Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, which were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.

Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and the gold broken to pieces together and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth."

So far the description: But of this Daniel himself gives an interpretation in verses 36–46, as follows: —

"This is the dream and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king.

Thou, O King, art a king of kings; for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power and strength and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this head of gold.

And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth.

And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these shall it break in pieces and bruise.

And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes part of potter's clay and part of iron the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay.

And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly brittle.

And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.

And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the dominion thereof shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever.

Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold, the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter; and the dream is certain and the interpretation thereof sure."

For the wisdom, one would say, almost divine, shown in this interpretation the king worshiped Daniel; confessed the supremacy of his God over all gods; made him chief man, next to himself in the empire; and appointed Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, Daniel's three companions, to chief places in his dominions: verses 46–49.

When Daniel interpreted this dream to Nebuchadnezzar that monarch was already in possession of the old Assyrian empire, which with his Chaldean forces he had conquered in the year 625 B. C. He was then also in possession of Syria and Egypt, Palestine, etc. This dominion was held by his house for 87 years, and, which was "that head of gold."

This Babylonian dominion gave place to the Medo-Persian in 538 B. C., an empire which is represented in the image by the breast and the arms of silver. This held sway for 203 years; and was then replaced by the Macedonian, which is represented in the image by the belly and the thighs of brass. The Macedonian, in its turn, having divided itself, first, into four governments, and, then, into two, was finally conquered and replaced by the Romans, having existed in various ways and degrees for 304 years.

This last empire, the Roman, is, in the image, represented by the iron legs, and by the iron mixed with the clay in the feet and toes.

Something noticeable here is the fact that those four kingdoms are represented each by a material less precious in the estimation of man than that which it supplants. The kingdom, for example, symbolized by the gold is replaced by that symbolized by the silver; this, in its turn, by the brass, and this again by the iron, which gives place to the iron and clay in the feet and toes. This last which means the Christian-Roman empire and those reformed empires of State and Church, which have sprung out of it, that is, in the order of feet and toes, are at length supplanted by the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, which gradually enlarges till it fills the whole (Roman) earth and then the whole world.

Even stone, as you know, is less precious in the estimation of man than is iron; but, nevertheless, this stone, which is cut out of the mountain without hands, strikes the image upon the feet, which were composed of iron and clay, and breaks it to pieces.

Supposing now that ordinary, good-living Christians were, by reason of their graces of humility, meekness, etc., symbolized by clay, then the moderately well developed Christians, who were daily and hourly seeking to attain to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, those whose faith had already attained a firm consistence, if I may so speak, might reasonably be symbolized by stones. The ordinary process is, you know, for clays to become rocks; and if you see a bed of clay in process of petrification anywhere you may farther notice that process to be according to some particular law, as to the forms those stones are to have.

Christ is called a stone and also a rock; not only a sure and well tried foundation, and top or corner stone, but also a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense. He is the stone with seven eyes referred to in Zachariah III., 9; he is the living stone and Christians are called living stones, the living material out of which the true temples of God are built. It was such living stones as was Peter, firm believers in his divine mission, that Christ used as the foundation of his Church, a Church so full of life that the gates of Hades or the grave could never prevail against it. The true believers in Christ know they have everlasting life, and it is a logical conclusion that death or the grave cannot destroy such a life as is everlasting. Is it not plain, therefore, that the stone which broke that vast image of paganism, striking it on the feet, was no other than the Christian religion? In the process of empire the image was in the condition of the feet, or was just entering thereinto, when Christ came to earth. The mountain this stone was cut out of was Judaism, the parent of Christianity. The Jewish polity, in which the idea of religion was the principal idea, was that mountain out of which Christianity originated. By the exaltation of Christianity to be the established religion of the Roman empire, the mountain of the Lord's house was placed upon the top of the mountains and was exalted above the hills and all nations did flow into it.

You will notice that in the image proper there were eight kingdoms or successive polities represented in order of succession: 1. The Babylonian, whose chief glory was the old Assyrian empire, whose capital had been Nineveh; 2nd. The Medo-Persian; 3rd. The Macedonian; 4th. The Pagan Roman; 5th. The Christian Roman of State and Church, represented by the iron and clay in the feet and toes, which had its original in the empire of Constantinople; 6th. The Franco-German empire or western Roman empire restored, an "image" of the latter and symbolized by the iron and clay in the feet and toes; 7th. The nations of the Protestant Reformation, whose polities were "images" of the Roman empire, consisting of State and Church; 8th. The kingdom of the stone, otherwise called the Kingdom of the Son of Man, which is to arise out of the Seventh, and as a terrestrial polity will be represented in democracy, but surely a more perfect democracy than the polity we have now which is called a democracy, can lay claim to. This, in its spiritual sense, will be the true Kingdom of Christ on earth, as distinct from the character of the dominion of the little horn, which we have yet to consider.

The supplanting in each case of the kingdom symbolized by the more precious by that symbolized by the less precious material, considered in the estimation of man, until we really descend from gold to clay, which last is generally what rocks are made of, suggests to the mind that God's estimate of things may not be in accordance with man's estimate of them any more than his thoughts are with man's thoughts. Out of the dust of the earth, man, considered as to his earthly house of this tabernacle, is made; and, strange to say, man puts a higher value upon gold and silver, and brass and iron, and even upon what are called precious stones than he does upon the material out of which his own frame is made.

Let no one suspect that Daniel had any intention of flattering Nebuchadnezzar, when in the interpretation of his dream of the image of empire he says to him (Ch. II., 28): "Thou art this head of gold:" For really the material out of which that king of kings, considered as to his frame and his corporeal environment, was made up, was the dust of the earth. Daniel meant to say that his empire was symbolized in the dream by the apparently golden head of the image, and so, all the other empires which succeeded each other were symbolized in such ways as to be fairly distinguishable from each other, and fairly themselves represented by their respective symbols. But last of all, it is seen, God comes in, and the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and the gold are broken to pieces together by the stroke of a stone and become as the chaff of the summer threshing floors, which the wind carries away "and there is no place found for them, and the stone cut out of the mountain without hands becomes a great mountain and fills the whole earth."

It was, indeed, no wonder that Nebuchadnezzar exalted Daniel, for he had forgotten the dream he had, and could not compose his mind to the remembering of it; neither could his astrologers or wise men make it known to him; but the secret having been revealed to Daniel in a night vision he not only made known to the king his vision but its interpretation, and this without taking any credit to himself on account of it, but in all things ascribing to God the causation and glory thereof.

Daniel, Chapter VII.

The next prophecy of Daniel in which we are concerned in this treatise is found in his seventh chapter. In this prophecy contained in this chapter the four metals in the great image of chapter II. are

represented by four beasts coming up out of the great sea. This means that the prophecy in chapter VII. is a repetition of that in chapter II., but under different symbolization. Read this chapter consecutively in your Bible.

It will be noticed by students of prophecy that every important prediction is repeated or made double and that in some cases it is twice doubled; and, moreover, that the symbolic prophecies are mostly accompanied with an interpretation in which in some cases are added particulars, that in the vision are given only in a general way.

Joseph, in his interpretation of Pharaoh's vision of the seven fat and lean kine and the seven full and blasted ears (Gen. XLI., 17–33) said the dream was one: "And for that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice is because the thing is prepared of God, and God will shortly bring it to pass."

We are simply to understand, in such cases, the second vision to show forth the same things under different phases, and, perhaps, throwing more light on the first. Why the kine were fat the seven full ears explain, and why they were lean the seven blasted ears; and the periods of seven years to come, the first seven of plenteousness, the second seven of scarcity and famine, are emphasized by the twice doubling of seven. So, also, one of Daniel's parallel visions is to be understood as not only an interpreter of the other, but as emphasizing the thought of the certain realization of its predictions. We may, therefore, believe, that the second vision of the same succession of empires will give us additional light in determining their characters.

This second panorama of the world's empires, as found in Dan. VII., has to it a preface, which shows the compass of the prophecy. Verses 2–3: "I saw in my visions by night, and behold the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea and four great beasts came up from the sea diverse one from another."

The four winds represent the universality of agencies, or Providence operating among men in space and time, which was really the subject of the vision: And, secondly, there are four beasts, which are explained in verse 17th, to be four kings which should arise. The term king as here may be also rendered kingdom, for these symbols, called kings, represent governments, monarchies. In the prophetic symbolization the number four represents universality. "And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven:" Jer. XLIX. 36.

The Babylonian Empire.

V. 4. The first was like a lion (vulgate, lioness) and had eagle's wings; I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it."

Jeremiah (IV. 7) describes the Babylonian kingdom as a lion: "The lion is come up from his thicket and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way." In this language, which is in the repeating style of Hebrew poetry, the destroyer of the Gentiles is synonymous with the lion. Ezekiel (XVII., 3) calls Babylon "a great eagle with great wings." Wings symbolize various things, as protection, power, velocity; but, in all cases, eagle's wings imply power and velocity. After the destruction of Nineveh by the Babylonians and Medes in 625 B. C., Babylon was distinguished as a very warlike power. Its lion-like courage and eagle-like velocity have their exponents in the extensive conquests of the two Nebuchadnezzars. But the lion with the eagle's wings symbolized Babylon during the time of its conquests: The wings being plucked indicates a time just succeeding, a time when God restrained its power when it could not proceed to any conquest.

The lifting up from the earth of this eagle-lion is rendered in the Septuagint: "it was removed from the earth" a translation which one might think to mean the complete removal of the nation: But it does not mean this, the lion, with his eagle's wings plucked, is there still, now standing on his two hind feet, as a man stands on two feet; and in this condition a man's heart is given to him. This must refer to the period which remained to this government after the death of Nebuchadnezzar II. Between his death and its conquest by Cyrus there were four successive kings: Ewil-Merodach, Nerglissar, Labosordacus, and Nabonedus, who is Belshazzar. The standing up on two feet as a man and the man's heart being given to this eagle-lion may indicate an elevation morally in the nation during these four reigns. It may also refer to a spiritual elevation in the nation begun in the conversion of Nebuchadnezzar II. (Dan. IV.) and carried out providentially in the nation, especially in its government, after his death. The change in the symbol from a lion with eagle's wings to the same lion with his eagle's wings plucked standing on his feet as a man, and having his lion-eagle's heart changed to a man's heart certainly indicates a change in the character of the government, doubtless beginning with Nebu-

chadnezzar himself in his old age (for his language, in verse 30, Dan. IV., implies his advanced age) a change which was being effectuated during the reigns of the four successors of Nebuchadnezzar in his empire.

The Medo-Persian Empire.

V. 5. "And, behold, another beast, a second, like unto a bear, and it raised up itself on one side; and it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it; and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh."

The Medo-Persian was that government which succeeded to the Babylonian empire. It was, therefore, the second great empire, reckoning the Babylonian of the Nebuchadnezzars, the first. It was like unto a bear and raised itself on one side. The two sides of the bear here represented Media and Persia; but it raised itself on one side; that was Persia. On the death of Cyaxares, otherwise called Darius, the last king of the Medes, in 536 B. C., Cyrus his nephew became king of the Medes and Persians, and so continuing under his successors, till its conquest by the Macedonians, in 334 B. C., it was called the Medo-Persian empire. "It had three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth." Each province of the Medo-Persian empire of which there were 120 in Cyrus' day, had its governor; and over these governors there were appointed by Cyaxares and Cyrus three presidents, who were to live at court and be the mediums of communication between the provincial governors and the king of kings. These three presidents were, therefore, in effect, the actual kings of the Medo-Persian empire, and of these three presidents Daniel, in his day, was first (Dan. VI., 1–3). The three ribs therefore in the mouth symbolize those three presidents. A rib is literally a support or prop, the rib as in the human body corresponding to the rafter in the house, and rib is, of course, the first root of rafter. A rib, therefore, is a helper; and these three presidents were the direct helpers of the king, those who had his responsibilities, performed his labors, etc. And so, when Adam wanted a help-meet or mate God took out of his side a rib out of which he formed mother Eve. The position of these three ribs is in the mouth, between the teeth. The mouth with its teeth in this case symbolizes the executive government: the will makes itself known through the mouth and the iron teeth indicate the forces executive of the will. From this point of view the ribs in relation to the connected symbols would point to coun-

sel, judgeship, etc., as well as to what I have given of them above. "And they said thus unto it (the bear), Arise, devour much flesh." The conquests of the Medo-Persian empire were extensive, cruel and destructive. The bear is not a more destructive wild beast than is the lion, but it may be considered here as fairly representing the character of the Medo-Persian empire as the lion with eagle's wings did that of the Babylonian.

The Macedonian Empire.

V. 6. "After this I looked and, lo, another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads and dominion was given to it."

The leopard is another wild beast and of a different character than the bear or lion; being a spotted beast might suggest that he represented a mixed people, not as we speak of a motley crowd, but a people made up of different languages or, at least, different dialects of the same generic tongue. Having four wings would stand for the four governments into which the Macedonian rule in Asia became transitorily divided. These wings also suggest the velocity of motion for which the Macedonians were proverbial. As governments they meant the same as the four heads. The four heads and four wings present a double indication of the quadruple character this Macedonian empire would take. This empire was amazingly rapid in its conquests, which shows the fitness of its symbolization by the winged leopard. Twenty years after Alexander's death his empire was divided among four of his generals, doubtless all of them his near relations: Casander had for his portion Macedonia and Greece: Lysimachus had Thrace and Asia Minor: Seleucus had Syria and the East: and Ptolemy Egypt and Lybia. In the after ages, however, Syria and Egypt were the Macedonian kingdoms, and, in the prophecy, they are known as the kingdoms of the north and south respectively.

The Roman Empire.

V. 7. "After this I saw in the night visions, and, behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it and it had ten horns."

V. 19. "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceedingly dreadful, whose teeth were of iron and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet.

V. 23. Interpretation: Thus, he said, the fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down and break it in pieces."

The description of this kingdom is divided into periods:

First Period: Unity of Rome; the Iron Legs.

Iron teeth and nails of brass symbolize a political complexion both Roman and Grecian. After its conquest of Carthage Rome's next great conquest was Macedon. The latter kingdom easily assimilated itself with Rome, so that the Roman empire came to have a dual complexion, and in nearly five centuries after the conquest of Macedonia Constantine removed his seat of government from Old Rome to New Rome or that city afterwards called Constantinople in the dominion formerly of Macedon. Through the incompetency of its then king, Perseus, rather than through want of ability to maintain its independence under competent leadership, the Macedonian kingdom yielded to Rome in 168 B. C.; but as I have said it seems from the start to have taken up well with the Roman company; and, on the other hand, Rome seems to have treated it rather as an equal than tried to impress it with a sense of its subject state. Rome thus utilized its abilities for the aggrandizement of the common empire, and Macedonia came to understand itself rather as a helper to the common end than otherwise.

The iron legs in the great image (Dan. II.) correspond to the iron teeth in this vision only thus far that the iron symbolized Pagan Rome proper, in contradistinction to all other nations; but iron teeth in the mouth of the beast suggests that the home power of Rome rather than any provincial force was used to enforce the will of the Senate, as expressed by the mouth; while the nails of brass suggest that the Macedonian men were largely utilized in the legions, officered, indeed, in the early times mainly by Romans, who are symbolized by the iron executive in connection with the mouth.

Rome, too, adopted the learning and polish of the Greeks, which made their military power more effectual, and their government more agreeable to their provinces. Chronologically, the fourth beast of this vision in this stage thereof coincides with the iron legs in the great image.

Second Period of the Roman Empire. The Ten Horns and the Little Horn, or Church and State Polity; and the Broken State and Fall of Rome.

Verse 8th: "I considered the horns and, behold, there came up after them another little horn before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man and a mouth speaking great things."

Verse 20: "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast and of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows:"

Interpretation vs. 24–27: "And the ten horns out of this (fourth) kingdom are ten kings that shall arise; and another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of time. But the judgment shall sit and they shall take away his dominion to consume and destroy it unto the end."

The period embraced in this phase of the fourth kingdom is distinguishable into two characteristic parts; the first relating to the ten horns, and the second to the little horn. We shall consider them separately.

Chronologically speaking, the body of the fourth beast representing the fourth kingdom, as a whole, the ten horns represent a later and divided state of the empire; and their situation in the head of the beast indicates that, while originally powers foreign to the empire, and now independent themselves they may have taken their first position within the empire with the imperial sanction whether forced or freely given. The horns are said to represent kings which may be rendered kingdoms, for each kingdom is for a time represented by its king; as Louis XIV. of France was accustomed to say: *Je suis l'etat*, "I am the state." Concerning those ten kingdoms Sir Isaac Newton remarks that, "whatever was their number afterwards they are still called the ten kingdoms from their first number."

This phase of the vision refers to a time when there were ten kingdoms, all conspicuous from their foreign relation to itself, existing within the limits of the old Roman empire. From internal weakness and external assaults the Roman empire, especially in Europe, came to have within it, partly through policy and partly through compulsion, ten kingdoms, which were distinct from the empire itself, whose capital was Constantinople. It was after the

days of Theodosius I., after the establishment of Christianity, in what is called its Trinitarian or Orthodox form that these ten kingdoms began distinctly to appear. Mr. Whiston says that in 456 the number of kingdoms was exactly ten; and that in 1706, it had nearly returned to the same number again. Bishop Newton remarks that at the Reformation the number of nations was ten; and Bishop Lloyd and Machiavel, as well as Sir Isaac Newton, enumerates ten. And it is said there are now in Europe just ten ethnical divisions corresponding to peoples, nations and tongues. All the writers on this subject differ somewhat from each other as to the particular nations which were the originals of the symbolic ten horns. The list I give below I select as the most probable:

1. The Hunns in Pannonia before 400 A. D.
2. The Visigoths in Thrace 383–395 A. D.
3. The Ostrogoths in Phrigia and Lydia 383–395 A. D.
4. The Suebi, and Alani in Gascoyne and Spain 407 A. D.
5. The Burgundians in Burgundy 407 A. D.
6. The Vandals in Africa 429 A. D.
7. The Visigoths in Spain and Aquitain 415–419 A. D.
8. The Heruli and Thuringi in Italy 476 A. D.
9. The Ostrogoths in Pannonia: and in Italy 493 A. D.
10. The Lombards or Gepidæ on the Danube in 483: Lombards in Italy 568 A. D.

The principle to be followed in the selection of these ten nations is that none should be selected, who it is very probable did not have a standing within the empire by consent of some emperor, either through compact for military service, through subsidy, or otherwise. Now, the Anglo-Saxons are sometimes reckoned as one of those horns, but I see no proof or probability, of their ever having been admitted to live in Britain by any imperial condition. So the Franks are reckoned in, but these from a very early date were a confederation of eight or more German tribes — the Chauci; the Sicambri; the Attuarii; the Bructeri; the Chamavii; the Chatti; the Cherusci; the Salii, etc., a confederation which of itself might suggest the idea of an original for ten symbolic horns. The idea, therefore, of making the Franks to have been the original of one of those ten symbolic horns would be rather an extravagant one; because this very confederation called Franks is the original of the symbolization for the Holy-Roman (German) empire; and

so, consequently, in its gradual rise to that position, as attained, say, by Charlemagne, we may expect to see one, two, or more of those horns, we have given under the ten, fall before itself.

If, for the Lombards, as given, any one wishes to substitute the Gepidæ the history, in my mind, leaves it admissible to do so. All these nations were from sources foreign to the old Roman empire, with whose home elements, however, they easily assimilated after they had made it their residence and adopted its (now Christian) religion, even in the Arian conception thereof. These ten nations are, however, not necessarily the originals of the symbolization of the ten horns.

Second Part of the Same Phase: The Little Horn.

We have so far considered ten horns or powers as connected with the Roman empire, now Christian, and here we have to consider an eleventh horn, which springs up among them or behind them. Verse 24 interprets as follows: —

> "And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise and another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first and he shall subdue three kings."

Instead of "after," as here, verse eighth has the little horn to come up among the ten; but the original word means behind; "And behold there came up *behind* them another little horn," etc.

This little horn was, of course, an empire, consisting of Church and State, and was realized, first, in the Christian Roman empire, whose seat was Constantinople; second, in Mohammedism, the successor to the Christian Roman empire of the east; and third, and most markedly, in the Christian Roman empire of the west, called the Holy Roman empire, which embraced the papacy at its greatest height and in its greatest power. As to systems of Church and State which arose in the sixteenth century I will treat of them sufficiently when commenting on the book of Revelation.

This little horn had eyes like the eyes of man and a mouth speaking great things. This mouth and these eyes, however, were only composite parts of the little horn; they did not constitute the whole horn, but were only very remarkable features thereof. "By its eyes," says Sir Isaac Newton, "it was a seer; and by its mouth, speaking great things, and changing times and laws it was a prophet." Any silly person, any boaster, can speak great

things; but it is only sovereign authority that can change times and laws. Constantine himself, the first Christian emperor, enacted that the day of the Sun, the first day of the Jewish week, should be a legal rest and holy day. "He published in the same year (321 A. D.) two edicts; the first enjoined the solemn observance of Sunday, and the second directed the regular consultation of the Aruspices." Gibbon Dec. Fall. II. 250.

The beginning of the little Roman-Macedonian horn, which ultimately waxed so great toward the south and toward the east and toward the pleasant land, in Mohammedism especially, is referred to in Dan. VIII., 9–13, and really took place in the conquest of Macedonia by the Romans in 168 B. C. But, in about five centuries later, Constantine placed the seat of his (now for the future) Christian empire within the ancient dominions of Macedonia, even in the province of Thrace. This he also claimed to do by divine command; but in order to give a description of the site of Constantinople and the reasons assigned by Constantine for this foundation I will give the full quotation from Gibbon: "We are at present qualified to view the advantageous position of Constantinople; which appears to have been formed by nature for the centre and capital of a great monarchy. Situated in the 41st degree of latitude, the imperial city commanded, *from her seven* hills,* the opposite shores of Europe and Asia; the climate was healthy and temperate, the soil fertile, the harbor secure and capacious; and the approach on the side of the continent was of small extent and easy defense. The Bosphorus and the Hellespont may be considered as the two gates of Constantinople; and the prince who possessed those important passages could always shut them against a naval enemy, and open them to the fleets of commerce. The preservation of the eastern provinces may, in some degree, be ascribed to the policy of Constantine, as the Barbarians of the Euxine, who, in the preceding age, had poured their armaments into the heart of the Mediterranean, soon desisted from the exercise of piracy, and despaired of forcing this insurmountable barrier. When the gates of the Hellespont and Bosphorus were shut, the capital still enjoyed, within their spacious inclosure, every production which could supply the wants or gratify the luxury of its numerous inhabitants. The sea coasts of Thrace and Bithynia, which languished under the weight of Turkish oppression, still

* Doubtless it was from personal examination of the topography that Gibbon was able to pronounce Pocock's plan of the seven hills of Constantinople to be "clear and accurate."

exhibit a rich prospect of vineyards, of gardens, and of plentiful harvests; and the Propontis has ever been renowned for an inexhaustible store of the most exquisite fish, that are taken in their stated seasons, without skill and almost without labor. But when the passages of the straits were thrown open for trade, they alternately admitted the natural and artificial riches of the north and south, of the Euxine and of the Mediterranean. Whatever rude commodities were collected in the forests of Germany, and Scythia, and far as the sources of the Tanais and Borysthenes; whatsoever was manufactured by the skill of Europe and Asia; the corn of Egypt, and the gems and spices of the farthest India, were brought by the varying winds into the port of Constantinople, which for many ages attracted the commerce of the ancient world.

The prospect of beauty, of safety and of wealth, united in a single spot, was sufficient to justify the choice of Constantine. But as some decent mixture of prodigy and fable has, in every age, been supposed to reflect a becoming majesty on the origin of great cities, the emperor was desirous of ascribing his resolution, not so much to the uncertain counsels of human policy, as to the infallible and eternal decrees of divine wisdom. In one of his laws he has been careful to instruct posterity, that, in obedience to the commands of God, he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople; and though he has not condescended to relate in what manner the celestial inspiration was communicated to his mind, the defect of his modest silence has been liberally supplied by the ingenuity of succeeding writers; who describe the nocturnal vision which appeared to the fancy of Constantine, as he slept within the walls of Byzantium. The tutelar genius of the city, a venerable matron, sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, was suddenly transformed into a blooming maid, whom his own hands adorned with all the symbols of imperial greatness. The monarch awoke, interpreted the auspicious omen, and obeyed without hesitation the will of Heaven. The day which gave birth to a city or colony was celebrated by the Romans with such ceremonies as had been ordained by a generous superstition; and though Constantine might omit some rites which savored too strongly of their Pagan origin, yet he was anxious to leave a deep impression of hope and respect on the minds of the spectators. On foot, with a lance in his hand, the emperor himself led the solemn procession; and directed the line which was traced as the boundary of the destined capital: till the growing circumference was observed with astonishment by the assistants, who, at

length, ventured to observe, that he had already exceeded the most ample measure of a great city. "I shall still advance," replied Constantine, "till He, the invisible guide who marches before me, thinks proper to stop." Without presuming to investigate the nature or motives of this extraordinary conductor, we shall content ourselves with the more humble task of describing the extent and limits of Constantinople." Dec. & Fall II., 93–95.

On the other hand we, having gotten from Gibbon this lucid account of the founding of Constantinople, and the causes leading thereto, will not now presume to follow him in his description of that great city, which from its foundation remained in the possession of the Christian Roman empire for over 1100 years.

Now, in this little horn the mouth and the eyes are symbols of the Church in legal union with the State. There are no symbols connected with the mouth, for example, to indicate instrumentality to effectuate the will of the supreme power represented by the horn, as we have seen in the case of the iron teeth surrounding the mouth of the bear in the Medo-Persian symbolization, and surrounding the mouth of the unnamed beast in the Pagan-Roman symbolization: These symbols, therefore, of eyes and mouth point particularly to the Church as united legally with the State in government. The eyes and the mouth being destitute of any appearance of executive force, seem to occupy the position of oversight, and counsel between the highest authority, represented in the horn generally, whose executive is its point, and the masses represented in the whole horn from its point to its base. The position of the eyes and the mouth in the horn indicate the position of the Church in society, a middle place, so to speak, in the social fabric. The eyes, of which the prophet and the pope, are the originals, have held, we know, quite a commanding position for ages; the mouth, whereof the priesthood and that sort generally are the originals, occupies an intermediate position between the prophet or pope and the people. Eyes used symbolically denote governmental oversight. "The eyes of the Lord are in every place beholding the evil and the good," signifies God's omnipresent supervision of mundane affairs. While the mouth in connection with other symbols denoting executive force, signifies governmental authority, as unconnected with any such symbolization, it denotes the priesthood, as where God tells Moses, that Aaron, the priest, his brother, should be his spokesman to the people, and should be to him, "instead of a mouth." Ex. IV. 16.

The original of the little horn was, 1st, the Christian Roman empire, whose seat was Constantinople; and, 2nd, it was the Franco-German empire, called also the Holy Roman (German) empire, as begun by Clovis and completed by Otho 1st, and was, on a small scale, an image of the empire as a whole: Say 532–1792. This last empire, more especially in its constituent of the papacy, is the one understood hitherto by all protestant writers as the original of the Little Horn. But, thirdly, while Mohammedism as in the Caliphate over the Asiatic Roman empire, and at Constantinople now since the close of the Middle Ages, presents marks of its being an independent original of the little horn (say 618–1878), yet the true perception will see that it has only grafted itself on and thus given it distinctive marks, eyes, etc. (the seer prophet), to the original; that is to say, the symbolization of the little horn, though having its original in the Christian Roman empire systems of the East and the West for long ages before Mohammedism came into power at Constantinople, seems to have taken its definite markings of eyes and mouth from the system of the prophet; just as the two-horned symbolization of Rev. XIII. 11–18 took its definite marking from Protestantism, although carried on in the papacy in the ages preceding the Reformation. Thus God, who has *present* to his view all the ages of the history, could impress the prophetic picture with the stamp of any particular age; and, thus, it is plain, there s here but one original picture — the Eastern Roman empire, — of which the Western Roman empire is a copy on a small scale; and the papacy, a constituent of the Western Roman empire, is a copy of the caliphate, which became ultimately sunk in the Sultanate.

Now, it will be kept in mind that the ten horns are understood by all interpreters as symbolizing kings or kingdoms, that is, earthly rulers or dominions, let these be called what they may; and that there are no marks connected with them to indicate executive force or the like. They are simply said to be horns, without any other signs being mentioned as connected with them. But in verse eighth it mentions "another little horn before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots." And in verse twentieth, speaking of these horns, it says: "And of the other which came up and before whom three fell." And, referring again to the horns, in verse twenty-fourth, it says: "And he shall be diverse from the first and shall subdue three kings."

This little horn then as a king or earthly potentate, for example

was to be known in two ways; first, by the ways indicated in the eyes and mouth, that is, by exercising a spiritual oversight in relation to the people, this spiritual oversight being authoritatively exercised by, what is called, an ecclesiastical hierarchy, headed by the pope or by a religious superintendency headed by the Caliph. Secondly, it was to be known by the fact that at its rise, as a king, ruler or system of government it would so effectually overcome three other kings or governments that they could not exist again. We shall, therefore, proceed to find what has been done in this way by those three systems of government which I have said are originals of the little symbolic horn: 1st, as to the Christian Roman empire as a whole: 2d, as to the Christian Roman empire of the west: and 3d, as to Mohammedism as existing in the time of Mohammed and afterwards in the caliphate and sultanate.

Here I may begin by saying that the eradication of the three kings or kingdoms may be expected to be found in connection with the immediate founder or founders of the system in each case. If this be so the proof should be easy, as plain facts need not much proof.

Now, Constantine being the first Christian Roman emperor, as all know, you enquire whether three actual emperors fell before him, as he rose to universal empire? Yes, three, and just this number. The first of these was Maximian, who was emperor before him, but had, with Diocletian, resigned the power, and, now, coveting it again, usurped the sovereignty of Constantine in his absence. On his return Constantine got him into his power, and condemned him to death, although he was his father-in-law. Gibbon says: "He deserved his fate; but we should find more reason to applaud the humanity of Constantine, if he had spared an old man, the benefactor of his father and the father of his wife." Dec. & Fall. I. 469.

The second of those three who fell before Constantine, was the emperor Maxentius, son of Maximian, whom he overthrew at the Milvian bridge. The opposing armies of those two emperors fought at Saxa Rubra, nine miles from Rome, in 312; that of Maxentuus was defeated and large numbers of his men were lost in the Tyber. "The emperor himself attempted to escape back into the city over the Milvian bridge; but the crowds, which pressed together through that narrow passage, forced him into the river, where he was immediately drowned by the weight of his armor. His body, which had sunk very deep into the mud, was found with some difficulty the next day. The sight of his

head, when it was exposed to the eyes of the people, convinced them of their deliverance and admonished them to receive with acclamations of loyalty and gratitude the fortunate Constantine, who thus achieved by his valor and ability the most splendid enterprise of his life." *Id.*, p. 482.

The third and last of the emperors who fell before Constantine, was Licinius, the husband of his sister. After his last defeat his wife interceded with her brother in his behalf and "obtained from his policy rather than from his compassion a solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that after the sacrifice of Martinianus and the resignation of the purple Licinius himself should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in peace and affluence. Licinius solicited and accepted the pardon of his offenses, had laid himself and his purple at the feet of his lord and master, was raised from the ground with insulting pity, was admitted the same day to the imperial banquet, and soon after was sent away to Thessalonica, which had been chosen for the place of his confinement. His confinement was, however, soon terminated by death, and it is doubtful whether a tumult of the soldiers or a decree of the senate was suggested as the motive of his execution. According to the rules of tyranny he was accused of forming a conspiracy, and of holding a treasonable correspondence with the Barbarians; but as he was never convicted either by his own conduct or by any legal evidence, we may perhaps be allowed by his weakness, to presume his innocence. The memory of Licinius was branded with infamy, his statues were thrown down, and by a hasty edict, of such mischievous tendency that it was almost immediately corrected, all his laws and all the judicial proceedings of his reign were at once abolished. By this victory of Constantine" (324 A. D), the Roman world was again united under the authority of one emperor thirty-seven years after Diocletian had divided his power and provinces with his associate, Maximian." *Id.*, pp. 502–3.

Those three imperial horns were, therefore, very effectually eradicated, by Constantine. The prophecy, however, contemplates a great number of Cæsars or emperors as existing at this time, and it is a fact that of the house of Constantine alone, after he had attained to supreme power there are reckoned ten or more. In 306 A. D., the emperor, Constantius, died, and in the next year, 307, his son Constantine was confirmed Cæsar in his stead. In the year 308 Gibbon reckons six actual contemporary emperors. Speaking of the Constantine family itself, however, after its attainment to

power Gibbon says: "Besides the females and the allies of the Flavian house, ten or twelve males, to whom the language of modern courts would apply the title of princes of the blood, seemed, according to the order of their birth, to be destined either to inherit or to support the throne of Constantine. But in less than thirty years this numerous and increasing family was reduced to the persons of Constantius and Julian, who alone had survived a series of crimes and calamities, such as the tragic poets have deplored in the devoted line of Pelops and Cadmus." Dec. & Fall II. 157–8. From the fact that, Gibbon says with respect to the young emperors of his family that: "The indulgence of Constantine admitted them, at a very tender age, to share the administration of the empire" (Vol. II. 165) it is very probable that the ten emperors I enumerate hereunder were contemporary:

1. Licinius, Cæsar and Augustus, brother-in-law of Constantine.
2. Constantine, Cæsar and Augustus.
3. Martinianus, Cæsar, appointed by Licinius, Vol. I. 501.
4. Licinius, Cæsar, Jr., sister's son of Constantine, Vol. II. 160–1.
5. Crispus, Cæsar,* son of Constantine, Vol. II. 158.
6. Constantine, Cæsar, son of Constantine, Vol. II. 163–4.
7. Constantius, Cæsar, son of Constantine, Vol. II. 159.
8. Constans, Cæsar, son of Constantine, Vol. II. 163–4.
9. Dalmatius, Cæsar, brother's son of Constantine, Vol. II. 164.
10. Hannibalianus king (of kings), brother's son of Constantine, Vol. II. 164.

In regard to the two last mentioned our historian continues: "He fixed Dalmatius on the Gothic frontier, to which he annexed the government of Thrace, Macedonia and Greece. The city of Cæsarea was chosen for the residence of Hannibalianus; and the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia and the Lesser Armenia were destined to form the extent of this new kingdom. For each of those princes" (that is, of the five or six last mentioned) "a suitable establishment was provided."

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* In this collection there are three that fell before Constantine independently of the three we have named,—Martinianus, Licinius, Jr., and Crispus,—but their manner of fall would hardly make them apply to our case.

Having gotten so far in our identification of the original of the Little Horn I may say it will be well to keep in mind the distinction between the Eastern Roman Empire and the Western; that the Eastern is in our sense the original, and the Western but a substitute in the west for this after the decline and fall of the empire there. The Western empire is emphatically Frankish, the Franks being the heirs of the Roman civil power and the Papacy of its religious power in the west, and we will now see whether the Frankish power will be able to answer for itself as to being an original for the symbolization of the Little Horn, independently of its acknowledged heirship of the empire.

The Franco-German Empire: The Little Horn in the West.

The Franks, it is true, appear on the borders of the empire at the close of the third century, but it is not till the ascent to power of their king, Clovis, grandson of Meroveus, from whom the race is called Merovingian, in 481, that they began to have a great name in history. As to this king I quote Gibbon as follows: "The valor of Clovis was directed by cool and consummate prudence. In all his transactions with mankind he calculated the weight of interest, of passion and of opinion; and his measures were sometimes adapted to the sanguinary manners of the Germans, and sometimes moderated by the milder genius of Rome and of Christianity. He was intercepted in the career of victory since he died in the 45th year of his age; but he had already accomplished, in a reign of 30 years, the establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul." Dec. & Fall III. 370.

The first exploit of Clovis was the defeat of Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, a Roman commander, who, in the declining days of Rome, had thrown off the imperial yoke, and set up a government for himself. Against him Clovis (Chladavig) directed his attack, defeated him at Soissons in 486, and subjected the provinces he ruled, which were afterwards largely included in the Normandy of the Middle ages, to his own sway.

Clovis next encountered the Allemanni, defeating them on the plain of Tolbiac, twenty-four miles from Cologne, in 496 A. D. "The Gallic territories, which were possessed by the Allemanni, became the prize of their conqueror; and the haughty nation, invincible or rebellious to the arms of Rome, acknowledged the sovereignty of the Merovingian kings, who graciously permitted them

to enjoy their peculiar manners and institutions, under the government of official, and, at length, of hereditary dukes."

"Till the thirteenth year of his age Clovis continued to worship the gods of his ancestors. His disbelief or rather disregard of Christianity might encourage him to pillage with less remorse the churches of the hostile territory; but his subjects of Gaul enjoyed the free exercise of religious worship; and the bishops entertained a more favorable hope of the idolater than of the heretics. The Merovingian prince had contracted a fortunate alliance with the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, who, in the midst of an Arian court was educated in the profession of the Catholic faith. It was her interest as well as her duty to achieve the conversion of a Pagan husband; and Clovis insensibly listened to the voice of love and religion. He consented to the baptism of his eldest son; and, though the sudden death of the infant excited some superstitious fears, he was persuaded a second time to repeat the experiment. In the distress of the battle of Tolbiac, Clovis loudly invoked the god of Clotilda and the Christians; and victory disposed him to hear with respectful gratitude the eloquent Remigius, bishop of Rheims, who forcibly displayed the temporal and spiritual advantages of his conversion. The king declared himself satisfied of the truth of the Catholic faith; and the political reasons, which might have suspended his public profession, were removed by the devout or loyal acclamations of the Franks, who showed themselves alike prepared to follow their heroic leader to the field of battle, or to the baptismal font. The important ceremony was performed in the cathedral at Rheims, with every circumstance of magnificence and solemnity that could impress an awful sense of religion on the minds of its rude proselytes. The new Constantine was immediately baptized, with three thousand of his warlike subjects and their example was imitated by the remainder of the *gentle Barbarians*, who, in obedience to the victorious prelate, adored the cross which they had burnt, and burnt the idols which they had formerly adored. The mind of Clovis was susceptible of transient fervor; he was exasperated with the pathetic tale of the passion and death of Christ; and instead of weighing the salutary consequences of that mysterious sacrifice, he exclaimed with indiscreet fervor: 'Had I been there at the head of my valiant Franks I would have revenged his injuries.' But the savage conqueror of Gaul was incapable of examining the proofs of a religion, which depends on the laborious investigation of

historic evidence and speculative theology. He was still more incapable of feeling the mild influence of the Gospel, which persuades and purifies the heart of a genuine convert. His ambitious reign was a perpetual violation of moral and Christian duties: his hands were stained with blood in peace as well as in war; and, as soon as Clovis had dismissed a synod of the Gallican Church, he calmly assassinated all the princes of the Merovingian race.*

"Yet the king of the Franks might sincerely worship the Christian God, as a Being more excellent and powerful than his national deities; and the signal deliverance and victory of Tolbiac encouraged Clovis to confide in the future protection of the Lord of Hosts. Martin, the most popular of the saints, had filled the western world with the fame of those miracles, which were incessantly performed at his holy sepulchre of Tours. His visible or invisible aid promoted the cause of a liberal and orthodox prince; and the profane remark of Clovis himself, that St. Martin was an expensive friend, need not be interpreted as the symptom of any permanent or rational skepticism. But the earth, as well as heaven, rejoiced in the conversion of the Franks. *On the memorable day, when Clovis ascended from the baptismal font, he alone, in the Christian world, deserved the name and prerogatives of a Catholic king.* The emperor Anastasius entertained some dangerous errors concerning the nature of the divine incarnation; and *the Barbarians of Italy, Africa, Spain and Gaul were involved in the Arian heresy.* The eldest or rather the only son of the church was acknowledged by the clergy as their lawful sovereign, or glorious deliverer; and the armies of Clovis were strenuously supported by the zeal and fervor of the Catholic faction." Dec. & Fall III. 573–576.

In the above you see why it is that the king of France has been called the oldest son of the church, by which is meant, the Papal church; for, although the church as established in the eastern empire was Orthodox-Trinitarian and Catholic as well as the Papal church, yet at that time the throne at Constantinople was occupied by an emperor, who professed the Monophosyte doctrine, and so, holding, as the term implies, that Christ had only one nature, instead of two, as expressed in the Nicene creed, he was, as we have seen before, deemed unorthodox, and persecuted as was Saul by the true Israelites. Clovis was in his age then, the only recog-

* Gregory of Tours, after coolly relating the repeated crimes, and affected remorse of Clovis, concludes as follows: *His ita transactis obiit.* "Having done all these things he died."

nized Catholic king, all the Barbarian rulers being Christian-Arian, thus having a Christian conception somewhat like our unitarian.

The Armoricans so successfully resisted the attacks and inroads of Clovis that, through the agency of the bishops, a settlement was come to between them, which showed how much the Armoricans were esteemed by the Franks, and, on the other hand, the Catholic religion was established by the Armoricans. Gibbon cannot think of comparing the savage character of Clovis with the virtues of Henry of Navarre, but he says some resemblance may be found in the situation of two princes, who conquered France by their valor, their policy, and their merits of a seasonable conversion!

Of the Burgundians Gundobald, a brother of the father of Clotilda, was now king. He being an Arian, was justly alarmed by the satisfaction and the hopes, which seemed to animate his clergy and people after the conversion of Clovis; and so convened at Lyons an assembly of his bishops, to reconcile, if it were possible, their religious and political differences: "A vain conference was agitated between the two factions. The Arians upbraided the Catholics with the worship of three Gods; the Catholics defended their cause by theological distinctions; and the usual arguments, objections and replies, were reverberated with obstinate clamor, till the king revealed his secret apprehensions, by an abrupt but decisive question, which he addressed to the Orthodox bishops: 'If you truly profess the Christian religion, why do you not restrain the king of the Franks? He has declared war against me, and forms alliances with my enemies for my destruction. A sanguinary and covetous mind is not the symptom of a sincere conversion; let him show his faith by his works.' The answer of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, who spoke in the name of his brethren, was delivered with the voice and countenance of an angel: 'We are ignorant of the motives and intentions of the king of the Franks; but we are taught by scripture that the kingdoms which abandon the divine law are frequently subverted; and that enemies will arise on every side against those who have made God their enemy. Return, with thy people, to the law of God, and he will give peace and security to thy dominions.' But Gundobald, not being prepared to accept the condition, which the Catholics considered as essential to the treaty, after some delay dismissed the conference, reproaching his bishops that Clovis, their proselyte, had privately tempted his brother's allegiance.

In the battle that ensued between the Burgundians and Franks,

he found his brother, Godegesil, to whom he had referred and who now went forth in the ranks on his side, to desert to the enemy on the first opportunity, which decided the event of the battle; for the Burgundians fled far from the field; and Clovis having imposed a tribute returned with the spoils and captives of the war.

But soon after he received intelligence of the violation of his treaty obligations by Gundobald, who had, on the first opportunity, attacked and massacred his brother Godegesil with his force of 5,000 men, which Clovis had left to garrison Vienna. But Clovis now found it convenient to dissemble his rage, the Burgundians sympathizing strongly with Gundobald; and besides, the surrounding nations applauded the mild and impartial law by which Gundobald had elevated the character of his people. The acts of this king secured the peace and suspended the ruin of his country during his life.

But not long after was this ruin deferred. In the regin of his son, that country was overwhelmed by a deluge of Franks led on by the sons of Clovis, who, it is said, carried the captive king, with his wife and two children, to Orleans, and buried them alive in a deep well in 532 A. D. Thus did the succeeding Frank princes reign peacably, over the kingdom of Burgundy, which had been touched but not conquered by Clovis.

The next and last conquest of Clovis was that of the kingdom of the Visigoths of Aquitain. These people viewed his rapid progress with jealousy and the genius of their youthful king, Alaric, the son of Euric, was felt to be oppressed by the rising fortunes of his rival. At length a dispute arose on their contiguous frontiers, which stirred up both parties to fighting heat. At Paris, which was now his chief royal seat, the Orthodox king declared to an assembly of his princes and warriors his motives for a Gothic war. "It grieves me," said he, "to see the Arians still possess the fairest portions of Gaul. Let us march against them with the aid of God; and having vanquished the heretics, we will possess and divide their fertile provinces." The Franks, inspired by their hereditary valor and recent zeal for Orthodoxy, applauded the design, and solemnly promised that they would not shave their beards till victory or death should absolve them from their vow. On having founded a church to the honor of the holy apostles the monarch set out with his army from Paris and on his way visited the Shrine of St. Martin at Tours, then esteemed the oracle of Gaul. His messengers wishing quietly to learn what they could as to the result of his ex-

pedition were instructed by some one to notice the words of the Psalm, which should happen to be chanted at the moment they entered the church. Those words which fortunately expressed the valor and victory of the champions of heaven were now applied to the new Joshua, the new Gideon, who went forth to battle against the enemies of the Lord. The result of this battle of Poitiers was defeat for the Visigoths and the death of their youthful king. Clovis took possession of their principal cities and of the national treasures stored up in the capital, Thoulouse; and having settled in Aquitain a colony of Franks, and delegated to his lieutenants the remaining work of the subjugation or extirpation of the Visigoths he directed his attention to his other affairs.

But now there arrived to the help of the Visigoths a well equipped army sent by Theodoric the great, king of Italy; they had not arrived in season to be of very effectual help to their kinsmen; but they nevertheless compelled the Franks to raise the siege of Arles, in which siege they had lost, it is said, 30,000 men. These vicissitudes brought Clovis to accede to a treaty of peace, giving a little more advantage than he had intended to the Visigoths. They were confirmed in the possession of Septimania, a narrow tract of sea coast extending from the Rhone to the Pyrenees; but the spacious province of Aquitain, from those mountains to the Loire, was united indissolubly to the monarchy of the Franks.

Here then are the three personal conquests of Clovis: 1st, that of Syagrius, who yielded up his kingdom and his life. Being satisfied that he had lost the battle he made his escape to the court of Thoulouse. But the young Alaric felt compelled by the threats of Clovis to deliver up his guest, who was thereupon delivered to the executioner.

2nd, that of the Alemanni: "The event of that bloody day (of Tolbiac) decided forever the alternative of empire or servitude. The last king of the Alemanni was slain in the field and his people were slaughtered or pursued till they threw down their arms and yielded to the mercy of the conqueror."

3rd, that of the Visigoths: "The two kings encountered each other in single combat. Alaric fell by the hand of his rival; and the victorious Frank was saved by the goodness of his cuirass and the vigor of his horse from the spears of two desperate Goths, who furiously rode against him to revenge the death of their sovereign." Dec. & Fall. III. 571, 573, 585.

Truly, then, three kingdoms with their three kings fell before

this "oldest son of the Church:" And they were so completely eradicated that they did not attain to power afterwards. So far as these main facts are concerned I think the history tells truth.

But the beginning of this western system is more definitely marked as you will see from what follows: After the termination of his war with the Visigoths and with their helpers, the Ostrogoths of Italy, the emperor Anastasius, wishing to confer a signal favor upon the most powerful opponent of Theodoric, of whose merits he was very jealous, bestowed the consulship on Clovis. On the day appointed for the display of this dignity the Frankish monarch, placing a diadem upon his head, was invested in the Church of St. Martin with a purple tunic and mantle. From thence he proceeded on horseback to the Cathedral of Tours; and, as he passed through the streets, profusely scattered a donative of gold and silver with his own hand to the joyful crowds, who reverberated their acclamations of *consul* and *Augustus*. This was, of course, an empty pageant, and did not add anything to his real power: It was in short an honor to himself personally by Anastasius, in his jealousy of Theodoric; but it became in time a national distinction of the Franks: for thirty-five years after Clovis' death this honorary concession was formally made by the emperor Justinian in a treaty with his sons.

Unable to defend their distant territories the Ostrogoths of Italy now resigned to the Franks the cities of Arles and Marsailes. This transaction Justinian confirmed, legalizing, at the same time, to the Franks the sovereignty of the country beyond the Alps, which they already possessed; he abolished the provincials from their allegiance to the empire, and thus established on a right legal basis the Merovingian throne. They enjoyed now the legal right of celebrating at Arles the games of the circus, and of coining money with their image and superscription on, which obtained a legal currency in the Roman empire of the East.

It is, therefore, seen very plainly that another empire has already arisen here, having its foundations well and legally laid; an empire acknowledged by the Roman emperors themselves to be independent of theirs; and the sovereigns of this empire bestowed on the papacy (745–800) three subject sovereignties: 1. The Exarchate of Ravenna. 2. The duchy of Rome. 3. The dutchy of Spoleto. Dec. and Fall, Ch. XLIX.

We come now to the third of our identifications with the original of the Little Horn. Mohammed was the name of the man who

originated the system called Mohammedism, a system which in its politico-religious status may be called a variation of State and Church Christianity. His era is reckoned from 622 A. D., about which time he began to make predatory excursions against caravans, in order to rob those he deemed his enemies. The three first of these excursions, which he conducted himself, resulted fruitlessly, but the fourth, which he intrusted to one of his converts, named Abdallah Ibn Jasch, and sent out in the month Radjab, sacred from violence and rapine to all the Arab tribes, resulted in capturing a caravan, in killing one of its conductors and taking two prisoners, while one man escaped. The booty was divided among the Moslems, the prophet receiving his share, and this is a practical illustration of the beginning of this militant religion, so different from Gospel Christianity, though not in principle different from State Christianity, for it has been noticed that Mohammed, instead of beginning with Christ, did, in his militant career, pass over 325 years, and begin with Constantine.

The next exploit of Mohammed was also an attack upon a large caravan belonging to his own tribe of the Koreish and proceeding towards Mecca. The Meccans saved their caravan by taking another route; but their people who came in full force from Mecca, to protect them, on having heard of their danger, fought a great battle at Bedr with the Moslems, in which they lost their leader, Abu Jahl, who was an old enemy of Mohammed. When his head was brought to Mohammed after the battle the prophet, viewing it, said: "This man was the Pharaoh of our nation," meaning that he had withstood Mohammed's doctrine, and had long opposed him and his followers, to the extent of expatriating them from Mecca. The battle of Bedr, this first great military exploit of Mohammed, was fought in 623 A. D.

For certain reasons, not long after this battle, the anger of Mohammed was very strong against the Jewish tribe of Beni Kainoka, and he offered them the alternative of the profession of his creed or expatriation. They obstinately shut themselves up in their stronghold until compelled by famine to surrender: Their wealth and effects were confiscated and they banished to Syria, "to the number of seven hundred men." From this time Mohammed's face was set against the Jews, and, although he had previously thought of making Jerusalem hes kibla or point of prayer he now established Mecca in its place, thus first showing his partiality towards his native city and country.

The Meccans, reflecting upon the treachery of Mohammed in trying to rob their caravan in the holy month, and upon the loss of some of their best men at Bedr, now organized another army, with which they marched against the Moslems, whom they encountered at Ohod about six miles from Medina. In this battle Mohammed was wounded in the face; his opponents, under Abu Sofian, realizing that they had gained a victory, concluded a truce with the Moslems for one year and returned in triumph to Mecca, 623 A. D.

For other reasons soon after Mohammed vented his anger against the Jewish tribe of Nadher, whom he ordered to leave the country within ten days on pain of death. They remained, however, depending upon aid promised them by the Arab tribe of the Khazradites, who were not Moslems; but this not appearing they shut themselves up in their castle of Zohra, where they were besieged by Mohammed, who cut down and burnt the date trees on which they depended for supplies. At the end of six days they were allowed to depart with a camel load of necessaries, but no arms. The great wealth of this tribe Mohammed is said to have taken entirely to himself. Some of them went to Syria, others to the territory of Khaibar, inhabited by another tribe of Jews.

Among the tribes which arrayed themselves against Mohammed after his defeat at Ohod were the Beni Mostalek, "a powerful race of Koreishite origin. Mohammed received intelligence of their being assembled in warlike guise under *their prince* Al Hareth, near the walls of Moraisi, in the territory of Kedaid, and within five miles of the Red Sea. He immediately took the field at the head of a chosen band of the faithful, accompanied by numbers of the Khazradites, led by their chief Abdallah Ibn Obha. By a rapid movement he surprised the enemy. Al Hareth was killed at the outset by the flight shot of an arrow; his troops fled in confusion after a brief resistance in which a few were slain. Many prisoners and large numbers of sheep and camels were the fruits of this victory. The princess Barra, daughter of Al Hareth, became Mohammed's wife.*

During the year succeeding the battle of Ohod Abu Sofian, the chief of Mecca, by contracting alliances with other Arab tribes, and with some Nadherite Jews formed an army of 10,000 men with which he again marched against Medina. Mohammed, anticipating

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* See Irving's Life of Mohammed: Ch. XXII.

such an attack, had meantime employed his men in sinking a deep ditch beyond the wall of the city on the side whereon the enemy could easily advance. This ditch, which was called the Moat, was scarcely complete when the enemy appeared. Leaving a sufficient force to awe the disaffected in the city, Mohammed led out 3,000 men, whom he set in battle array with the Moat in his front. Abu Sofian having advanced confidently to the Moat was there stopped by its yawning chasm, as well as by a volley of arrows from the Moslem bowmen drawn up behind it. For some days now the combatants seemed to content themselves by slinging stones and casting darts at each other from both sides of the trench.

Meanwhile spies informed Mohammed that the Jewish tribe of Beni Koraida, who had a strong fortress near the city, and were under treaty obligations with him, had formed a secret league with the enemy. He now felt himself in a strait as to how, with his available Moslems, he could guard the whole extent of the Moat and, at the same time, guard against an attack from the Koraidites. Besides, he was anxious to maintain quiet in the city, where he suspected the Jews had secret confederates.

While Mohammed was thus anxiously planning, a party of Koreishite horsemen discovered a place where the Moat was narrow, and putting spurs to their steeds succeeded in leaping over. They thereupon challenged the bravest of the Moslems to equal combat. The challenge was accepted by Saad Ibn Moad, by Ali and others, enough to match those who had crossed. Ali and Amru encountering each other fought on horseback and on foot, in which latter position grappling with each other they rolled in the dust, Ali eventually killing his man. In the general conflict, which was maintained with great obstinacy, several were slain on both sides, and Saad Ibn Moad was severely wounded. The Koreishites finally giving way, and remounting, spurred their horses to recross the Moat when one of their party, Nawfal Ibn Abdallah, leaping short, fell to the bottom. In this position, being assailed with stones, he challenged a single antagonist, when Ali accepted it and eventually killed him. The Meccans under Abu Sofian retreated to some distance, and the skirmish is called the battle of the Moat. Meanwhile now Mohammed's emissaries sowed dissensions among the Koreish and their Koraidite or Jewish allies, all which resulted in the retreat of the Meccans to their homes.

The invaders having disappeared Mohammed set himself to take

vengeance on the Beni Koraida, who shut themselves up in their fortress and withstood the siege for many days. At length pressed by famine they implored the protection of the Arab tribe of the Awsites, an old ally of theirs. The latter entreated the prophet to grant these Hebrews like terms as he had formerly granted to the Beni Kainoka, at the intercession of the Khazraidites. On reflection Mohammed offered to leave their fate to the decision of Saad Ibn Moad, the Awsite chief. To this the Khoraidites gladly agreed, since that he had been their old ally. They, accordingly, surrendered themselves to the number of six or seven hundred and were conducted in chains to Medina. But Saad considering their secret league with the enemy as the cause of the recent hostility, and being himself now suffering from the wound he had received at the Moat, to their great consternation decided the case against them. He condemned the men to death, the women and children to slavery, and their property to be shared among the Moslems.

The Jews having, as well as the Moslems, taken an oath to abide by the decision of Saad, before he had given his judgment, now looked aghast, but there was no appeal. They were conducted to a public place, since called the Market of the Koraidites, where a great ditch had been digged. Into this by ones, twos or threes, their prince Hoya Ibn Akhtab, among them, they descended and here they were beheaded and buried. In dividing the spoils, which were great, each foot soldier had one lot, each horseman three, two for the horse and one for himself. A fifth part of the whole was the prophet's portion. *Id.* Ch. XXIII.

Mohammed now concluded a treaty with Mecca by which he and his adherents were permitted to visit that city annually for ten years, remaining three days each year in the city. This was in 628; but in the next year he made one of his most savage military expeditions directed against the Jews of Chaibar. This city itself, which had an extensive dependent territory, was situated about five days' journey to the northeast of Medina. The Jews, its possessors, were wealthy by means of agriculture and commerce; and their domain was fortified by various castles. So venerable was its antiquity that Abulfeda, the Arabian historian, assures us that Moses, after the passage of the Red Sea, sent an army against the Amalekites, inhabiting Gothreb (Medina) and the strong city of Khaibar. This region had become a refuge for the Jews, driven by Mohammed from Medina and its environs, and for many others who made themselves obnoxious to his vengeance. These circum-

stances, with also its wealth, pointed it out as a fit object for Moslem conquest. ' The warfare was commenced by attacking the smaller castles first. Some of these capitulated, without making resistance, in which case being considered "gifts from God," the spoils went to the prophet: Others, garrisoned by stouter hearts, had to be taken by storm. Mohammed now advanced against Khaibar: It was strongly defended by outworks, and its citadel, Al Kamus, built on a steep rock, was impregnable, in so much that Kenana, Ibn Al Rabi, the chief or king of the nation, had made it the depository of the national treasures.

In the siege, which lasted some time, the Moslems suffered for the necessaries, as the Jews had taken pains to destroy the date trees and the means of subsistence in the adjoining country; assaults, too, led on by Abu Bekr, Omar and Ali in turn were repulsed; at length a breach was made and Ali, scrambling with his followers up the heap of stones and rubbish in front of the breach, at length placed his standard on the top, determined to capture the citadel or die. In the conflict which ensued here Ali fought hand to hand with the Jewish commander, Al Hareth, whom he slew, as well as his brother, a great Hebrew giant, who had advanced to his help. The Jews, now retreating into the citadel, a general assault took place; in the heat of the action, Ali's shield having been separated in some way from his arm, he wrenched a gate from its hinges and used it as a buckler through the remainder of the fight. So says the narrative!

The citadel being captured, every vault and dungeon was ransacked for the wealth said to be deposited there by Kenana, the Jewish *prince*. None being discovered Mohammed demanded of him where he had concealed his treasures. He declared that it had been expended in the subsistence of his troops and in preparations for defense. One of his faithless subjects, however, revealed the place where the great amount had been hidden. It did not equal the expectation of the victors and Kenana was put to the torture to reveal the rest of his supposed wealth. He either could not or would not make further discoveries, so he was delivered up to the vengeance of a Moslem, whose brother he had crushed to death by a piece of millstone, hurled from the wall, and who struck off his head with a single blow of his sabre." Irving's Life of Mohammed: Vol. I. 223.

While in the citadel Mohammed demanded food for himself and his followers and was furnished with a shoulder of lamb which hav-

ing eaten a little of he suspected to be poisoned and desisted; but nevertheless, he suffered somewhat from its effects during the remaining three years of his life. When the maiden who had done the poisoning was brought before Mohammed she confessed the act and said: "I thought, if thou wert indeed a prophet, thou wouldst discover the danger; if but a chieftain thou shouldst fall and we should be delivered from a tyrant." Kenana, king of Khaibar, being dead, Mohammed married his widow, Safia, who was daughter of Hoya Ibn Akhtab, king of the Beni Koraida, who, with his seven hundred followers, we have seen, was beheaded on the square of Medina. This lady was one of the most favored wives of Mohammed and survived him forty years, having taken up with Islam from the start.

You have noticed, therefore, the three princes or kings, who, with their possessions, fell before Mohammed at his rise to power. They were: 1st, the prince or king of the Beni Mostalek, "a powerful tribe of Koreishite origin;" 2nd, the prince or king of the Beni Khoraida: and 3d, the prince or king of the Beni Khaibar. These are the only persons, called princes or kings, that, with their dominions, fell before Mohammed personally. Of course, Abu Jahl, who fell at Bedr, was a Koreishite chief: but I find him nowhere called a prince or king; and, besides, Mecca, of which we may suppose him to have been an underchief, did, as a matter of fact, never come by force into the possession of Mohammed. But Abu Sofian, with some other of its influential citizens, having finally acceded to Mohammed's religion, Mecca came over with them and thus Mohammed got possession of the Caaba and demolished its idols.

From the nature of my general subject of Origins I should have less to do with the historic progress of these systems than I have to do with their first rise; but, considering what a marvelous system Mohammedism is, both as to its origin and progress, I may say that we would think it very strange if Daniel, in his prophetic sketch of universal empire, had left it altogether unnoticed, more especially since it has been found to have affected the Israelitish people, who were Daniel's own people, so much!

Verses 21–22 of Dan. VII., say: "I beheld, and the same (little) horn made war with the saints and prevailed against them; until the ancient of days came and judgment was given to the Saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."

You have had a little foretaste of what Mohammedism did even in the prophet's own day against the Jews and all else who would not receive and conform to it. And I may say here now that, in the course of its history, that system has acted very oppressively in its sword, Koran or tribute conditions, for though in many cases the people accepted tribute as what they judged the less of two evils, still, occasionally, from the failure of crops or their inability to pay from various other causes afterwards, it might have been much better for them had they given up their lives at once than to have submitted themselves to a tribute, which they ultimately found to be so oppressive, as to have entailed on them what has been fitly called a living death. The little horn representing the supreme government uniting State and Church, as in Mohammedism and Christianity, such government persecuted the saints: such government is eminently one of class, not of the people by the people; but one which regards the masses of the people as its property, existing for its accommodation, pleasure and glory. Whether these people or saints be called Jewish or Christian they will have to serve and obey this governmental system, or be persecuted or exterminated.

He prevailed against the saints until the "Ancient of Days came;" contemporaneously with such advent judgment was given to the saints, that is, those kinds of peoples the little horn had persecuted and oppressed; "and the time (finally) came that the saints possessed the kingdom." Here the language implies an interval of time between the advent of the Ancient of Days and the possession of the kingdom by the saints. This interval is a time of judgment; the people begin to think for themselves, to be more self-determinative. During the long ascendancy of State and Church, both in Christianity and Mohammedism, the people were so humiliated that their judgment was taken away; they had for long ages been led as lambs to the slaughter or as sheep before their shearers dumb; the chattels of a haughty aristocracy, called Christian, their civil and ecclesiastical masters; the slaves or rayahs of their Mohammedan owners. "And judgment was given to the Saints." Yes, and they exercised that judgment, — a judgment of the quick and dead of the powers of Christendom and of Mohammedism for 1260 years; — and in expressing their judgments used in some cases, in their discourses and books, language which might be called homely, language which did not always savor of the elegance of a Chesterfield or the labored circumlocution of a Macaulay.

Those judges being, to some extent, like the first preachers of Christianity, good and true men, though comparatively unpolished by education, gave forth their judgments generally in strong though homely language. Notice what an immense number of books have been published and what innumerable discourses delivered, *viva voce*, since the opening of the Protestant reformation, upon the doings of the old oppressors for the 1260 preceding years. Has not this been an era of judgment?

"And the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." That is the humble saints themselves became possessors of the kingdom. This, of course, points to a time yet future, when such a kind of polity will prevail generally in the Roman empire as we call a democracy, when the saints will possess the kingdom independent on Christian or Mohammedan monarchy or aristocracy of any kind or name. And yet, while this era of judgment may have particular reference to a particular period, such as the interval of 325 years between 1545 and 1870, yet it is plain that it may be exercised forever without other object than the guidance and correction of the lives of the people living and to live. By reading the history of the past or hearing it truly discoursed upon people know better what course to avoid and what to follow in life.

"And it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it and it had ten horns." At the time of the rise of Mohammed there could doubtless be pointed to among the Arabians ten important nations and their chiefs; nay, more there might have been able to be twelve distinguished as having descended from the twelve sons of Ishmael. But doubting not that there were in Arabia then ten tribes or nations more powerful and distinguished than all the rest we would still have to allow that they were idolaters. The Mohammedan horn, however, now springs up among them "and it is diverse from the rest and it subdues three kings." We have just seen how Mohammed subdued three kings, and appropriated their kingdoms, their wives, etc.; but how is this Mohammedan horn or power diverse from all horns or powers amongst which it arises? It is diverse or different in its religious aspect. It is purely monotheistic and opposed to the polytheism which all those horns or nations amongst which it comes up practices. It is eminently iconoclastic in relation to all polytheism and a bonebreaker to boot if the nations be not willing to admit its iconoclasm. You cannot, therefore, help but perceive how that this little horn, whose original is here considered to be Mohammedism, is diverse, in point of

religion, from all the other horns or nations amongst which it springs up. They have many gods or idols; it professes, at the start, to set forth but one God, invisible, incomprehensible, without form or likeness, without ancestor or descendant, without beginning of days or end of time. The distinction, you see, is quite clear between the ten horns and the little horn in the case of Mohammedism.

Just so at the time Constantine the great or the first, for they called him both, was converted to Christianity, the established religion of the Roman empire was polytheistic. He, therefore, in the profession and introduction of his new religion, is diverse from all the other emperors, his predecessors and contemporaries, and, as we have seen very clearly, he subdued three kings, who had, however, called themselves emperors, and appropriated all they had, if we may except their wives. And Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks, is another instance exactly in point. He, too, in respect to the religion which he introduced, was diverse from all the kings or chiefs of the Franks, who were his predecessors or contemporaries; and we have seen how that he subdued three kings and appropriated their kingdoms. These are all, as we take it, historical matters of fact.

Verse 25: "And he shall speak words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time."

For the present we have had enough about his persecution of the saints; but here we shall inquire what is meant as to his changing of times and laws, and as to their being given into his hand for certain periods? We are to keep in mind here that the prophet who gave forth this prediction was a Jew. The times and laws here referred to might reasonably be thought to be those days and times legalized by Moses in Leviticus XXIII., as rest days, or Sabbath days, Sabbatic times, and other legal rest days, as laid down there. These Christ himself did not change but the Christian Roman emperors and the empire church, as well as Mohammedism, did. Constantine I. made Sunday the Sabbath, as I have shown; and Mohammed made Friday the Sabbath.

And now, not speaking of the seven days in the year which are legal rest days besides the regular Sabbaths in the Hebrew's code, and which are perhaps not necessary to be observed in a good Christian polity, but directing our mind to that legalized Hebrew

period called the Sabbatic year, or the earth's rest year, I may say, that it seems to me a not unwise provision which allows one year's rest in seven to the land. This does not, to my mind, imply that the whole population of a country should lie idle one year in seven, but that each landowner might, perhaps, with profit to himself, allow one-seventh of his cultivated land to lie fallow every year. This would allow the land to have one-seventh of the time to rest and recuperate, and so in the old settled countries there should not be so much need of manuring. "And they" (these laws and times) "shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." That is, this polity would make laws and times of observance of its own, different from those of the code of Daniel's people, and would continue to act in its own peculiar way and to be exercised within the circle of its own rules during the period of a time, times and the dividing of time. It would, therefore, be conspicuous for its self-willed proceeding during a year of years and two years of years, and a part of a year of years, or say something above or below twelve centuries.

The date of the giving of those times and laws into the power of the little horn is not given in the text, but is left to be ascertained in the historic development. As, however, each point in the miniature description of the prophet marks an epoch or characteristic in the realization of his prophecy, the epoch of the giving of the times and laws to this power need not be expected to be an obscure one in history. In the investigation of the fulfillment of prophecy in history small matters should not be attended to in detail to find a realization; for "no prophecy is of any private interpretation" nor applies to very obscure events.

The prophet, Mohammed, after his power was established in Medina, Mecca or elsewhere, was himself supreme in Church and State. He was, indeed, the original of a complete horn in himself, just as much as was Alexander, as symbolized in Dan. VIII. But, our Arabian horn is a more peculiar one than that of the Macedonian, for the prophet's horn has its eyes looking up in vision into the seventh heaven, and its mouth issuing its sanguinary commands, "Koran, sword or tribute." Only think of a man standing up in a pulpit and authorizing people to go and rob caravans and kill their owners if they be not willing to give up their property. To go no farther than this you can assert with truth and at once that such a man is not of God and that for him to say that he is of God, yea, is *the apostle* of God, shows him to be an impostor.

But Mohammed would say, on his part, that what he did in the way of robbery and war, from the time he begun this nefarious business, he did for the purpose of advancing God's cause. Verily, then, according to this doctrine, people must do evil that good may come; they must be just as treacherous, untruthful, and cruel as Satan himself, and act out in this varied way of wickedness in order to please God! But, I assert here and for all time that it is neccessary that there be a distinction made in the conception of deity between God and the devil. Surely the devil is the author of wickedness, not God. I do not believe that the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ ever authorized the filling up of the vast pit in Medina, for example, with 700 headless Jews, by Mohammedism, or the decapitating of 4500 Saxons on the same spot by the champion of State and Church Christianity in order to please him. No, no, the author of such acts is the devil, the father of wickedness, the old serpent. Mohammed started well at first; it is surely a laudable enterprise to eradicate idolatry; but he did not long keep in the right course, if, peradventure, he was ever in it. Look what a bloody precedent this self-styled apostle left to those who followed him in his system! In its historic progress Mohammedism has been one of the most brutally cruel and destructive systems of government which have yet existed on earth. The Caliph, the successor of Mohammed, was supreme in Church and State as is the Sultan now. Mohammedism has been a unicorn power all through, an absolute autocracy, more so than the Russian. The eyes of this horn surveys the earth, and its mouth not only issues its sanguinary commands against people but very effectually gobbles up their property. Talking is not all that the Mohammedan mouth symbolizes; it symbolizes also a ravenous appetite, in appropriating to itself other people's property. That system not even leaves the married men their wives; for those whom it covets it appropriates, taking them away from their dear children. The true inwardness of Mohammedism, as judged from its historic development, in its relation to the masses of the people, is that it is hell itself. It is an exterminator; its waters are drying up.

From the time Constantine assumed the headship of Church and State the emperor was himself the visible supreme head of all the churches in the empire. As to the time when the pope of Rome became head of the empire church there has been much disputation; but, this inquiry arose from a misconception as to the pope's

true position and relation to the emperor, first of the east, then of the west.

From a review of the history of Christendom, relative to this subject, the conclusion is arrived at that the papal power was greater before the age of Justinian than for some time after. They say that "the eastern emperors gave the title of universal bishop to the patriarch of Constantinople, while they maintained their own autocratic supremacy; and the western emperors, on the other hand, fully admitted the spiritual claim, but withheld the specific title." "If," say they, "Justinian intended to confer exclusive powers on the papacy, yet those powers had already been conferred on it by Theodosius I., A. D. 380, by the exertions of Leo the Great, and by the decree of Valentinian III." "It is clear that Justinian held that the imperial sanction was necessary to impart the power of law even to ecclesiastical ordinances." "Again, the character of Justinian, as a legislator, is against it (the Papal supremacy!). Of his own will he drew up a complete code of laws for the universal church, entering into all the minutiæ of doctrines, discipline, etc. Such a ruler may have disregarded but almost certainly did not intend to promote the power of the Roman bishop." *Epochal Periods: Papal History.* But the law of Justinian, published in 529 A. D., gave to the pope precedency over all other bishops of the empire; and the decree of Phocas, of date 604–6–8 A. D., has been dwelt upon as having given new powers to the papacy, but if such existed it merely augmented the pope's power.

But, according to verse 25th, the saints and times and laws were to be given into his hand until a time, times and the dividing of time; which is elsewhere called a time and times and a half. This is a Hebrew expression, equivalent to a day, two days, and a part or half a day or a year, two years and a part or half a year; or a year of years, two years of years and a half or a part of a year of years: which last, taking the definite half year, equals 360 years, plus 720 years, plus 180 years, which all together equals 1260 years. Now, supposing, as before, those years to be abridged or labor years and adding in the Sabbath days and the legal rest days besides, we have:

1260 years of labor time.
180 being $\frac{1}{7}$th for Sabbath days.
24.23 being $\frac{1}{52}$ for legal rest days besides.

1464.23
325.384 A. D., the date of the union of Church and State.

1789.614 A. D., the date of the opening of the French revolution, which did away with Church and State government and culminated, 81 years later, in the French republic now existing. This is also the date of the inauguration of Washington and Adams as the first president and vice-president of the United States of America. You may remark, therefore, here that the beginning of the time of the end for one country may be the consummation, accomplishment or time of the end for another; for it is noticeable that the American republic was an accomplished fact in the same year in which the first movement was made, which ultimated in the French republic.

It cannot be denied that especially in connection with the holy Roman empire or Christian Roman empire of the west, during the rise, progress and fall of that, the papacy cut a remarkable figure. Ecclesiastical precedency was given to the pope over all the other bishops of the empire by Justinian in 529 A. D. If now to 529 we add 1260 years or the time, times and a half, during which the little horn was to exercise its peculiar rule, we have the same result, namely, 1789 A. D., a result which shows the other mode of addition to be properly based.

If, however, we take the year 610 A. D., which was the last of Phocas and the first of Heraclius, as the point from which to date the powers of the little horn, we shall have (610 + 1260 =) 1870 A. D., when the emperor of the French lost his powers and the pope, with him, his temporal power. It seems a not unreasonable supposition that the brutal and ignorant Phocas, on seeing himself about to be attacked by Heraclius, tried to insure the pope's friendship to himself by his granting to the See of Rome greater privileges than it had enjoyed before.

The Roman church claims its authority as transmitted to it from St. Peter, but what it claims in this respect it was not allowed to use, at least in any magisterial way, until after the union of Church and State. Consequent upon this, the headship of the church in Europe, subject of course to the emperor, was granted to the bishop of Rome by Constantine and his successors. By virtue of this authority the church could decide as to who were heretics, and hand them over to the civil powers to be punished, and thus, it is safe to say that multiplied millions of pious, God-fearing, holy, industrious and honest people suffered tortures, privations and death on account of their religious opinions.

In the council of Nicea, which convened on the 19th of June, A. D. 325, legal power was first given to Christian ecclesiastics in

the empire. It is from that we date the union of Church and State. After Constantine had conquered his last imperial opponent, Licinius (324), he took steps to the convention of this council of Christian bishops from all parts of the empire. In the morning of this 19th of June the emperor appeared in the assembly and in a formal oration proclaimed the powers he conferred upon the Christian ecclesiastics in the State. He proposed to settle church differences and enforce unity of faith; "hoping (says he) by my interference a remedy might be applied to the evil, I sent for you all without delay." In this council the pope's legate presided. "The question relating to the observance of Easter was still undecided. It was one of the principal reasons for convoking the council of Nicea; being the most important subject to be considered after the Arian controversy. It was decreed to celebrate Easter on the same day, and the oriental prelates promised to conform to the practice of Rome and of the West." (Eusebius, Eccles. Hist.)

Mohammed was contemporary with Heraclias (610–632); but Heraclius outlived Mohammed nine years, and in those later years of his life (632–641) the Moslems, Mohammed's successors, took possession of his Asiatic provinces, Syria and Palestine, in 636; and of Egypt in 641, the year in which he died.

There are, therefore, several epochs, a few years apart from each other, from which we can date the Mohammedan beginnings. Being born in 569 Mohammed began his celebrated mission in his fortieth year, which would be 609 A. D., and which would be the first date at which we could begin for him.

The second date would be about 618 A. D., when he, having begun by his preaching among the pilgrims in the holy month at Mecca, to make converts to his faith of some chief men of Medina, deputed as a missionary to that city Musab Ibn Omeir, in order to preach among the people there.

The third date would be 622 A. D., being that of Mohammed's removal from Mecca to Medina, and which is called the Hegira. From this date his career as a plundering freebooter and warrior really begins.

Mohammed died in 632, but we might take as an epochal date the year 636 (end of this year) when the Moslems, the successors of Mohammed, had conquered Syria and Jerusalem; and then 641 when they had conquered Egypt, the year in which Heraclius died.

Mohammed's connection with the Medinese tribes, by reason of his conversion of some of their principal men, among the pilgrims

at Mecca, was his first great start in the world, as head of Church and State. It was from or at Medina that all his great raids and conquests were made. This city was the seat and capital of his incipient Moslem monarchy.

If, therefore, we put down the year 618 as the date of his first connection with the Medinese, by reason of his conversion of some of their principal chiefs at Mecca, and, regarding this as an ephochal date, add to it 1260 years, we shall arrive at the year 1878 A. D., being the date of the treaty of Berlin, when the Turk was shorn of most of his European territories, and left to be but an underlord to the great powers, so called, of what remained, as also of his territories in Asia and Africa.

In regard to the shrinkage of Turkish territory in Europe the following article from the Philadelphia *Ledger* of August, 1878, may be instructive: "Any one who will take the trouble to look at a map of Turkey in Europe, dating back about sixty years, and compare that with the new map, sketched by the treaty of San Stefano, as modified by the Berlin Congress, will be able to form a judgment of the march of progress, that is pressing the Ottoman power out of Europe. Then the northern boundary of Turkey extended to the Carpathian mountains, and eastward of the river Sereth it embraced Moldavia as far north nearly as the forty-seventh degree of north latitude. That map embraced also what is now the kingdom of Greece. It covered all of Servia and Bosnia. But by the year 1830 the northern frontier of Turkey was driven back from the Carpathians to the south bank of the Danube, the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, being emancipated from Turkish domination, and subject only to the payment of an annual tribute in money to the Porte. South of the Danube the Servians had won a similar emancipation for their country; Greece also had been able to establish her independence. Then as recently the Turk was truculent and obstinate. Russia and Great Britain proposed to make Greece a tributary State, retaining the sovereignty of the Porte. This was refused and the result was the entire destruction of the powerful Turkish fleet at Navarino, and the erection of the independent kingdom of Greece. Thus Turkey in Europe was pressed back on all sides. Now, the northern boundary, which was so recently at the Danube, has been driven south to the Balkans. Roumania and Servia have ceased to be tributary, and have taken their place among independent States. Bosnia has gone under the protection of Austria, as Roumania did

under that of Russia in 1829. 'Rectified boundaries' give Turkish territory to Servia, Montenegro and Greece. Bulgaria takes the place of Roumania as a self-governing principality having no dependence on the Porte, and paying only an annual tribute. Even south of the Balkans the power of the Turk is crippled, for Roumelia is to have 'home rule' under a Christian governor. And so again the frontier of Turkey in Europe is pressed back on all sides, until the territory left is but the shadow of what it was sixty years ago. To produce this result has been the policy and battle of Russia for more than half a century; for more than that space of time it has been the struggle of some of the 'powers' to maintain the integrity of the Turkish empire. Which policy has succeeded, and which failed, a comparison of maps at intervals of twenty-five years will show. Turkey in Europe has been shriveled up in the last half century. It is shrinking back and back toward Asia, and though all the 'powers' but Russia should unite their forces to maintain the Ottoman system in Europe, there is a manifest destiny visible in the history of the last fifty years that must defeat them."

Writing from Constantinople on date of October 8th, 1878, a correspondent of the *Christian Union* says: "When we consider the difficulties which now beset this feeble and tottering government, the only wonder is that it can stand for a day. Aside from the funded debt of 1,000,000,000, upon which it pays no interest, it has an enormous floating debt representing all the expenses of the war; its employes are unpaid; its army has not been disbanded or even reduced; and its paper money has become almost worthless. The people have lost heart, and expect every day some new revolution or a renewal of the war. The government does not know which to distrust most, its friends or its enemies."

The occupation of Egypt by the English in 1883, for which the French press took Mr. Gladstone much to task, is another step down hill for Turkey.

The London *Daily News*, June, 1883, says: "Whether we like it or not, the Ottoman Empire is dying fast; and as Russia is the only power capable of taking its place in those regions, it is useless to lament what is inevitable. All races and creeds complain bitterly of the system under which they live; but none, perhaps, suffer more than the Turks themselves."

The following in regard to the Berlin Congress I take from different sources but mostly from the last chapter of Clark's his-

tory of Turkey: The latter as follows: "As the Congress of Berlin (1878), in whatever aspect we view it, must be considered as one of the great events of the present age, so the Treaty formed by that Congress, and now ratified and established by the Ottoman government, and by all the leading powers of Europe, marks the greatest era in the history of European Turkey since the taking of Constantinople by Mohammeded II. in 1453. That treaty has gone far towards lifting the yoke of the Turks forever from the necks of their Christian subjects in Europe. At the same time comes to us the announcement of another treaty, hardly less important, by which England assumes possession of the island of Cyprus, and a protectorate, with efficient governmental control, over the Turkish dominions in Asia."

It will be remembered that after the fall of Kars and Plevna in the latter part of 1877, as the Russian forces lay before Constantinople, the treaty of San Stefano was signed between Russia and Turkey. This treaty stipulated the complete autonomy with enlarged territories of Montenegro, Servia and Roumania; with a war indemnity to Russia of over a billion of dollars, in lieu whereof, to a large extent, Russia agreed to take territory and fortresses in Armenia. The article of this treaty to which the European powers took exception and which led finally to the Congress of Berlin, was that which constituted the new principality of Bulgaria. On the 14th June, 1878, this congress opened at Berlin, a congress composed not of ordinary ambassadors, but of the Prime Ministers of the several powers, embodying in itself the sovereign authority of Europe. A spirit of wisdom and conciliation rarely met with marked the sessions of this congress and on the 13th July the Treaty of Berlin was signed. The chief points in this Treaty are as follows: 1. Roumania, Servia and Montenegro to be henceforth free and independent states, *on condition that they establish the perfect freedom of religious worship, and the perfect equality of all religions before the law. And by Article 62 the same religious freedom, the same equality of the adherents of all religions in all political rights and privileges is extended to and made the fundamental law of the whole Turkish empire.* What need is there for more to show that we have here one of the signs of the end of Mohammedism, and that we have begun to measure our time, times and a part at a proper point. But there will be several other epochs for the endings of Mohammedism and Turkism, some of these, it may be, well on in the future, as we recognize several

important epochs in its stages of beginning. But we have seen enough of this treaty to show us that the independence of the Ottoman government was by it, in effect, swept away, that government ever since existing in dependence upon the European powers. Its Asiatic territories are, however, nearly seven hundred thousand square miles with a population of perhaps twenty-five millions.

To the ending of the power of the little horn there were to be two marked epochs, at least, the first was when the Ancient of Days should come and judgment should be given to the Saints of the Most High; and the second was when the Saints should possess the kingdom. It will be borne in mind here that the "Holy Roman empire" in its appendage of the papacy really for long ages controlled all Europe. The first great nation which discarded the papal supremacy in its national religion and still survived was England. In 1534 A. D. the act of the English parliament was passed, which done away with the pope's spiritual supremacy. After that and before for some time it was that the Ancient of Days in his saints began conspicuously to judge the living and dead of the powers of Christendom. But even after they had separated nationally from the papacy they were not yet free, they being still under the yoke of Church and State, both in England and Germany; nor could they in reality consider themselves free, in regard to a terrestrial polity, until they had attained republicism in England, which lasted there but for a short while, and permanently in America, beginning in 1789 A. D. Here then, surely, verse 22, the saints themselves possessed the kingdom. Each man could here feel, if he were the right kind of a man morally, that he was as good as any other man. This, however, was but the first installment of the kingdom, which, according to the prophecy, is in time to fill the earth.

Verse 26: "But the judgment shall sit and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and destroy it unto the end."

In that congress of Berlin in 1878 we have a fulfillment of this very prophecy. The dominion of the Turk in Europe was very remarkably curtailed, and upon the progress and doings of Mohammedism generally a great restraint was put. That congress surely effected the whole Mohammedan system both in State and Church. There is no mistake about that. It took away his dominion to consume and destroy it unto the end; language which implies that the Turkish empire in Europe will come to an end. This is

precisely the way in which the empire which it supplanted came to an end, that is, the Roman empire of the East. For a long time before the Turks took Constantinople, in 1453, there was scarcely any territory left to that eastern empire outside the walls of the city. How remarkably the Turkish empire in Europe has dwindled away during this century! Is it not history repeating itself?

Now, in regard to the duration of the Christian Roman empire at Constantinople, from the time Constantine established Christianity at the Council of Nicea in 325, A. D., to the time of the capture of the city by the Turks in 1453, we know by subtraction that the time is 1127.6 years, which is literally a time, 360 years, and times, 720 years, and nearly an eighth of a time or 45 years; so that Daniel has the right expression for this case at least, viz., "a time, times and a part."

But if, on the other hand, we take the Turkish rule at Constantinople as, in the design of the Almighty, continuous with the Christian, and of a piece with that in regard to its oppressive character, and if then (since in the case of the Eastern empire we reckon from the birth of Christ) we consider 1453 years as labor time and add to this $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{52}$d of itself for Sabbath days and legal rest days besides, we arrive at the year, 1688.5 A. D., when the Greek race of the Turkish dominions began to be improved in their condition, and *pare passu* the Turks decline. In regard to this Clark (Hist. of Turkey, p. 166) says: "The establishment of the power of Venice in the Morea in 1688 was the turning point in the fortunes of the Greeks. Their prospects brightened, their condition improved, and from that day they began surely and steadily to rise." What does it matter whether the oppressor call himself Christian or Mohammedan so long as he practices his brutal oppression of the people? Is he not wicked in the sight of God and of all good men?

Verse 27: "And the kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom and all rulers shall serve and obey him."

The kingdom to accrue to the saints is to be not only universal as to extent but everlasting as to duration. The kind of terrestrial polity called democracy will doubtless in the future very widely prevail over the earth and be very durable as to time.

In relation to the passage, "until the Ancient of Days came and

judgment was given to the saints of the Most High and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom," I may say that our translators, in their references understand the "Ancient of Days," of Christ, as they refer it particularly to Isaiah IX., 6, which they understand of Christ as reigning forevermore on the throne of his father David. The Ancient of Days is, in one sense here, the ability to understand or to judge given by God to man, as a natural gift or otherwise, but prevented from being exercised during the reign of the little horn for a time, times and a half. The power of judgment was, of course, exercised by particular ones in all the ages of this power but the free exercise of the mind was not allowed, which means that if any one thought contrary to the rules of the Church or to the common laws of the Church and State and so expressed himself, he left himself liable to a prescribed penalty, more or less severe, whatever this might be. That our Bible translators have the proper understanding of the Ancient of Days is certain. We, nowadays, speak of reason being dethroned in the case of an insane person, which implies that each human being of a right and sound mind has the reason enthroned. Here (verses 9–10) the Ancient of Days is represented as sitting on a throne of the fiery flame, borne on wheels of burning fire. The whole representation suggests to the mind the idea of Elijah's chariot of fire with which God took him to heaven, but in the Scriptures the word of God is represented as a fire, as in Jer. V. 14: "Because ye speak this word I will make my words in thy mouth fire and this people wood and it shall devour them." And XX. 9: "But his word was in mine heart as a burning fire, shut up in my bones," etc. And fire is also used as a symbol of purity and purification, as in Mal. III. 2–3: "But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire and like a fuller's soap. And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; and he shall purify the sons of Levi and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness." This is the prophet's description of the manner and work of Christ when he should appear. How strikingly like the operation of the reason in judgment after the times of the reformation in most countries in which this took place! Fire is also used as a symbol of energy and quickness of movement; as "he maketh his angels winds, his ministers a flaming fire." "His wheels as burning fire," suggests quickness of motion and purifying tendency. What is quicker than

thought? What more universally penetrative than the reason in judgment? There may be a reference here, also, to the impelling power of our locomotives on land and sea. Which is steam arising from fire and water. The progress of the movement inaugurated and actuated by the Ancient of Days was irresistible and this movement had a purifying and a mind-strengthening tendency. The throne of any ordinary kingdom is supposed to be stationary — we can, of course, call the thrones of Atilla of Genghis Khan and of Tamerlane extraordinary — but this of the Ancient of Days is on wheels, wheels of burning fire. "A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him." This would denote war and the use of artillery. Not only in the later medieval Turkish wars, by which they came into the possession of Constantinople, but in all the wars immediately preceding and accompanying the Protestant Reformation, artillery was effectually used. It was, too, such an awful novelty that the sages must have often looked into the prophecies of Holy Writ in order to find predictions of it. This prophecy may also point to the religious martyrdoms by fire which so numerously preceded and accompanied the movement of the Reformation. The prophecy here takes in considerable scope of time, as it were, at a glance; and those times of war and martyrdom, etc., were as the storm preceding the calm. It is well known, too, how much fiery oratory and declamation there was *vive voce*, in sermons, and in books, etc., in the times immediately preceding, accompanying and succeeding the Reformation! It is said there is no great end attained without suffering, no crown without a cross, and it is certain that even so much liberty as the Reformation gave was not attained without a prolonged struggle. But come it did, as it needs must, for the Almighty, the Ancient of Days, willed that it should come, and he brought it about. "The Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow and the hair of his head like the pure wool:" Verse, 9. In the Revelation of Christ to St. John, in Rev. I. 13–14, the Lord Jesus is represented as "clothed with a garment down to the foot; his head and his hair like wool as white as snow; and his eyes as a flame of fire." The garment of dignity and honor worn by the ancient priests and princes was white. The hoary head represents honor, age, and great superiority and wisdom. (Symbolic Dict.) Verse 10: "Thousand thousands ministered unto him and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the judgment was set and the books were opened."

In regard to the number who ministered to the Ancient it is said that the expression thousand thousands corresponds to the expression time times, and means three thousand, each of which thousands is to be multiplied into itself once, thus making the sum three millions. This process of multiplication corresponds to that in the case of the time, times, etc. Three millions was about the population of the thirteen United States of America when Washington and Adams were inaugurated as president and vice-president in 1789. Let it be remembered that these "ministered to" the Ancient of Days, served him, while "ten thousand times ten thousand," which is literally, one hundred millions, and is said to have represented approximately the population of Europe, at that time, "stood before him," to be judged: But this number of one hundred millions might be multiplied so as to include all men of all time and so stand for the general judgment: "The judgment was set and the books were opened," on account of the blasphemous words uttered by the Little Horn and the ravenous character of that power as also denoted by the mouth.

From the expression, "Until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints," it appears plain that the scene of the drama directly applicable to the Ancient applies to that part of the eastern hemisphere called Europe, especially at the opening of the Reformation; and the clause, "judgment was given to the saints" applies first to reformatory Europe and then especially to those of the reformed in Europe, who emigrated and organized into an independent democracy or theocracy in America.

"And judgment was given to the Saints:" It is through the instrumentality of the Saints that the Ancient exercised his judgment in all its varied scenes. "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son." Jno. V. 22. "Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world?" 1 Cor. VI. 2. And John, in Rev. XX. 4, says: "And I saw thrones and them that sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them," etc. The judgment mentioned here is that just preceding the second Millennium.

The following explains the different scenes in the drama of the judgment, inaugurated by the Ancient of Days and committed to the saints; and also the different epochs included in the acts of the judgment: Ver. 22: "Until the Ancient of Days came" (to Europe at and before the Reformation) "and judgment was given to the Saints of the Most High" (in Europe primarily and after-

wards in America) "and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom" (in England first, temporarily, 1653–1660; then in America, more permanently, in 1789; and afterwards in Europe, beginning in France in 1789, from which center it is expected democracy will spread over Europe and the eastern hemisphere in due time). Why not now the good men of America and Europe set themselves to bring about an international law of arbitration, by which all the international differences may be settled without recourse any longer to the brutal and anti-Christian practices of war, and by which the people will be no longer oppressed with an intolerable taxation for the maintenance of large standing armaments, and the enrichment of unnecessary and too highly paid officials?

Now, it is the Ancient of Days that we read about in the Gospel of John I. 1: "In the beginning was the word and the word was with God and the word was God. The same was in the beginning with God." This was he, who gave judgment to his saints, that they might judge the quick and dead of the powers of Christendom. God greatly honors his saints in committing unto them judgment, in appointing them judges.

We know that a horn is only an appendage of the animal of which it is, just as the tongue is a member, too often an unruly member, of the man to whom it belongs: So, verse 11: "Because of the voice of the great (the bloodthirsty, ravenous, sanguinary and blasphemous) words, which the horn spake, I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame." The whole system of the Eastern empire was modified by Mohammedism in the Turkish power, after the latter came into possession thereof; and the whole system of the Western empire by the Reformation, so far as effected in that empire; but the whole Western empire fell to pieces under the strokes of the republicans led on by Napoleon Buonaparte; and indeed it has been passing through a succession of purifying processes by war, evangelization, literature from without, etc., until in 1870 the initiatory republic, upon the ruins of the Carlovingian empire, was begun in France, which in time, and attended by the peaceful work of arbitration, will by God's help overspread Europe. Even so the Mohammedan horn, springing up "behind" the rest, away back in the outskirts of the empire, in Trajan's transient conquest in Arabia, has been in modern times so much effected by repressive and coercive measures, that it looketh not any longer "more stout than its fellows,"

but, weareth rather a conciliatory aspect, and appeareth far less stout than do any of those horns at whose sufferance it existeth.

Verse 12: "As concerning the rest of the beasts they had their dominions taken away, yet a prolonging in life was given to them for a season and time."

Of all the old empires under consideration here the Persian presents now the most definite outline of nationality, although the Babylonian and the Macedonian, as well as the Pagan Roman were some time prolonged under different forms.

Verses 13–14: "I saw in the night visions and behold one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."

In this vision we suppose, first, the one like the Son of Man to be an apparition of Christ on the earth; and, secondly, while we suppose this symbol to represent, in general, the true Christians in all nations and ages, yet, in this particular case, we suppose it to stand for the nation of the "thousand thousands" which ministered to the Ancient of Days. The symbol can and does stand for all these varied realities. If, therefore, the idea of the Ancient be primarily in the drama connected with Europe, the idea of the Son of Man is primarily in the drama connected with the Christian democracy of Europe, then with that of America, and afterwards with Europe in the Christian and Evangelic democracy which is to spread from France all over it and over the world.

The one like unto the Son of Man comes in clouds to the Ancient. Would not this be the veritable coming of the Messiah again, for he ascended to heaven in a cloud? Acts I. 9. And the angels promised, verse 11, that he would "so come in like manner as he had been seen to go into heaven." But he comes not only in ten thousands of his saints (Jude, 14) but in the thousand thousands of our prophecy, and he comes individually, his very self, in clouds, though it be.

The thirteen states of this Union, which led the way to the French democracy, may be called the first really organized Christian democracy, which existed on the earth; this led the way, in organization at least, to the great kingdom of the stone, for a true and *bona fide* Christian democracy is the kingdom of the stone

accomplished, the same with that of the Son of Man, which is ultimately to fill the whole earth.

"And they brought him near before him." Should we not be earnest to make our system a more truly Christian democracy, to become individually and nationally in character more like Christ, the same with and, variantly, the Son of the Ancient of Days? If the nation of "the thousand thousands" be here symbolized by being brought near before the Ancient of Days, should we not be desirous of attaining perfection rather than nearness to perfection of character? Not as though we had already attained or were already made perfect, let us desire to attain not near to, but *to* the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. Thus striving individually we shall improve our individual character and our national character; we shall be able to assist the French democracy to a more perfect system and shall be able to assist the world to a more perfect Christian democracy. Let us bring our own nation and all others, so far as we can, nearer before the Ancient of Days, making all more like Christ, and all systems of government more like theocratic Christian democracies.

Let it be remembered, then, that one of the principal meanings of the symbol of the "one like unto the Son of Man," in this vision of Daniel, is the nation of the "thousand thousands," that served the Ancient of Days, and that this nation, for the time pointed to, was more correspondent with the will of God than any other nation then existing. Still the nation was not perfect (far from it, doubtless), nor was its system of government perfect; for its symbol, the "one like unto the Son of Man," was only brought *near* before the Ancient of Days, which indicated that it did not possess the perfection of polity, much less of national or individual character, which God requires. Is it not high time that we arise to earnestness in improving our individual and national character and in improving our national polity? There is, certainly, much room for improvement, for some good judges have said that since the revolution this nation has retrograded much in moral character, and has become vastly more imperfect as to its polity by the introduction to its governing code of many unrighteous and unwholesome laws. I only judge that we need to improve immeasurably in order to come up to the standard which God requires of us.

"Whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, which shall not pass away:" If a time, times and an half measured the duration of the dominancy of the Little Horn it will not thus measure the dur-

ation of the dominion of the Son of Man on the earth, for this is to be "everlasting." There was to be some mystery about the coming of Christ at this time. He was to come in the clouds of heaven. Clouds obscure and keep away the light of the sun. If God should appear in all the plenitude of his glory and power on earth could feeble mortals endure his presence? But he comes in clouds; doubtless at times in "a cloud of witnesses." Heb. XII., 1. His presence on earth he chooses to envelop in mystery. He does not see fit to let man know all about Him. Does not man see, too, that it would not be good for him to know all about himself. God discloses to man's reason as much as is good for him, for example, to know about himself, without going to fortune tellers. But man wishes to pry into the future, even into the after-death future, and it might truly be said to all of us in the words of the poetic sage: "What avails it that indulgent Heaven from mortal eyes hath wrapped the woes to come, when we ingenious to torment ourselves grow pale at hideous fictions of our own."

Verse 9: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down:" The original in this case, means the opposite of cast down as we understand that expression. The Cottage Bible will explain as follows: "Verse 9: *The thrones were cast down:* Wintle, 'were placed.' So Boothroyd. But both come to the same meaning. The Asiatics have neither chairs nor stools, but, to receive persons of rank 'cast down' or 'place' cushions round the room for seats, which seem to be here alluded to. See Matt. XIX- 28; Rev. XX. 4." The expressions in the Septuagint (Etethesan) and in the Vulgate (positi sunt) are literally correct and in accordance with this explanation. These thrones do not refer to thrones of earthly kingdoms, but, in an important sense, to such sittings or conventions as that Congress of Berlin in 1878, and others many corresponding to that in the history of modern Europe, as well as other sittings and conventions like or analogous to these in the future. The expression undoubtedly points to the days of arbitration, when the national reasons will be enthroned and when they will be accustomed to settle their international differences by reason. Then will the Ancient of Days sit, not only nationally, but internationally.

Daniel, Ch. VIII.

The next prophecy of Daniel which concerns our subject, in its progress, is found in chapter VIII. of his book. It contains a view of the kingdoms of the world from that time, leaving out the Babylonian kingdom, which was now in the reign of Belshazzar about to fall. It goes over the ground already viewed in the two preceding visions and adds some things of importance not contained in them: I give below the visions with their interpretations:

The Persian Empire: Ram.

Vision Dan. VIII. 3–4: "And, behold, there stood before the river a ram, which had two horns; and the two horns were high, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward and northward and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will and became great."

Interpretation, verse 20: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia."

We need not, of course, interpret here farther than to say that the term king implies also a kingdom, and that the two horns of different lengths, correspond to the two sides of the bear (one of which was raised higher than the other) and to the two arms of silver in the preceding visions.

The Macedonian Empire: Goat.

Vision, verses 4–9: "And, as I was considering, behold, an he goat came from the West, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the earth with his feet; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven."

Interpretation verses 21–22: "And the rough goat is the king of Grecia: and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king. Now, that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power."

We have only to add here that the *four horns* here correspond to the *four heads* in the preceding vision, which were originally

the kingdoms of Casander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus; and, as they ultimated in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, this kingdom coincides with the brass kingdom of the great image, chapter II. The word here translated Grecia is in the original Javan.

The Roman Empire: Little Horn.

Vision, verses 9–13: "And out of one of them (the four horns) came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east and toward the pleasant land. And it waxed great even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them, yea, he magnified himself even against the prince of the host, and from him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And the host was given over for the transgression against the daily sacrifice, and it cast down the truth to the ground and it practiced and prospered."

Interpretation verses 23–26: "And in the latter time of their (the four horns') kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practice, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes but he shall be broken without hand.

Many expositors have thought this little horn to symbolize Antiochus Epiphanes, the Græco-Syrian persecutor of the Jews; but Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton have both shown that there are very strong characteristics in this horn that are not applicable to Epiphanes, and so those two as also most modern expositors apply the symbol to Rome.

And, now, as to those characteristics, which show it to mean Rome, we have first to notice that the little horn is represented by "a king of fierce countenance," which means a kingdom or nation of fierce warriors, "and understanding dark sentences," which means a nation that in some long period of its history would be renowned for its spiritual as well as practical intelligence. This is remarkably true of Rome all through her history. The order was first the consultation of the Aruspices, then the review of the troops.

Again this little horn was to rise out of one of the four Grecian horns and "in the latter time of their kingdom;" and it was to wax exceeding great toward the South and toward the East and toward the pleasant land."

It is to be remembered that in the preceding chapter the prophet had been describing the Roman power rather at home in Europe than in Asia or Africa. Now, the Roman power rises conspicuously

in an eastern direction by the conquest of Macedon, one of the four horns here mentioned, and thence extended over Syria (toward the East) over Egypt (toward the South); and over Palestine, or "the pleasant land," which is really part of Arabia, though reckoned in Syria. The rise of this little horn or kingdom was to take place "when the transgressors should be come to the full." The Macedonian dominions in Asia had become replete with wickedness, and that wickedness acted out in a most shameful manner against God's peculiar people and their religion before their conquest by the Romans.

Vision, verse 10: "And it waxed great even against the host of heaven; and is cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground and stamped upon them."

Interpretation, verses 24–25: "And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power; and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practice and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by prosperity shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand."

I have noticed before how easily the Macedonians assimilated with the Romans after their conquest in 168 B. C., and it was after this time that Rome largely by their means aggrandized itself. The Roman name, after its conquest of Greece, the greatest power that had preceded it in the world, became truly famous. Rome now became mighty, but not by its own power. This is explainable in two ways as follows: After its conquest of Macedon Rome utilized largely the provincial soldiers, under Roman officers, to do its field service: And, secondly, we can have no doubt that the Lord designed the Roman polity to accomplish certain results in the world, in the line of his will. Christ said to the Roman procurator, "Thou couldst have no power at all against me except it were given thee from above." Even the destruction of the Jewish polity did not take place before the transgressors were come to the full in that nation. He said to his persecutors: "Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth." In thirty-seven years after the crucifixion Jerusalum was destroyed and the Jewish polity subverted.

"It waxed great even against the host of heaven and cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground and stamped upon them." Which means that the Roman power, both pagan and

papal, was to prevail against God's people, both Israelitish and Christian, and cast them down to the ground and "stamp upon them," tread them under foot. The "host of heaven" has primal reference here to the Jewish government of Church and State, which was entirely subverted in 70 A. D.; and some of the host and of the stars would refer to the entire suppression of the Jewish religion, as of itself, farther than it obtained a standing among the religions of the empire; but it included only *some* of the host and of the stars, that is, religious teachers, for Christianity was deemed a Jewish religion and it survived as the religion of the empire after Constantine. It was the Jewish government, first, that was cast to the ground and "stamped upon" by the pagan Romans; and, afterwards, it was the Jewish church and the Jewish people, too, which was cast to the ground and "stamped upon" by the Christian or papal Roman power. That people and their synagogue were very notably cast to the ground and stamped upon in the papal Roman empire from the fact that the whole was outlawed and had no legal standing in the empire. Was it, therefore, not stamped upon?

Vision, verse 11: "Yea, he magnified himself against the prince of the host; and from him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down."

Interpretation, verse 25: "He shall stand up against the prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand."

The terms "prince of the host" and "prince of princes" have reference to Jehovah, for such appellations in this connection can only apply to him: "And the place of his sanctuary was cast down" has plain reference to the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple by the Romans: "but he shall be broken without hand" applies evidently to the supplanting of the power of the little horn, both pagan and anti-Christian, by Messiah's kingdom, that kingdom of the stone cut out of the mountain without hands and which is to fill the whole earth.

"And from him the daily (sacrifice) was taken away and the place of his sanctuary was cast down;" the temple having been destroyed the daily sacrifice accustomed to be offered there ceased; the place of his sanctuary, which was cast down, was the city and temple. "And the host was given over for transgression against the daily sacrifice," an expression which of itself explains why the Jewish polity was subverted: "and it cast down the truth to the

ground and it practised and prospered" is true of the Roman Little Horn, both pagan and anti-Christian. This Little Horn coincides chronologically with the iron or fourth kingdom of the great image of chapter II., and with the fourth beast of chapter VII.

Vision, verse 13: "Then I heard one saint speaking and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake: How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation to give both the sanctuary and host to be trodden under foot."

Interpretation, verses 14 and 26: "And he said unto me, unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings, then shall the sanctuary be justified." — "And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for many days."

Now the Jewish sanctuary or temple with the Mosaic dispensation being not to be restored it is evident the sanctuary and host is used metonymically for the two departments of the nationality of God's Israel, the sanctuary being put for the church or worship, and the host for the civil department of the nationality. The domination of Gentile or unclean power over the nation of Israel was to continue 2,300 evenings and mornings, which is translated, into our version, days, but is so expressed in the original because the sacrifices were offered twice daily, once in the morning and once in the evening. Some versions have it 2400 evenings and mornings, and the reckoning of the period with either sum must begin in the year 70 A. D., when on the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple by the Romans the daily sacrifice ceased to be offered.

If this number is to be taken as a single number, and, as in the case of the other numbers, each day representing a year, then its fulfillment pertains to the future; but if it is to be understood as the double of a period, meaning the same as itself, which period points to something in the future, relating to God's Israel, then we have the following epochs pointed to by it. Dating from the year 70 A. D., the date of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, to which this number with its sacrificial meaning points, we have $\frac{2300}{2} = 1150+70=1220$ A. D., a date which had just witnessed the persecution of the Albigeois for their religious opinions. Adding to this date $\frac{1}{7}$th of 1150 for Sabbath days we have 1384 A. D., a date at which Wickliffe had finished his translation of the Bible, the reading of which brought persecution and death to so many persons both on the continent and in England. To this last date adding $\frac{1}{52}$nd of 1150 for the annual legal rest days besides the regular Sabbath days we have 1406–7 A. D. Speaking of the reign of

Henry IV. of England (1399–1413) Willard (Univ. Hist., p. 267) says: "In this reign the first laws were passed for punishing heretics by death. William Sawtry, a Wickliffite rector, was burnt at Smithfield; the first Christian in England, who was put to death by men professing to be Christians for alleged errors of opinion." In this way you perceive, therefore, the sanctuary was *justified*, that is, the sanctuary of millions of human bodies, in whose heart of hearts the Holy Spirit was enshrined, were given to destruction by fire, rather than that the principles which were known to be true and of God should be denied.

In the period we have now considered the independence of the thirteen Swiss cantons, which constituted the confederacy in 1353 A. D., began to be achieved, and this was at considerable sacrifice in blood and treasure for the confederates.

If now to the date 1406–7 last given we add $\frac{1}{7}$th of 1150 years for Sabbatic time, minus $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{52}$nd of this $\frac{1}{7}$th on account of the Sabbath days and legal holidays already included, we have 1544 A. D. To this adding $\frac{1}{50}$th of 1150 years for Jubilee time minus $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{52}$nd, on account of the Sabbath days and legal holidays, we have the date 1563–4 A. D., at which time the Reformed in France were subjected to great persecution by the Guises. This is the date of the battle of Dreux:

The vision we have just reviewed in Ch. VIII. coincides with the two preceding in Ch. II. and VII. respectively, and gives additional particulars as to the growth and works of the Roman empire, especially in the east.

Daniel, Chapter. IX.

The Seventy Weeks.

The next prophecy of Daniel, in which we are here concerned, is that of the seventy weeks, which was given to Daniel in answer to prayer through the instrumentality of the Angel Gabriel.

Dan. IX., 23 to end of chapter: "At the beginning of thy supplication the word came forth and I am come to show it; for thou art greatly beloved; therefore understand the matter and consider the vision. Seventy weeks are abridged in relation to thy people and to thy holy city, to finish the transgression and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy and to anoint the Most Holy. Know, therefore, and understand

that from the going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah, the prince, shall be seven weeks and three score and two weeks; the streets shall be built again and the wall even in troublous times. And after three score and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate."

A reading of this 24th verse, the second of our quotation, shows that something very wonderful might be expected to occur in relation to the Jewish nation and ultimately to the world after the expiration of the seventy weeks which were here abbreviated to Daniel's people. Then was to be anointed the Most Holy and brought in everlasting righteousness.

I have already explained of those weeks that they are to be understood as labor weeks of six days each, to which Sabbath day time requires to be added in order to make full weeks. It remains for me now to show at what date those weeks commence. This date is said in verse 25 to be that of the issuance of a decree to restore and to build Jerusalem after the captivity at Babylon should be ended.

There were three decrees issued in regard to the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple, the first by Cyrus in 536 B. C.: the second by Darius Hystaspes, in about 519 B. C., which was in ratification of the first and added many new clauses; and the third by Artaxerses in 457 B. C. In accordance with the first deree the temple was built and dedicated (See Ezra, Chs. I. to VI. inclusive), although the Jews in the progress of the work met with much opposition from the Samaritans. (See also Bk. of Exra, VII. to X. inclusive in regard to the decree given to Ezra.)

It appears plain, however, that there had been more attention given to the building of the temple, as according to the decree of Cyrus, than there had been to the building of the walls and residences of the city: For, in the first place, Cyrus in his proclamation (Ezra, Ch. I.) gives no instructions as to the building of the wall or of anything else except the temple; and, in the second place, nothing is stated specifically as to the building of the wall.

Nehemiah (Bk. of Nehem. III.—VIII.) had gone up from Babylon to Jerusalem and joined Ezra in the prosecution of the work, after which the wall was finished in fifty-two days: (Neh. VI., 15.)

We may, therefore, understand that in accordance with the decree of Cyrus the Jews gave attention particularly to the building of the temple, the erection of which Cyrus' decree only specified: Secondly that the decree of Darius (Ezra VI., 1–16) was issued in order to prevent the Samaritans from disturbing the Jews while engaged in the work of reconstruction, and to provide that they should want for nothing necessary for their use, which could be afforded to them by the governors west of the river Euphrates, while engaged in this reconstruction: And, thirdly, that in the carrying out of the decree of Artaxerses II. they attended particularly to the building of the wall and of the city proper, as seen from the seventh chapter to the end of the book of Ezra and from the story continued in the book of Nehemiah. And, thus, Daniel specifies in his prophecy (IX. 25); "Know, therefore, and understand that from the going forth of the decree to build Jerusalem again unto the Messiah the prince shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks; the street shall be built again and the wall even in troublous times."

How true to the words of the prophecy were the events of this rebuilding in their progress! For how many years the work was retarded by the opposing Samaritans! In the book of Esther it is seen how that Haman prevailed upon Ahasuerus (Darius Hystaspes) to issue a decree for the destruction of the Jews throughout his dominions, and how that in the providence of God through the instrumentality of Esther and Mordecai that dreadful calamity was averted. Doubtless the opposing Samaritans took occasion of every circumstance, which they could use against the Jews; but this people could eventually exclaim as did John Wesley at a later day, when he saw the cause, he was endeavoring to promote, so violently opposed by the wordlings: "The best of all is God is with us!"

If now we take the year 457 B. C. as the date of the issuance of the decree of Artaxerses I. (Longimanus) to Ezra then the seventy weeks of Daniel's prophecy concerning the Messiah were fulfilled at the Crucifixion, as according to our common Biblical chronology: For the seventy weeks counting a day for a year as is usual in such cases, make 490 years ($70\times7=490$), and $457+33$ (the latter being the length of the earthly life of Jesus Christ) make 490 years.

The seventy weeks given by Gabriel to Daniel (IX. 24) are in the three following verses (25–6–7) divided into seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week. He specifics in the 26th verse that it was after the sixty-two weeks that the Messiah should he cut off, that is, the sixty-two weeks as well as the seven weeks should have passed when the Messiah should be cut off, which cutting off therefore was to take place in the 70th week.

But this division of the seventy weeks, in the order given, leaves us, as time epochs: 408 B. C., that is 457 B. C. less by one week of years (457—7×7 or 49=408); and 26 A. D., that is the end of the 69 weeks and the beginning of the 70th in the middle of which (A. D. 30) took place Christ's baptism and begun his active ministry (properly 457 B. C. +26+3½=29½ A. D.).

In connection with the first-named of those dates (408 B. C.) may be mentioned the building of the temple on mount Gerizim in Samaria. As seen in the last chapter of the book which bears his name Nehemiah, in his zeal to maintain the law of Moses, obliged all who had married heathen wives to separate from them or quit Jerusalem. Manasseh, a son of Joiada, the high priest being one of the proscribed, rather than part with his wife, accompanied her to her father, Sanballat, governor of Samaria. The Samaritans had previously blended the worship of their idols with that of Jehovah, and Sanballat now obtained from Darius Nothus (the successor of Artaxerses, who had commissioned Nehemiah) a commission to build upon mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple, whereof he appointed Manasseh, his son in law, high priest. The Samaritans were accustomed to assert the superior sanctity of this temple to that at Jerusalem and thus the hatred existing between them, and the Jews was intensified. It is evident this establishment drew to itself many of the Jews, who would otherwise worship at Jerusalem, and it seems the prophet intended to mark this foundation as an epoch.

In connection with the second of these dates the last week (the last seven years of Messiah's life) was to begin, when (during its progress) he would "confirm the covenant with many;" for "in the midst of the week" at (29½ A. D.) "he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease," that is, by the exercise of his earthly ministry. After Christ's baptism, which took place in the midst of this week, or when he was 29½ years old, he proceeded to his ministry, as the great high priest of our salvation, foretold by Moses and the prophets, and so took the place of the old Mosaic

priesthood and the oblation offered by them. He, therefore, at the beginning of his earthly ministry, caused the old oblation to cease to all who believed in him; and at the end of the week, that is, at the end of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of his ministry, which was the end of the last week of the seventy of the prophecy, he finished his work by the offering up of himself as the sacrifice, then offered for all who would believe in him for all time. Though Gibbon and others seem to think it wonderful how that Christ could have been at the same time both priest and victim, yet to the spiritual man the thing is clear as being an act of the will of Christ. The whole thing is explained thus that Christ offered himself as a sacrifice for the sins of the world. He caused the sacrifice and the oblation to cease by the sacrifice of himself; "and," afterwards, "upon the battlements" (of that city which had compassed his death) "shall be the idols of the desolator," when Jerusalem should be destroyed in 70 A. D. by the Romans,—"even until the consummation and that determined shall be poured upon the desolator," that is, by the future people of Messiah, the prince. That old Roman government overcame the Jewish polity, but was itself overcome in time by Christianity, the true kingdom of the Messiah.

A proper rendering of verses 26 and 27 of Dan. IX. is as follows: "And after" (that is seven years after) "three score and two years shall Messiah be cut off, and shall have nothing; and they" (the Jews) "shall be no more his people; and the end thereof" (that is, of the Jewish polity) "shall be with a flood" (that is of war), "and to the end of the war they" (the Jews) "shall be cut off by desolations. And he" (Messiah) "shall confirm a covenant with many" (that is, with his desciples and followers) "for one week" (that is, for seven years), "and in the midst of the week" (that is $3\frac{1}{2}$ years before his death) "he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation" (that is, the Jewish priestly office with the rite of sacrificing animals) "to cease" (that is by the exercise of his own earthly ministry), "and" (after his crucifixion) "upon the batttements" (of that doomed city which compassed his death), "shall be the idols of the desolator, even until the consummation and that determined shall be visited upon the desolator" (that is, by the future people of Messiah, the prince).

It is, therefore, seen how clearly Daniel tells, first, the time of the full re-establishment of the old Jewish polity by Ezra and Nehemiah (in seven weeks, or forty-nine years, after the giving of the decree by Artaxerses to Ezra, which was a period of "troub-

lous times"). Secondly (while passing over the time of his natural birth), he indicates, as is supposed, clearly, the time of his baptism (which symbolizes the new birth or the birth into the heavenly kingdom of the true disciples of Christ, the true children of God, and which is the birth-time best worthy of being noticed); this also indicates the beginning of true and acceptable service, the time of the commencement of Christ's active ministry; with, thirdly, the time of his death; indicating, at the same time, the future universal prevalence of the Messiah's kingdom.

Daniel, Chapter XI.

In this eleventh chapter of the book of Daniel is another prophecy or series of prophecies, which are so connected with our subject as to necessitate here from us a passing notice:

Verses 1 and 2 are as follows: "In the first year of Darius the Mede, even I stood to confirm and to strengthen him. And now I will show thee the truth. Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."

The four kings mentioned to arise after Darius, whose name in the Greek is Cyaxares, was Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius Hystaspes and Xerses, his son, which last was richer than they all, and made the celebrated invasion of Greece. Daniel does not mention Smerdis, whose reign during a few months only was contemporary with Cambyses.

"And a mighty king shall stand up that shall rule with great dominion and do according to his will."

Passing from the time of Xerxes, for about a century and a quarter, the prophet now points, in his discourse, to the rise of Alexander's dominion: Verse 4: "And when he shall stand up his kingdom shall be broken and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion, which he rules; for his kingdom shall be plucked up even for others beside those." This represents the division of Alexander's kingdom among his principal generals soon after his death. A sanguinary struggle of twenty years followed the death of Alexander during which those officers contended among themselves for mastery. Finally, by the battle of Ipsus, in 301 B. C., the conflict was ended by the division of the empire as follows:

Casander received Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus Thrace and nearly all Asia Minor; Seleucus received Syria and the East (and he afterwards conquered Asia Minor, Lysimachus being slain): And Ptolemy received Egypt and had his conquests of Palestine, Phœnicia and Cyprus confirmed to him: For, previously, in 320 B. C., Ptolemy had marched an army into Palestine, conquered the country, and taken 100,000 of the Jews captive to Egypt. And so, referring to this, the prophecy, verse 5, says: "And the king of the South shall be strong, and one of his princes; and he shall be strong above him (one of the strongest of the four powers) and have dominion, his dominion shall be a great dominion." In Egypt the captive Jews in this age fared so well, being appointed to so many offices of trust and emolument in that kingdom, that many of their coutrymen took occasion to follow them, and have a share in the common Israelitish weal in the valley. It was in the time of this first Ptolemy (Soter) that Simon the Just, the high priest of the Jews, who is distinguished for having completed the sacred canon of the Old Testament, died.

Ptolemy (Philadelphus) having succeeded to the throne of Egypt, the Jews found in him as generous a protector as they had experienced in his father (Pt. Soter). It was during his reign that the version of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint, was effected in the Greek. Egypt in that age cut a very remarkable figure in history, both in literature and in arms, and it was no wonder that it should have been distinguished in the prophecy, as the strong kingdom of the South, "a great dominion." In like manner, also, Syria was distinguished as the kingdom of the north.

Antiochus (Theos), having succeeded his father, Antiochus (Soter) on the throne of Syria, in about 261 B. C., maintained a long and sanguinary war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, which they at last terminated by a treaty of marriage; in which it was stipulated that Antiochus was to divorce his wife, Laodice, and marry Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter. On the death of Philadelphus, two years later, however, Antiochus put away Berenice and recalled Laodice, who, fearing another change, caused him to be poisoned, cut off Berenice with her son and all her Egyptian attendants and placed her own son, Callinicus, upon the throne of Syria. But Ptolemy Euergetes, who had succeeded his father on the throne of Egypt, defeated and slew Laodice and made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia in revenge for his sister's death. Callinicus, two years afterwards, in endeavoring to recover his dominions from

Ptolemy, was overthrown in battle; but Ptolemy, learning that Antiochus, brother of Callinicus, was preparing a strong force against him, came to an agreement with Callinicus, and peace was concluded between them for ten years, B. C. 243. At this time Judea, being tributary to Egypt, was assessed annually at twenty talents.

Now, how clearly the interrelations of Egypt with Syria in this age is shown by the prophecy, vs. 6–7: "And in the end of the years they shall associate together; for the king's daughter of the South (Berenice) shall come to the king of the north (Antiochus) and make an agreement; but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in those times. But out of a branch of her roots shall one (Ptolemy Euergetes) stand up in his place, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north and shall deal against them and shall prevail."

Not long after the foregoing events (248 B. C.) Antiochus the Great taking advantage of the accession of the profligate prince Plotemy (Philopater) seized upon Coele Syria, although in the following year he was totally defeated by Ptolemy in the field of Raphia, near Gaza, and forced to retreat to Antioch. Ptolemy then made a progress through Syria, and coming to Jerusalem, made valuable presents to the temple, but being prevented from entering the Holy of Holies by Simon the High Priest, he departed to Egypt full of rage against the Jews, depriving them of the privileges they enjoyed there and acting towards them with great cruelty. Having made peace with Antiochus Ptolemy died in 204 B. C. and was succeeded by his infant son, Ptolemy (Epiphanes).

Antiochus, thinking this a favorable opportunity, entered into an agreement with Philip, king of Macedon, to divide the dominions of the king of Egypt between them, and, accordingly, having marched with an army into Cœlesyria and Palestine he speedily subdued those provinces. Antiochus, however, being soon after engaged in a war with Attalus, king of Pergamus, the Egyptians, taking advantage of the situation, sent an army into Palestine under Scopas, who soon reduced that country and Cœlesyria, putting a garrison in Jerusalem (199 B. C.). But the following year Antiochus again becoming master of Palestine and Cœlesyria, the Jews, on this occasion, rendered him such important services that he confirmed them in all the privileges granted them by Alexander

the Great. After this Antiochus being intent on his war with the Romans married his daughter, Cleopatra, to Ptolemy (Epiphanes) and gave in dowery with her the provinces of Cœlesyria and Palestine.

In some years afterwards (188 B. C.) Antiochus, having attempted to seize upon Egypt, was entirely defeated by the Romans and mulcted in the sum of 12,000 talents. Returning to Antioch and being unable to raise the money he marched into his eastern provinces to collect tribute, but in attempting to rob the rich temple at Elymais he was slain by the inhabitants. His son Selencus (Philopater), who succeeded him, was remarkable for little else than for raising the taxes to defray the tribute which the Romans had exacted from his father and he is the same that is understood by commentarians as indicated in verse 20: "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes; — but within few days he shall be destroyed neither in anger nor battle:" which proved true, for, in a short time after, 176 B. C., Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus, who attempted to usurp the throne. But Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, on his return from Rome, where he had been for some time detained as a hostage, being instructed that there was another party forming on the side of Ptolemy (Philometer) king of Egypt, and that both of them were agreed not to give unto him the honor of the kingdom, as is indicated in verse 21: "And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honor of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably and obtain the kingdom by flatteries:" I say Antiochus on his return from Rome being instructed that there was another party forming in the interest of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, applied to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and to Attalus, his brother, and, "by flattering speeches," and promises of friendship, prevailed with them to help him against Heliodorus. Antiochus was by their help placed on the throne of Syria. On his accession he assumed the cognomen of Epiphanes, or the Illustrious, but having turned out to be a remarkably vile person he was styled by others Epimanes, the madman. Being pressed by the Romans for the tribute due, he, among other means of meeting the demand, "deposed the high priest, Onias, and sold the Jewish pontificate to Jason, his brother, for the annual sum of 360 talents (B. C. 172): He afterwards, however, deposed Jason and sold the office to Menelaus for 660 talents." Although this be found in the history I must say in passing that it looks in part not only apocryphal but incredible;

for, in the first place, the name Oneias (Ænghæs or Æneas) in the old language is the same with Jason in the more modern; and, in the second place, the story of 660 talents, even of silver, as being given for the Jewish pontificate, is too transparently a fiction or a falsehood as to merit no farther consideration.

It is regarded by the commentarians as evidencing the fulfillment of prophecy, the recital by the profane historians of what transpired between those two kings,—the one mean and vile, the other pusillanimous. The prediction was that "both of those kings hearts shall be to do mischief and they shall speak lies at one table" (v. 27); and the historian tells us that "they frequently ate and conversed together; but that yet, each was intent upon the ruin of the other." Antiochus, at this time professed to assume to himself the direction of the affairs of Egypt, merely for the interest of Ptolemy, his nephew; but was in reality at the same time plotting his destruction. The latter, on the other hand, affected to confide in the good intentions of Antiochus, while he yet penetrated his purposes and was only looking for a favorable opportunity to break with him.

Taking offense at the demand of the curators of young Ptolemy for the provinces of Cœlesyria and Palestine, which had been assigned for the dowery of Cleopatra, Antiochus marched to the Egyptian frontier, and, defeating the forces of Ptolemy at Pelusium, ascended to Memphis, making himself master of all Egypt except Alexandria. Cyprus now revolted to the side of Antiochus, and the effeminate Ptolemy also fell into his hands (see vs. 22–26).

While Antiochus was in Egypt a false report having been spread of his death, Jason, at the head of 1,000 men, in order to recover the pontificate, surprised the city, Jerusalem, shut Menelaus up in the castle, and put to death all whom he considered his adversaries. Antiochus, while absent, being informed of these events and supposing that the whole Jewish nation had revolted, hastened out of Egypt to quell the rebellion. When being told that the people of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings at the report of his death he was so provoked that having marched for the city and taken it by storm (B. C. 170) he slew 40,000 persons, more or less, sold as many more into slavery, plundered the temple of gold and furniture to the value of 800 talents, entered the Holiest Place, and sacrificing a sow upon the altar of burnt offerings, caused the broth of it to be sprinkled all over the temple. He then returned to Antioch, laden with the spoils both of Egypt and Judea (see v. 28). He now

appointed one Philip, a barbarously cruel man, governor of Judea, and confirmed Menelaus in the pontificate.

Antiochus now learning that the Alexandrians had made Ptolemy (Physcon) king instead of his brother (Philometer), made a third expedition into Egypt, under pretense of restoring the deposed king. On perceiving that the civil war waging between the two brothers would quickly render the country an easy prey to him he affected to restore the kingdom to Philometer, excepting only Pelusium, and returned to Antioch. Suspecting his designs, however, Philometer and Physcon agreed to reign jointly in peace, an engagement which so enraged Antiochus, that he again (now for the fourth time) invaded Egypt as far as Memphis, and advanced to besiege Alexandria. But Roman ambassadors (168 B. C.) charged him to withdraw his forces from Egypt, if he regarded the friendship of their state and so he was obliged to return toward Syria (see vs. 29–30). But while marching back through Palestine, he sent a detachment of 20,000 men under Appollonius with orders to destroy Jerusalem, to put the male inhabitants to the sword and to make slaves of the women and children. On a Sabbath day, when the people were assembled for worship, these orders were rigorously executed, so that none escaped except such as could hide in caves or seek the mountains by flight. After despoiling the city of all its wealth they set fire to it in several places, and pulled down the walls and houses; and then with the ruins they built a strong fortress on Acra, an eminence overlooking the city and temple: v. 30.

After the king had arrived at Antioch he issued a decree directing all the people in his dominion to conform to the religion of Greece and sent one Athenæus, a Greek, to initiate the Jews into the Grecian rites and to punish with death those who refused.

On the arrival of this functionary at Jerusalem he caused all sacrifices to the God of Israel to cease, suppressed all the observances of the Jewish religion, profaned the Sabbath and festivals, forbade that their children be circumcised, burned every copy of the law which he could find, polluted the temple itself, dedicated it to Jupiter Olympus, erected his statue on the altar of burnt offerings, and put every one to death who was found to have acted contrary to what the king had commanded. In all this work he is said to have been assisted by apostate Jews. See vs. 31–34, which the following history of the Asmoneans will illustrate further.

Mattathias, great grandson of Asmonæus, from whom the family

name Asmonæan is derived, retired with his five sons from the persecution at Jerusalem to his native place in the country of Dan. Apelles, one of the king's officers, followed them to the place of their retreat in order to enforce the king's decrees, and having convened the people he addressed himself to Mattathias to persuade him to embrace the Grecian religion, promising him, if he would conform, great favor and wealth. The priest, however, not only rejected this counsel but slew the first Jew, who desired to approach the idolatrous altar, and then, turning upon the king's commissioner, he with his band, despatched him and all his attendants. After this, putting himself at the head of as many Jews as he could collect, he broke down the idols and altars of the heathen and retired into the mountains. Here being joined by numbers, who were strict in their observances of the Jewish law, his company now amounting to a small army, he came out of his retreat and took the field. Marching round the cities of Judah he pulled down the heathen altars, restored circumcision, cut off all apostates and destroyed all persecutors, wherever he came, and in all places, where he prevailed, again re-established the Jewish worship. After a year's fatigue of this kind Mattathias died (167 B. C.) and was succeeded by his son Judas, surnamed Maccabæus, as is said from Maccabah, a hammer, in the leadership.

Judas showed himself a worthy successor of his father; for having successively vanquished the various governors and commanders, who had appeared against him, he recovered the temple, repaired it, restored the worship of God therein, appointed the feast of the dedication to be kept annually, the first sacrifice being offered on the 21st of Chislen, 6th December, 165 B. C. He now also restored Jerusalem, which had been well-nigh in ruins, a result which, with all that we have seen before, happened to it from the difficulties in which Antiochus found himself; for he, having been engaged in an expedition against the Persians, who, with the Armenians had revolted from him, now hearing of the defeat of his generals by the Jews, threatened utterly to destroy the whole Jewish race, and make Jerusalem their common burial-place. But these threats he did not have time fully to carry out; for he died the next year (164 B. C.) and was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Antiochus Eupator, then but nine years old. His tutor Lysias, the Syrian governor, having combined with the Arabs, wrought much trouble to the Jews, but was manfully opposed by Judas Maccabæus, until the latter was slain by the enemy in 161 B. C.

John Hyrcanus, the brother's son of Judas, shook off the Syrian yoke, enlarged his dominions by seizing upon various places in Syria, Phœnicia and Arabia; took Shechem, and destroyed the temple on mount Gerizim (130 B.C.); extended his conquests over the Idumeans, whom he compelled to embrace the Jewish religion; renewed the league with the Romans, which had been made by his father Simon, by which he obtained greater privileges for Judea than that nation had ever enjoyed before; and, finally, through the instrumentality of his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, he utterly destroyed Samaria. After this he governed Judea, Samaria and Galilee two years, and died in the thirteenth year of his administration, leaving the pontificate and sovereignty to Aristobulus, his eldest son. This prince, who was the first after the captivity to assume the diadem and the title of king, was after a reign of one year succeeded by his brother Alexander Jannæus, who obliged the Philistines to embrace the Jewish religion. He also subdued the Moabites, Ammonites and part of the Arabians, and after a reign of twenty-seven years, died of a quartan ague brought on by intemperance, 79 B. C.

His widow, Alexandra, now governed the nation for nine years; but she having died, Aristobulus being joined by multitudes who hated the Pharisees, the dominant party during the preceding reign, contended for the crown and the pontificate against Hyrcanus, his elder but indolent brother, and succeeded in dispossessing him after a reign of only three months. In this struggle Hyrcanus was assisted by Aretas, a king of Arabia, who was obliged to withdraw his troops, when Aristobulus called in the aid of Rome in 65 B. C.; contrary to his expectations, however, Pompey, the Roman general, being appointed as umpire, decided in favor of the elder brother, Hyrcanus, took Jerusalem, and seated him in the government, though not permitting him to wear the diadem, and made Judea tributary to Rome, 63 B. C. At this time Pompey, with several of his officers, entered the Holiest place of the temple: and in the year 53 B. C. Crasus, the Roman general, pillaged the temple of a very large amount of silver.

At length Antipater, a crafty Idumean noble, was, by favor of Julius Cæsar, who had already prevailed against Pompey, made governor of Judea, and Hyrcanus continued in the pontificate, 47 B. C.

After Antipater's death his son, Herod the Great, by favor of Antony, the Roman triumvir, obtained the regal dignity in 40 B.

C., which authority was at length confirmed by Augustus Cæsar, B. C. 30. This prince maintained his dignity with great ability, but with remarkable cruelty both in his own family and towards others till the birth of Christ. In his reign he built many cities and almost rebuilt the temple on a magnificent scale, having begun the work in 21 B. C. After his cruel attempt to murder the infant Savior, as recorded by the evangelist, he soon died. In the progress of some years during which the dominions of Herod were governed by his sons, Judea became a Roman province, and the scepter departed from Judah for Shiloh had come, Gen. XLIX. 10. Palestine then remained under the government of Roman procurators, until the polity was subverted by Titus, in 70 A. D.

The eleventh chapter of Daniel has been found by commentators more difficult of interpretation than his other prophecies. Some have been disposed to refer the desecration of the temple and the plundering of it and of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes as the point from which to date the cessation of the Jewish worship and polity. But that desecration of it by Epiphanes, though a real one, was only of temporary effect, the real destruction referred to being that effected by the Romans in 70 A. D. This is clearly shown in the prophecy of the seventy weeks, Dan. IX. 26: "And after three-score and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off and shall have nothing, and *the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary:* and the end thereof shall be with a flood and until the end of the war desolations are determined."

This language, while clearly showing the time the destruction was to be effected, implies utter destruction, while the army of Appolonius sent there by Antiochus Epiphanes only effected a partial destruction of the city at the most and left the temple standing. But, in accordance with the prophecy of the Savior, the Romans under Titus effected so complete a destruction, as that it might be said of the temple, at least, if not as truly of the cities walls, that there was not left one stone upon another that was not thrown down: And it is seen that Christ himself, as seen in his discourse in relation to this, recorded in Matt. XXIV. 15, refers the desolation spoken of by Daniel (Dan. IX. 27, XII. 1) to one yet to be effected after his day. "When ye, therefore, shall see the abomination of Desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the Holy place — then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains," etc.

Since we now know definitely the point of time at which "the desolation" begins, and the rules to be applied to the periods of time given in the prophecies, in connection with the history, it is a comparatively easy matter for us to find the points in time at which they end and to survey retrospectively the histories embraced in the periods.

Hebrew Measures of Time.

The Hebrews reckoned in days, 24 hours each; in weeks of seven days each; in months of alternately 29 and 30 days, an additional month being added every third year; and in years, sacred and solar.

They had a sacred year of 364 days, or 52 weeks, and a civil year of 365 days, or 366 every fourth year. They had also a symbolic year of 360 days, or consisting of 12 months of 30 days each. In those symbolic reckonings of time they usually put a day for a year. Thus, it is said to the rebellious Israelites, in Numbers XIV. 34· "After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days (each day for a year), shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years; and ye shall know my altering of my purpose." And God says to the prophet (Ezek. IV. 6): "Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year." In the first of these two examples the year is put for the day, and in the second the day for the year. They also reckoned in weeks of years and in years of years.

If now we take, first, the seventy weeks and reduce them to years, we have $70\times7=490$ years. Adding to this $\frac{1}{7}$th of itself for Sabbath days and $\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{2}$nd of itself for the legal rest days besides we have $569\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{6}$ years as a result. From this subtracting 536 B. C., the date of the proclamation of Cyrus (Ezra, Ch. I, with date at top in the Bible) we have as a remainder $33\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{6}$ A. D., the date of the crucifixion of Christ. Does not this mode of reckoning exactly coincide with the direct mode given before in the case of the interval between the decree given by Artaxerses Longimanus to Ezra and the death of Christ?

Verse 30 of chapter XI. of Daniel, which we are yet considering, begins with a direct reference to the Roman empire. Antiochus Epiphanes had gone on his fourth expedition against Egypt, and the Roman senate now warned him not to interfere with that land; and the ambassadors having met him on the sea-shore where he

politely came to pay them his compliments, one of them made a circle with his staff round him as he stood on the sand and told him he required his answer before he left that circle. Epiphanes gave him a direct answer on the spot, which was that he would not then farther meddle with the affairs of Egypt, and soon after he departed with his army for Syria. See the whole account of this in Rollin. At that time the Romans were Republicans, and acted in a business-like way; and so far, we notice that in similar circumstances our men act much like they did. But, when shall we begin to talk about our Lee the first, or our Grant the great, or our Stonewall Jackson or Sheridan the incomparable? Such titles are like the pharasaiism generally, they are the offspring of hypocrisy, the indices of moral weakness and lack of virtue both individual and national.

"For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore, he shall be grieved and return and have indignation against the holy covenant; so shall he do."

Chittim or Kittim (Chaed-am) was one of the grandsons of Japheth and settled in the south of Europe. That the ancient Romans were his descendants bishop Newton has endeavored to make plain in his fifth Dissertation.

The prophet Balaam had predicted this event of the coming of the Romans. He said: "Ships shall come from the coast of Chittim and shall afflict Asshur and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish forever." Numb. XXIV. 24. In Balaam's prediction Asshur and Eber are put for Assyria and Palestine.

With the demand of Rome Epiphanes complied reluctantly and on his return, as we have seen, vented his indignation against the Jews by detaching Appolonious with 20,000 men to plunder and destroy their city, slay its inhabitants and pillage their temple.

Those calamities Josephus ascribes to the factions who communicated with Antiochus and persuaded him to invade Judea. Thus he had intelligence with those that forsook the holy covenant." v. 30.

Verse 31: "And arms shall stand on his part and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength and shall take away the daily (sacrifice) and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate."

Arms distinguished the Roman nation; in fact arms seems to have been a synonym for the Roman power. Virgil begins his Æneid with the line *Arma virumque Cano*, "Arms and the man I sing," referring to Æneas (Ænghæs), the reputed founder of

the Roman nation in Italy. As seen in Jer. XLVIII. 25, and Ezek. XXX. 22, arms are an expression used in the Scriptures to denote the military power of a nation. The same year in which Epiphanes being foiled at Alexandria, sends Appollonius with an army to sack and plunder Jerusalem and its temple, and to slay its inhabitants, the Romans conquered Maccedon, which made Rome now the military nation *per se*, the power which might well be called Arms. This Roman conquest of Macedon with the controlling influence which we see it now exercised over Syria and Egypt, gave it in effect the command of the east. It expanded, indeed, toward Asshur and toward Eber. They prevailed in the east now north of Mount Taurus, and in Europe over the warlike countries of Illyricum and the Danube. Their little horn springing out of the Macedonian conquest was by no means, I imagine, like that of an ox: no, no, it was a more complicated affair, more nobly branching, if I may so to speak, than that of a stag, "toward the south and toward the east and toward the pleasant land," as well as away up into Illyricum, and Peannonia and the Danubian countries. Now, Rome and Greece are henceforth one; Rome has succeeded to the power of Macedonia and henceforth will utilize its warlike material in her service. This prophecy of the rise of the Roman power in Asia, in the varied way in which this is represented, may be considered unique.

"And they (arms) shall pollute the sanctuary of strength and shall take away the daily (sacrifice"). We have seen how Epiphanes did this, and also his general Apollonius; but it was done most effectually by the Romans in 70 A. D. After this date there was no city or temple left to quarrel about.

"And they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate." The placing of the abomination in this case means, first, the permanent rule over themselves and their patrimony of a people deemed unholy by the Israelites; and, secondly, it has reference to an abomination set up in State and Church Christianity in the Roman empire, during a time, times and a half.

In his premonitions to the people of Jerusalem, as to how it behooves them to act when they see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing where it ought not, the Savior's language implies that, when they find themselves in such condition they should get off as best they can and lose no time in getting to a place of safety: And, so, by all means, when people find in their heart any unclean thought, any abominable

thing, which maketh them spiritually desolate, they should lose no time in fleeing to the mountains, to the rock that is higher than they.

Verse 32: "And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits:"

When Epiphanes undertook to introduce the Grecian religion instead of the Jewish worship in Palestine, he, through his agents, offered the Jews a great many inducements to conform, "to turn over." Induced and deceived by such flatteries many of them did conform; but many rejected his offers and his idols with scorn; among whom were conspicious Mattathias, his son Judas Maccabeus, and their Maccabean house. Those, however, who in such circumstances act rightly, though they be not conspicuous are none the less worthy of praise. During the period of a time, times and a half in State and Church Christianity when the martyr was led and tied to the stake the padre-confessor was present with his crucifix inducing them in the blandest language and with the most liberal offers to recant and be reconciled to mother church. But, although the simple expression "I recant," etc., insured the martyr life with its comforts, and, what was deemed in society then, respectability, still the martyr (he or she) chose to be burned alive (only think of it!) rather than utter these simple words, and thus lyingly deny the principle of truth, that very principle for the defense of which Christ saw fit to endure the pains of crucifixion. For the men who made the laws which burned to death human beings because they would not profess a certain religious creed I have no respect whatever! Even the frenzied Epiphanes is more tolerable by far in my judgment; for we do not learn that he concocted, or invented any such diabolical tortures as those of burning living beings to death nor do we learn that he enacted any law for the burning of human beings who would not profess the silly tenets of his mysterious religion. Yes, those who refused those conditions, accommodations and "flatteries" of Epiphanes and of those of a worse stamp in the same line that came after were those who "were strong and did exploits."

Verse 33: "And they that understand among the people shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil many days:"

Notice the history of the Maccabees. Of those, however, we have but comparatively few though shining examples. Yet there were undoubtedly a great body of intelligent and true patriots and religionists among the Jews at and after the time of Epiphanes.

Though such be not known to us in history we entertain for them a great respect.

The men of understanding here also points to the apostles and primitive evangelists, who, first, after the crucifixion and then after the destruction of Jerusalem went abroad preaching the word. The passage embraces, first, the era from Epiphanes to the crucifixion; and, second, from the crucifixion to Constantine. During the Maccabæan history in the first era and the ten persecutions of pagan Rome against the primitive Christians in the second many true worshipers of Jehovah, and many true Christians, fell by sword, fire, captivity, etc.

Verse 34: "Now, when they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries."

After their fall under the power of Epiphanes the Jewish nation was holpen with such a little help as was derived to it from the exploits of that theocratical Maccabæan band, and all who clung to it or followed and obeyed it. In fact from the time of Epiphanes to the death of Christ the Jewish nation was very noticeably helped, and came to be a quite important nation mainly as a result of the exploits of the Ansmonean family. But the help was but little, at the most, for the Romans came in soon after and took "both their place and nation." Referring this to Christian times we find that during the ten persecutions, which preceded Church and State union, the Christians had fallen almost irrecoverably. The union of the State with the Church gave them, for a while, some relief; but their relief from that is properly termed "holpen with a little help." This rest or little help proved ultimately most injurious to the piety of the church: for many were attracted and adhered to the Christian power then, allured by the flattering prospect of preferment; so that the state church became a most hypocritical and worldly establishment.

During and after this period it is said in verse 35: "And some of them of understanding shall fall to try them and to purge and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed." The mention of the time of the end, as connected with the Jewish dispensation, would have reference to the time of the overthrow of the Jewish polity by Titus, and "till the time of the end" would indicate the interval between Epiphanes and that overthrow; but the time of the end in reference to Christianity would point to a time after the Protestant reformation,

say the American revolution ended, the French begun. Both those periods, the first as relating to the Jewish theocracy, after Epiphanes, the second, to State and Church Christianity, the latter including the very long period of a time, times and a half, are shown here to be times of great temptation for the true believers, first, for the true Israelitish theocrats, second, for the true and *bona fide* Christians: times not only of great temptation but of great persecution also for the good and true.

The Willful King: Antiochus — Rome.

Verse 36: "And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvelous things against the God of Gods and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished:"

While Faber explains the willful king of France, Bishop Newton applies it to the Papal Church. But the willful king was evidently in this connection, first, Epiphanes, and second, the Roman empire in all the stages of its history, which in the eye of God is only as a point in duration; and it is plain that France is only a portion of the old empire of Rome; while it is impossible to apply this power to the Church only, the willful king being in his day the greatest political power on earth. After Rome had conquered the Macedonian power in its different branches and after it had subdued Carthage there being no power to withstand it, of course it did according to its will. There being no power existing to dispute its will, it did as a matter of fact for ages, according to its will. Epiphanes did according to his will until that will was resisted, literally circumscribed by the Roman Popilius in the circle drawn on the sandy beach by his staff; but what was he and his day as compared with the Roman empire in the ages after its conquest of Macedon and Carthage? It was a power indeed which might fairly be symbolized by arms.

And, secondly, while Epiphanes did act in a most willful way and while all this is true of pagan Rome it still remains true that Rome of a later day, Rome anti-Christian did act most willfully and did "prosper till the indignation was accomplished," for all power of times and laws, all power civil and religious, all powers of the hand and of the head were given to the Little Horn during the period of its dominancy. This last application falls in with the phrase "and he shall exalt himself above every God;" for "every God," meaning a plurality of gods, shows that papalism would exalt itself

infinitely in and perhaps out of its own estimation above pagan polytheism. State and Church Christianity, whether you call it a royal and divine hierarchy or by the modest titles of papacy or prelacy, has never had a low opinion of itself, I assure you. Oh, no, it was away up High, exalted infinitely above all the gods of polytheism, above all that came before it. But the trouble has been that those hierarchies were away up too high for the people. The people could only stand in awe of those so-called hierarchies, and express ignorance of any thing about them. The people had to be agnostics in relation to them; it was dangerous for them to profess to know anything about such dignitaries; because these hierarchs were so infinitely elevated above the common herd they could not possibly condescend to come on a level with or to be intimately known by common mortals. Christ Jesus after he had preached to the multitudes on the mountains came down and abode with them on the plain; but after our Christian State and Church hierarchs had once become elevated they remained above, never condescended to come down "a peg" during the long period of a time and times and a half.

"And he shall speak marvelous things against the God of Gods." The Almighty God is spoken of here, and the language implies blasphemy against him. I do not think that the ancient polytheistic religions of the Roman empire, in any age or nation of the empire, knowingly or willingly, as religions, I mean, blasphemed or even spoke lightly of Him whom they understood to be the Supreme God. Neither did the religion of Greece, which Epiphanes endeavored to introduce. There was, it must be confessed, a transient outburst of blasphemy and varied diabolism exhibited among the French in the days of the revolution; but the scene of this exhibition was very contracted compared with the Roman empire, and the time of the exhibition was as it were a point as compared even with the time, times and a half of Christian Church and State dominancy. Considering what had been done under the name of Christ and the guise of religion during the long ages of Christian State and Church dominancy one would be disposed to look upon that French outburst in the revolution as a spontaneous expression of honest judgment upon the most arrant and downright hypocrisy. The State and Church system, the papacy and all, the revolution contemplated tearing up from the bottom, and getting rid of it root and branch. The French revolution, then, with its concomitants, some of which were unquestion-

ably evil, and will have an equitable judgment, is not looked upon by God as so much blasphemous against him as an expression of judgment, meant to be honest and effectual, against the vilest, and the most heartless, system of hypocrisy, carried on for such long ages under his name (only think of it) that has ever been known in history. You will, therefore, be able to judge, where the core of this evil be which the prophecy has in view, and in what those marvelous things said against the God of Gods really consisted. You will see, too, that there is another phase in which the Roman empire is to be considered besides its physical or brute-force phase, which in its republican days conquered the world. This is a spiritual phaze, if I may so speak, by which it afterwards, in State and Church system, conquered the world in another way.

The term "every god" might fairly imply that there were some among men accustomed to be called Gods. Even the Scriptures do not always limit the term God to Jehovah, the Supreme God, as we learn from the words of Moses and of Christ, thus: "Thou shalt not revile the gods nor curse the ruler of thy people." Ex. XXII. 28: "Is it not said in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If he called them gods to whom the word of God came and the scripture cannot be broken." Jno. X. 34–35. Here the judges and chief men of Israel are called gods. The "magnifying himself above every god" signifies, first, that the Roman government after its conquest of the nations would actually have no doubt in its mind as to its supreme position in relation to all and each of those nations; that its proconsuls, magistrates and officials generally, on their appearance in the provinces, would at once step into the supreme positions in the administration of the government, as regards all offices; and that the Romans would esteem themselves the best of society in those nations, whether the old societies in those nations should think so or not. This was eminently true, as to pagan Rome, for at least five hundred years of its dominancy; and then, we know, its Church and State Christianity took unhesitatingly precedency over all polytheism. The Christian hierarchies of that divine institution walked straight to their mark in supplanting old paganism by their new and holy religion; so that we read of them under the name of "knight-sword-bearers," "fighting bishops," "booted and spurred apostles," etc. Charlemagne and Otho and all those emperors, who spread Christianity by the sword in northern Europe and elsewhere, had no doubt in their minds that the religion they were

introducing or enforcing on those nations had a right to the precedency over all old pagan, polytheistic systems. It is very plain, therefore, that Rome, in the matter of her new and Christian religion, did magnify herself above every God. And, besides as to the spiritual head of that State and Church Christianity, when the laws which constituted that became fully developed, that very head had no doubt as to its right of precedency over all persons high in office in the Church; in fact that head did claim for itself divine honors, as having a right to the precedency over all that was ever before called God in their ignorant circles. History is quite plain as to this.

The description of the man of sin given by St. Paul coincides exactly with what is here given of this phase of the Roman power: "That man of sin shall be revealed, — who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or worshiped: So that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." 2 Thess. II., 3–4.

Verse 37: "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god; for he shall magnify himself above all."

That he should not regard the God of his fathers implies that the empire should change its religion; and it applies to the period of State and Church union after Constantine, pre-indicated by the iron mixed with the clay in the feet of the great image (Ch. II.). History does not show that the old Roman State limited itself as to marriage; but, in the period of State and Church Christianity, the Roman Church first limited its priesthood to a single marriage and then confined them to celibacy. The Greek branch of the Church allows its priests to marry; but its monks who do not marry are deemed worthy of the highest honor and attain to the bishoprics. During the long age of the dominancy of State and Church vast numbers of both sexes, called monks and nuns respectively, lived apart in celibacy; but some have said not always with remarkable purity or freedom from lascivious thoughts, without speaking of the grosser sexual sins. This self-restraint, therefore, of the willful king, in regard to the desire of women, seems not to apply to the old Pagan Roman government as such, but to a phase of its Christian State and Church dominancy.

"Nor regard any god, for he shall magnify himself above all." Pagan Rome respected the religions of the provinces only in so far as it judged them to subserve the stability and strength of the em-

pire: In this respect the English government seems to have acted much alike in its relation to India. The leading Romans of the old Empire, whose lives we are acquainted with in history or literature were not usually restrained in their course of action by any thought of religion or of a Supreme Being. This is shown, for example, in their prevailing practice of suicide, when they thought life burdensome or that they were about to fall into the power of an enemy or the like. This may be all summed up in the idea that Pagan Rome, nationally, and individually more or less, considered the interest of the republic and the individual, irrespectively of the thought of any Supreme Being besides. Not so with Daniel's people, the Hebrews; their government being a theocracy, the thought of a Supreme Being was interwoven with all their actions, national as well as individual. This makes the antithesis quite marked as between the Roman and the Hebrew systems of government and of national and individual thought. Is it any wonder that Daniel should have taken notice of those peculiarities in regard to Rome, so entirely different from the system of government and of thought of the people for whom he was directly writing? And, further, in regard to this antithesis, it is plain that the church, as represented in the Christian Roman State and Church, has claimed supremacy over kings and nations and churches, over all other authorities on earth. It has truly magnified itself above all.

Verse 38: "But as for the God Mahuzzim, in his seat he shall honor him, yea he shall honor a god, whom his fathers knew not, with gold and silver; and with precious stones and desirable things."

The word "forces," as in the ordinary translation, is in the original Mahuzzim, which means literally munitions, bulwarks, fortresses, etc.; or, as abstracts are used by the Hebrews for concretes, it may signify protectors, defenders, guardians, etc. The Septuagint reads, "He shall glorify Maodzim in his place."

That the meaning here is not the literal one of the willful king's honoring munitions, fortresses or forces as such is certain; for, in connection, it says he is to honor Maudzim in his seat, that is, in the old city, Rome, particularly and markedly; and this Maudzim, that he should honor particularly in the city, Rome, the peculiar seat of this willful king, was to be a god, whom his fathers knew not. This God Maudzim, therefore, was not the old celestial hierarchy of Rome, consisting of Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, etc., but a god which consisted of what was to be understood as defend-

ers, protectors, guardians. The god of guardians plainly means here a consolidated power, a spiritual power of guardians, under one who, as a spiritual functionary, is recognized as the head and prince of those guardians. This phase of our subject then plainly belongs to State and Church Christian Rome, and to a phase of that, which was to be particularly represented at the city Rome. It does not pertain to pagan Roman or pagan polytheism, but to a system of another name. In the progress of the government of Church and State, the worship of the virgin and of saints and angels were established by the secular as well as by the ecclesiastical power of Rome. This was so, as is well known, for fifteen centuries at least. The state church was very peculiarly a church of monasteries, nunneries, guardianships. "As for the god Maudzim, in his estate he shall honor him" signifies, also, that within the jurisdiction of the empire of State and Church, the highest secular power should pay marked honor and respect to the highest spiritual,— the term "he" shows this. To begin with Constantine in 325 A. D. called the bishops "gods on earth."

Bishop Newton has argued extensively that the honoring of the church after it became a vast community of monkeries and nunneries, and a worshiper of saints and angels, as protectors and defenders, was a peculiar and general characteristic of the civil power of the Roman empire.

"A god whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold and silver, and precious stones and pleasant things." The empire had changed its religion and now the character of its deportment to the new religion is indicated. The church establishment has received from the state the greatest wealth and honors which earth can afford. In lands, buildings, endowments, legacies, revenues, etc., the most extraordinary gifts have been bestowed on the church by the state. Nothing can equal the gold and silver ornaments, the costly gems and treasures, with which the empire church has been favored. Its shrines of gold and saints of silver, its gems and pearls are but suggestive of the wealth heaped upon it by the kings and princes of the empire during many ages. And in such way has this religion, or god Mahudzim, been honored by the ruling power of Rome since the days of Constantine.

Verse 39: "Thus shall he do in the fortresses of munitions with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory."

This is a repetition of what has gone before as to the change of

religion, and as to the great honors to be conferred upon the new religion, or god Mahudzim, by the state. The reiteration is made, as in all similar cases, to emphasize the general fact related of the political power honoring and enriching the spiritual. Even the states over which the pope has ruled so long, as temporal sovereign, were a gift from the secular power: "and he shall cause them to rule over many and shall divide the land for a price." This last sentence of verse 39 gives some additional information as to the god Mahudzim. "And he," the secular power, "shall cause them" that is, the god Mahudzim, "to rule over many." The pronoun "them," as the object of the verb, shows that the god Mahudzim means a plurality of persons, which were by the laws of the emperors, to be caused to rule over many. They ruled over every parish church of the empire, by virtue of these laws, and no one could dispute their right.

The pope, patriarchs, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, monks, deans, archdeacons, rectors, deacons, curates, lay readers, etc., who together constituted the government of the church, were, by law, the governors in ecclesiastical matters over the vast millions of the population; and they received their authority from the state originally, which has been confirmed from time to time and perpetuated to them by the civil authority.

The pronoun "he" denotes the supreme civil power, who endows "them," the heads of the church, with a delegated power, so that both are united in government of the empire, the latter being sub-governors.

"And shall divide the land for gain." The pronoun "he" being nominative of the verb "shall," in this sentence, shows that the division of the land, for church purposes, was to be primarily made by the secular power, though this land were afterwards controlled and managed by the church. This partition of the public domain of the whole empire to the church was by the first Christian emperors for a consideration, which is, in the original, called a price. This means that the judgment of the first Christian emperors was that the making of the church a partner with the secular government and people in the real estate of the empire would be helpful to themselves personally, in their then circumstances, or to the state permanently, perhaps both. There may be a spiritual idea thus recognized as motive, in which the plan of Mahudzim, or spiritual guardianship for the empire, is laid and carried out.

Now, in the regime of church and state the whole empire became divided into *dignities* and *benefices*. "The name dignity applies only to bishoprics, deaneries, archdeaconries and prebends: *benefices* apply to all ecclesiastical preferments under these degrees, as rectories and vicarages. Benefices are also divided into regular and secular: regular benefices are those held by monks of any order, abbeys, priories and convents; secular ones are those held by secular cures." Encyc. (R. K.). The revenues derived to the church from these, when all Europe is considered, was simply incalculable. Besides, the crime of simony, or sale of benefices, has prevailed to a large extent.

Hitherto in the exposition of this chapter, I have shown a coincidence of the willful king, arms, etc., with the Roman empire, considered in all its duration as an organized polity. I now enter upon the exposition of another phase of this vision, involving the changes brought about in the Roman empire in more modern times.

Verse 40 reads: "And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him, like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries and shall overflow and pass over."

As given to understand farther back the French revolution, which experienced many vicissitudes, until culminating in a republic in our day, is characteristic of "the time of the end" of the Roman empire of the west. The great actor in this revolution and for the world at large in his day was Napoleon Buonaparte.

"Shall the king of the south push at him." We were before speaking of the willful king, also represented by "Arms," which stand for Rome variously. But the king of the south and the king of the north being here brought upon the scene again after such a long interval, calls for a conflict between Egypt, the kingdom of the south, and the power in possession of Syria, the kingdom of the north, which power is the Turkish. The two direct powers then in this conflict were to be Egypt and Turkey; and this phase of the subject being introduced, as it were, so abruptly, while we were engaged with a phase of the Roman empire of the west, we need not be surprised if we find France to have a very effectual hand in this contest, in some sort of connection with Egypt, and another, a relatively northern power, which we find to be England, on the side of Turkey. As outlined here, therefore, we may expect to have a kind of

four-in-hand contest of the king of the south with the king of the north, but the contest will be found to be more varied than even this would imply.

Now, it is a fact that during the French revolution there existed a conflict between France and Egypt, a conflict in which Egypt made such a feeble resistance against the French as that it might be said to "push at him," while Turkey, the kingdom of the north, with her numerous allies from the like northern quarters, might be said to have come against him like a whirlwind, that is, against the French. Let history tell in this case if memory be insufficient how this was:

In the beginning of the year 1798 the Directory suggested to Buonaparte its desire that he should make as soon as practicable a descent upon England; but he, preceiving that no such descent could be undertaken before the Fall, persuaded the Directory that Egypt was the vulnerable point through which to strike at England by interrupting her eastern trade. On this pretext, therefore, he undertook the campaign, leaving Paris on May 3d, and setting sail from Toulon on the 19th with 500 sail, which carried 40,000 soldiers and 10,000 sailors. On July 5th Alexandria was taken and immediately fortified. On the 23d the battle of the Pyramids was fought in which the Mamelukes, the regular Egyptian army, was defeated with great loss. On the 24th Buonaparte entered Cairo and only awaited the subsidence of the Nile to pursue the fleeing Mamelukes to Upper Egypt, whither their broken squadrons had retired, and thus make a complete conquest of the country. Thus, the king of the south was able to make but a feeble resistance, his Mamelukes, although contesting the field with valor and desparation, still showing themselves not at all equal to the disciplined legions of France.

But soon after this Napoleon's situation began to grow precarious: The fleet, his only means of communication with France, was destroyed by the English under Nelson at the bay of Aboukir; and on September 2d of this same year, the Sultan of Turkey, exasparated that Egypt, so long a semi-dependency of his empire, should become a province of France, declared war against the latter.

Napoleon had crushed the Egyptian armies and he now undertook to do alike with the armies of the Sultan, who were approaching him from the side of Asia. On February 27, 1799, he commenced his march from Cairo to Syria, with 18,000 men and traversed the desert which separates Egypt from Palestine. Having entered this country he defeated another body of Mame-

lukes and took Gaza and Jaffa. Meanwhile a strong body of Turks had entrenched themselves at St. Jean d' Acre, while bodies of Mussulmans gathered in the mountains of Samaria ready to swoop down upon the French, when they should invest Acre. Two English ships commanded by Sir Sidney Smith appeared now before Acre, re-enforced the garrison and captured the apparatus for the siege, which Napoleon had sent round by sea from Alexandria. A Turkish fleet then appeared in the offing, which with the Russian and English fleets then co-operating may have constituted the "many ships" of the king of the north.

Napoleon commenced the siege on the 18th of March but found himself called away repeatedly to save some French divisions from falling into the hands of the Mussulman hordes which filled the country. A breach was twice made in the wall but the assailants were met with such fury by the garrison that Napoleon judged it best to raise the siege after it had been continued for sixty days. He, now, on May 21st, 1799, begun to retrace his steps to Egypt. Having arrived there he found a Turkish army landed at Aboukir, which he attacked and vanquished. Intelligence from Europe now urged his departure, and so, leaving his army in charge of Gen. Kleber, he returned to France with all secrecy and dispatch.

"And he shall enter into the countries and shall overflow and pass over." Now, to whom are these words applicable, to the French at this time or to the Turks, the king of the north? About this there is a difference of opinion among interpreters. If the answer depended only on this 40th verse it might be said that it was the French who came into the countries and overflowed, etc., Moreover, the next verse, 41, might decide in the judgment of some that it does not refer to Turkey, which verse reads as follows: "He shall enter also into the glorious land and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon." While no one will, of course, deny that the Turk possesses Palestine or the "glorious land," still they will inquire how it is that he does not possess those trans-Jordanic countries of Moab, Edom and the Ammonites also, since those countries are marked on the map of his empire as within his territories. On this passage, however, Adam Clarke says: "These and other Arabians they (the Turks) have never been able to subdue. They still occupy the deserts and receive a yearly pension of 40,000 crowns of gold from the Ottoman emperors to permit the caravans, with the

pilgrims for Mecca, to have a free passage." Doubtless this will explain the seeming anomaly and will thus leave the Turk, the king of the north, with his allies in this case, to be the one that overflows and passes over, unless some may think it refers to the much larger overflowing and passing over of the English to the occupation of India.

Verse 42: "He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries and the land of Egypt shall not escape."

Napoleon's defeat of the 18,000 Turks at Aboukir, before his departure for France, re-stablished his authority in Egypt. But Gen. Kleber, whom he had left in command of the army, was soon afterwards murdered by a Turk, and Abdallah Menow, to whom the command fell, found it difficult to keep the ranks filled with recruits.

Things now turned rapidly against the French. On March 13th, 1800, an English army disembarked at Aboukir, and the French giving battle next day were forced to retire. On the 18th Aboukir surrendered. A Turkish fleet arrived on the 28th with re-enforcements and the grand Vizier approached from Syria with a large army. Rosetta surrendered on the 19th to the English and Turks. At Ramanieh 8,000 English and 6,000 Turks caused 4,000 French to retire. Also 5,000 French retreated on May 16th toward Cairo, before the Vizier, who pursued them hotly with 20,000 Turks. Cairo capitulated on June 27th and Alexandria on September 2d. In one month later, October 1st, 1801, preliminaries to a treaty of peace were signed at London. Any one can see, therefore, that the Turk had the upper hand this time in Egypt, that he "overflowed and passed over," and had the whole country left to himself with his first lieutenants, the English.

"And the land of Egypt shall not escape." Hitherto Egypt had been a dependency or semi-dependency of Turkey, and the political result as here implies that Egypt was not able to escape from this power, however much she might have desired to escape. It is well known that at this time the Egyptians preferred the French rule to that of the Turks. Madden, in his "Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Turkey and Palestine," in the years 1824–27, states that the French were much regretted by the Egyptians and extolled as benefactors; that "for the short period they remained they left traces of amelioration;" and that, if they could have established their power, Egypt would now be comparatively civilized. Egypt,

therefore, as a nation, desired to escape from the Turkish suzerainty, but could not. It desired French rule but this was taken from it.

To give an idea of the state of Egypt for a third or a half a century after this time and to show that this age was characterized by more pushing of Egypt, the kingdom of the south, against Turkey, the kingdom of the north, I extract the following connection of events from the History of Turkey:

Mehemet Ali, the Vizier or Viceroy of Egypt, in the beginning of this nineteenth century, was an Iconian Turk from the neighborhood of Kavala in Southefn Macedonia. A body of 300 Albanians, in command of his son, had been sent to Egypt to assist in the struggle against the French. But following the departure of the latter there arose a struggle between the Turks and the Mamelukes and in this struggle Mehemet Ali soon made himself master of the country. He was now deemed by the Sultan too powerful to be disregarded and so was named Pasha of Three Tails and Vizier of Egypt. His position as governor of Egypt was now permanently established. Of the Mamelukes he freed himself in one day in 1807. Employing the most perfidious and treacherous means for the accomplishment of his purpose, he had them all seized and slain, an act by which this ancient and renowned body of cavalry was finally destroyed. Then he began his self-styled reforms. His two millions of people were subjected to a system of grinding and relentless exactions. From sunrise to sunset every man was compelled to labor and all the fruits of his toil, excepting what could barely sustain life, went into the Vizier's treasury. He vigorously pushed the cultivation of cotton, silk, sugar and indigo. A canal fifty miles in length, ninety feet in width, and twelve feet in depth, connecting Alexandria with the Nile he had excavated in one year. He introduced European artisans, arts, implements and machinery. He established arsenals and dock yards: He procured a powerful fleet of ships of European construction: And he equipped and drilled an army on the European plan and had it disciplined and commanded by European officers, which in a few years amounted to 30,000 men.

At the outbreak of the Greek revolution in 1824 Mehemet Ali was more powerful than his master the Sultan and was already in reality, as his descendants have since remained, an independent sovereign. Up to about 1832 he professed sincere obedience to the Porte. He then threw off the mask. In that year his son, Ibraham, invaded and subdued Syria, and in the next year, 1833,

marched through Asia Minor on Constantinople. He had advanced with his army to Brusa in Bythinia, and Constantinople seemed about to fall without a blow, when the Czar, Nicholas of Russia, interfered in behalf of the Porte and for the present deferred the ruin of the Turkish empire. The house of Mehemet Ali continued, however, in effect sovereigns of Egypt, and, again "in the time of the end" we have in a sense restored the kingdom of the south and the kingdom of the north.

Verse 43. "But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt and the Lybians and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps."

Speaking comparatively the later crusades were an approach to the time of the end. The sixth crusade of the French under their king, Louis IX., was directed against Egypt. This failed, the Mohammedans getting the upper hand. The seventh crusade, being of the same nation led by the same king, attacked and was dissipated by a pestilence at Tunis in Northern Africa, the king himself dying there, which ended the crusades about 1274. After this time the Turks outliving also the attacks of the Mongols, and, in their branch of the Ottomans, overcoming the Christian Roman empire of the east, did, in 1516–17 take possession of Palestine, Egypt, etc., so that in all the later ages this power commanded the treasures and men of Egypt, Libya, etc., as according to v. 43. But, in the articles of agreement between the Sultan and the Pasha, after the departure of the French in 1801, it was stipulated that the Egyptians should organize their government as it was before the French invasion and pay annually to the Turkish government a certain amount of gold and silver, and 600,000 measures of corn and 400,000 of barley. Dr. Clark calls the Ethiopians or Cushim "the unconquered Arabs," but there is no reasonable doubt that the appellations here refer to African peoples. Although, as seen above, the Turkish government has long had a suzerainty over those countries, the prophecy may also refer to an English suzerainty over it, and the interior parts of Africa to which the explorations of men of our own day, more especially of Livingston and Stanley, are preparatory? England has been now, since 1883, practically in possession of Egypt; and the nations of Libya and Ethiopia would be literally at the steps or in the way of the passage of the English into the interior of Africa.

V. 44. "But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him; therefore, he shall go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many."

On this verse Dr. Clarke, whose notes were printed in 1825, says: "This part of the prophecy is allowed to be yet unfulfilled." In another place he says, in reference to this: "If the Turkish power be understood, as in the preceding verse, it may mean that the Persians on the *east* and the Russians on the *north* will at some time greatly embarrass the Ottoman government." Between the time of Dr. Clarke's writing this note in 1825 and the Crimean war, which begun in 1853, events show a striking coincidence, insomuch as the powers he mentions, the Persians on the east and the Russians on the north, were the prime instigators of the conflict. Tidings from these powers troubled him (Turkey). Their attitude and movements incited the Sultan to revenge, and Russia being the more aggressive party was the object of attack. In 1853 Turkey declared war against Russia. The world was surprised at this movement on the part of Turkey, a government which had long been called "the sick man of the east." But now the Turkish army displayed unwonted energy and defeated the Russians on several occasions before the arrival of their allies to their aid. The prophecy says that "he (the Turk) should go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many," and when the Turks thus went forth in 1853 against the Russians they are described by an American correspondent as "fighting like devils."

Verse 45 and last: "And he shall plant the tabernacle of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end and none shall help him."

This part of the prophecy is yet unfulfilled, but its fulfillment will be primarily by that power, which has been the subject of the prophecy from the fortieth verse to this.

The pronoun "he" in this case refers primarily to the Turkish power, which now stands for the king of the north. The language of this prophecy points to this removal of the royal residence of "he," for the expression, "he shall plant the tabernacle of his palace" has this signification. A tabernacle implies rather a movable than a permanent residence, and a palace is a royal residence. Therefore, his residence in the glorious holy mountain (Jerusalem) between the seas (the Dead Sea on the east and the Mediterranean on the west) will be only temporary, for "he shall come to his end

and none shall help him;" and as to the tabernacle of his palace which he hath planted, he shall be obliged to pull up his stakes and roll up his canvas and depart. And it is easily understood how all this may happen. Palestine, with the holy mountain, Jerusalem, is in possession of the Turks. Now, if by a decision of another national congress or as the result of a war the Turk be obliged to leave Europe, he can establish, for a time, his capital in any part of his own dominions, as in Jerusalem, which he might choose in preference to Damascus, for example, the latter being so open to attack from the Russians. But Christendom, having succeeded in banishing the Turk from Europe, would hardly be content to leave him in possession of their holy city or holy land, and the result would be that he should have to seek a new home for his people, perhaps in Arabia, or in the countries beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, an original home of the Turks. In such supposed condition it would be incumbent upon the Turkish authorities and fathers of their people, to soberly consider in time the providing of a home for their people, a home sufficiently ample to maintain their numbers, and to obtain this home without injury or damage to others. This is, as I say, a supposed case, but it is not here said that the Turk shall ever have to vacate Europe. Far from it, I do not see why the European nations and the Turks should not get along harmoniously and prosperously together, if they only disarm, reform, and live internationally according to a law of arbitration. But the following language leaves a doubt in the mind as to whether this will happen: "Yet he shall come to his end and none shall help him." This might be thought to imply that this power had previously received help. Now, what are the facts? In the war against France, in 1798–1801, England and Russia aided the Sultan. In the war between Egypt and Turkey in 1832–33 Russia sided with Turkey and saved its autonomy. In the contention between Egypt and Turkey (1838–1841) England, Russia, Austria and Prussia intervened in behalf of Turkey, limiting Mehemet Ali's power to the vice royalty of Egpyt under tribute to the Porte. In the Crimean war (1853–1856) England, France and Sardinia assisted the Turks. And in the Russo-Turkish war (1877–8) the great powers of Europe interfered to arrest the progress of Russia, which leaves the Turks yet in Europe. It is generally agreed that without the help received in those instances, especially in the two last, Turkey could not have maintained her autonomy in Europe; and therefore, the conclusion is plain that the Turkish power exists

in Europe, by help of other European powers, who do not wish Russia to have her place.

But the prophecy might be understood to mean that there will come a time, when the Turk will depart from Europe and fix his residence in Palestine, which, however, would prove to be only a temporary residence of his; for "he shall come to his end," being now left to his own resources, and none appearing to help him in his difficulties. Whether or not this will be a just judgment from God on the Turk you may gather from the following quotation I give from Clark's History of Turkey, published in 1878: "English writers and statesmen, seeing all things eastern in the light of their own interests, have arraigned the attacks of Servia, Russia, and Roumania upon the Turks in the wars of the past two years, as wholly selfish and aggressive, without provocation or justifying cause. But, let it not be forgotten that the Turk is a stranger and an alien in Europe, holding his possessions by no other right than that of a most cruel and murderous conquest; that his rule has been that of the true believer over Giaours and Christian dogs; that, save as they were wrung from him and held by the strong hand, he has conceded to his Christian subjects no rights whatsoever, but the right — a partial and uncertain right — *to live*, upon the payment of tribute; and that his government in this nineteenth century has been a monstrous anachronism, a hideous chaos of anarchy, confusion, poverty and social stagnation, incapable of improvement or reform. Certainly Europe owes the Turk no consideration, is under no obligations to him, save upon the bond of treaty stipulations; his Christian subjects owe him no allegiance, have no duty towards him, but the duty to break his evil yoke from their necks so soon as they have the power. Nevertheless, it was not for the well being of Europe, least of all was it in accordance with the interests of England, that a Russian despotism should supersede that of the Turk at Constantinople," etc. History of Turkey, p. 514.

Some of the conditions agreed to at the treaty of Berlin, in July 1878, were as follows: "That the straits of the Dardanelles should be open to Russian ships; that Russia should occupy the fortresses of Batoum, Kars and Erzeroum: that Turkey should pay Russia 20,000,000 pounds sterling, as a war indemnity: and that the treaty should be signed at Constantinople." In making this announcement the *Algemeine Zeitung*, added: "The eventual entry of the Russians into Constantinople cannot longer be regarded as impossible."

The following is from the Detroit *Evening News* of February 20th, 1878: "According to the latest version of the peace conditions Turkey — besides her territorial losses, the surrender of a few ironclads, the repairs of the mouth of the Danube, the reimbursement of Russian capital invested in Turkish securities, the indemnity to Russian subjects in Constantinople for war losses, and maintenance of about 100,000 prisoners of war — will have to pay to Russia, in round figures, a sum equivalent to about $552,000,000 in our money. The unestimated items will easily increase this to six hundred millions. With her taxable territory reduced almost to poverty-stricken Asia Minor, and with her finances at present in a condition of absolute chaos, it is difficult to see where she is going to get the money, however ready her present rulers may be to sign the contract.

"The proposition amounts to giving the Czar a permanent mortgage on the whole empire, and contains an implied threat that he may foreclose at any time, by the seizure of the remainder of European Turkey. In this last aspect all Europe has a vital interest in the matter, and particularly England even if the conditions were not in themselves calculated to drive English creditors crazy, by destroying their last hope of ever getting a cent of their large investment in Turkish bonds. It makes Russia a preferred creditor of the bankrupt Porte, with the additional advantage of being assignee in possession, leaving creditors with prior claims out in the cold."

While nobody will say that the forgoing article is not well written and that it displays not a rare financial and economic ability in the writer, still I may say that, even in a few years after the treaty of Berlin was signed, Turkish finances were found to have considerably recuperated, so much indeed as to afford a far more cheering outlook for creditors than the strict sense of this Detroit article would imply. The following extract is from an edition of the Encyc. Brit., published in 1891: "Previous to 1880 Turkey was commonly regarded as practically bankrupt. But since then a considerable improvement has been effected. Trustworthy data are still wanting; but a careful estimate gave the gross revenue and expenditure of 1884 at $60,500,000 and $60,300,000 respectively, the expenditure including over $1,600,000 available for state creditors. The public debt stood at $530,000,000 in 1890."

Of course all this implies a great oppression of the people of the

Turkish empire in the way of taxation, but in respect to this it is plain that the whole European governmental system, as at present, is essentially wrong, and that it cannot be rectified unless by the substitution of international arbitration for national armaments. As a consequent of the operation of this the peoples will be enabled to use their moneys for their families' benefit.

This eleventh chapter of Daniel has, as I have mentioned before, hitherto been thought difficult of interpretation: but it is seen from the foregoing that a fair knowledge and a proper application of the history to its several parts renders the task comparatively easy. It begins with the Medo-Persian empire, mentions the Grecian, and then goes on to the Roman, which it must needs dwell on in its various phases of pagan, Christian and Mohammedan.

And, now, as to the application of its parts in particular, I may resume that after its first verse, which is introductory, its second verse gives all that it says relative to the Persian empire. Then, its verses 3 to 29, both inclusive, refer to the empire of Alexander and his successors.

Its verses 30–35 both inclusive, have, in general, a double application, primarily to Grecian — Syria, and then to pagan and Christian Rome.

Its verses 36–39, both inclusive, refer to the pagan and Christian Roman empire, as a whole; and then as to both the east and west.

And in verses 40–45, both inclusive (and which ends the chapter) the Mohammedan power of the Roman empire is the most conspicuous primarily; but covers under its name of the kingdom of the north another power, or perhaps other powers, which have their position in the toes of the image of Daniel, chapter II., the energy of the empire being for some centuries past transferred from the feet to these toes. There doubtless will be more light on this from our development of the constituent parts of the prophecies of Revelation.

Chapter XII.

Verse 1: "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince that standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book."

"And at that time," etc. At what time? At the time of the end or rather at the beginning of the time of the end. The time means the duration of the whole movement from religious and

political slavery to religious and political freedom. As Moses was the great leader of the Israelites out of Egyptian slavery, religious and civil, so Michael the great prince that standeth for the children of Daniel's people, is here the leader of the people from slavery to freedom. In verse nine of Jude's Epistle Michael is called "the archangel," but in the verse before us, and in Daniel X. 21, Michael is called the great prince of the children of (Daniel's) people. Michael must, therefore, be the Messiah, or Christ, who was the leader in the first great reformation from paganism to Christianity, as according to Rev. XII. 7; and of the second great reformation, which was begun 1260 years later, and resulted in the religious and civil liberty, which, thanks to God, we now enjoy. Yes, Christ, the Messiah, the great prince Michael, was the veritable leader in all those movements, which have resulted in religious and civil liberty, and which have resulted in any real good to the race!

But, speaking here of that time in which Michael shall stand up in the defense and for the salvation of Daniel's people, I may say, it is plain thus far in history, that the spirit of prophecy had two different times or eras in view; first, the ending of the Jewish dispensation, and second, the ending of the "time, times, and a part," long afterwards; Michael the great prince being the Messiah in both cases.

It cannot be denied that the period of a century or more preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus was a time of great trouble for the Jews. Indeed it had been an era of more or less trouble for that nation from or before the time of Epiphanes down to that date. A person would think it was time that some salvation might appear for them, and in connection with this great shaking up of their nation it was that Christianity arose as an ameliorator, a savior to all who would properly understand and receive it: And through Michael their prince this brought the Jews to the possession of the Roman empire.

At that very time Daniel's people were delivered "every one that was found written in the book." Every one that accepted Christ as their Messiah was saved. It was for such, and such only, that the laws of the Christian Roman empire were made, and operated. Every Jew who did not own Christ as his Messiah was dead in the sense of the law of this empire, that is, he was an outlaw. This was the kind of salvation for that time referred to, the true Michael having his exponent in Gospel Christianity, and this

was the book here referred to, viz., that of the laws of the Christian Roman empire. This is a literal meaning of the prophecy, though it be just as true that Christ makes every one free who will receive him, whether he be within or without any particular system of State polity: but the Jews who did not profess belief in Christ, whether or not they did believe on him in their heart, were outlaws to the Christian Roman empire and to the Christian kingdoms which grew out of it. But the doctrines of the chruch, in the State and Church combination, soon became so corrupt that an old-fashioned Jew might be very well justified in rejecting them, and so they did reject them and would not conform and suffered persecution during the long night of the Middle ages and the dawning times of the Reformation even; for in 1492, the same year of the discovery of America, we find Ferdinand and the "saintly" Isabella pass a law banishing 160,000 Jews from Spain because they were unwilling to profess Christianity and receive baptism. Of course on that occasion some did conform, but about the number here stated were banished. "Great was now the distress of these children of Israel as they passed from the pleasant land of their birth. Tens of thousands perished with famine and the hardships of the change from luxury to homeless beggary. They scattered to different countries of Europe, Asia and Africa." Willard's Univ. Hist., p. 279.

It cannot be denied that the time just preceding the Protestant reformation and the time intervening between that movement as begun by Luther, and the establishment of this republic in 1789, were times of great commotion and trouble not only for the Israelites but for all God's true people. Even the movements initiatory to the reformation were in that chain of events, which have secured to us not only religious but civil liberty in republicism. "And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book." I have given one explanation of this, a quite literal one. But there is another interpretation quite as important, if it be not more so. The book of life is, of course, here referred to, and all the children of the regeneration, all who have been born again, born of the Spirit, and who live the life of the children of God, have their names written in this book. To this they have the witness of the spirit with that of their own consciousness. No one of such need inquire, is my name written in the book of life? For each one such hath subjectively the knowledge that their name is written there, and, objectively, such a one is, if we

may so speak, an open book, an open living epistle, that may be read of all men. Truly the omniscience of God is wonderful to contemplate. At the judgment he will have no difficulty in separating the evil from the good. "In his book are (even) all our members written."

As Michael coincides with the Ancient of Days so he is engaged in judgment and every one is not only delivered from the old enthrallment, but hath his salvation assured, whose name is written in the book of life.

A book in judgment represents symbolically the laws or principles of the judge; and the names subscribed in the judge's record book represent those who subscribe to and abide by his laws and principles. If one's name is not found written in the book of life it is not here said that such an one will be delivered or hath any assurance of salvation.

Verse 2: "And," as a result of the judgment, "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

The judgment here referred to is not only of a spiritual, but of a religious and political character also; when it was delivered, either in books or *viva voce* by God's appointed judges, the saints, it was known distinctly and the world might know it; and so the world may know to-day the judgment which a righteous and holy God, and an unbiased and freely judging humanity, hath passed upon the doings of the system symbolized by the Little Horn, in all its phases, in all the ages of its dominancy. It had the saints in its power during a time, times and a half; now the saints, for all eternity, have a right to pass judgment upon its abominable and diabolical doings. Notice the song of rejoicing that is sung by the saints in the beginning of chapter XIX. of Revelation over the fall of Babylon; so they rejoice now in their ability and privilege to judge that old power of Satan that had wrought so much wickedness and oppression in the world.

"Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake," etc. This must refer to that which in the book of Revelation is called the first Resurrection. It refers to the historical phenomena attendant and consequent upon the elevation of the Jew to the government of the Roman empire in the way of Christianity. Then those of Daniel's people who professed Christianity in the true sense, awoke to everlasting life; for every truly regenerate person

is born to everlasting life as Christ himself says: "Whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." Therefore the believer and professor of Christ after the days of Constantine awoke, as it were, from death to life in a double sense; first, in the sense now given, the spiritual sense of everlasting life; secondly, in the sense of having a living and working status within the national codes of Christendom. And while the profession of Christianity made the Jews after Constantine awake to life, as explained, the rejection of it, or refusal to profess it or conform to it, although they really knew how much they would gain by professing and conforming, necessitated that they awoke to shame and contempt; for having no legal standing they were, as it were "stamped" or trodden under foot. In the representation in verse second is also a reference to the general judgment of mankind, when there shall be a strict balancing of the books of human life, individual and universal.

Verse 3: "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."

For "wise" as here the original means "teachers." "They that be teachers shall shine as the stars," etc. This is one of the grandest of ideas in symbolism; the firmament with its sun, stars, etc., is such a variedly glorious object! Even while the sun is shining at midday the stars are shining also and it is only the sun's superior effulgence, as it were flooding out their twinklings, that prevents us from seeing them then, so, doubtless, they have shone from the creation and so they will shine to the end of time. Only think of teachers being compared to those glorious orbs that begem the firmament and shine on continually; what a glorious comparison! Would it seem to point to such an era of education, and enlightenment as is now dawning if not shining upon us? In celestial symbolism the sun would be emblematic of God, and the stars of his angels, etc. Applying those celestial bodies as symbols of earthly governments the sun would represent the king or highest ruler by whatever title known; and the sun and stars, etc., would represent the whole governmental hierarchy, sometimes so called.

In application to the church the sun would symbolize Christ; and the sun and stars and etc., Christ and his ministers, from the apostles downward through all the ages.

And likewise, as to what are deemed humbler and lesser systems terrestrial. In a national system of education the sun might sym-

bolize the national superintendent; and the sun and stars and etc., would represent the superintendent and his whole national corps or staff of teachers, male and female. This shows what a glorious position is that of a teacher, though its responsibility be equal to its honor, in "teaching the young idea how to shoot," in building up and maturing the mind.

And, considering the parish church as a school of education, which it emphatically is, even in the way of the Sunday-school, we have the same system of symbolization applicable to the Sunday school superintendent and his corps of teachers (the minister being counted in under an aforementioned system of symbolization). Here the precious truths of religion are taught and the teachers here should remember that their work is equally important at least with that of the teachers in the secular schools, and so remember their service and responsibility, anticipating their glory in modesty.

Now, the symbolization here is not only grand but suggestive. The firmament is a stupendously grand idea. Without mentioning the incomparable grandeur of the stars, arising from their magnitudes, velocities, volumes of light, and the infinite varieties of objects present in them, with the infinite varieties of living beings which inhabit and have their homes in them, I will simply speak of the order which characterizes these celestial bodies:

From year to year and from age to age the stars keep their relative positions, and not only that but they are always shining, always imparting light. They are eyes to see and they are intelligent faces to enlighten. Speaking by way of illustration some one has called them "the eyes of God." Anyway they fairly suggest that we are always in God's sight, always open to his view. The wise man has said, "A man's wisdom maketh his face to shine:" And so, corresponding to the idea suggested by the stars the teachers of all classes, sacred and secular, should not only be orderly themselves but inculcate ideas and habits of order. They should remember that it was not for no purpose that the spirit of prophecy has symbolized by the stars the idea of the teachers of mankind. One may teach in many ways besides verbally. One may be no professional teacher, nor yet much given to talking and still may teach much and well by one's example. Thus many very humble and modest men and women may shine as teachers. God recognizes all the good they thus do, and puts it to their account in his book of reckoning. There are undoubtedly many in the prophetical sense who are shining as stars by reason of what is put to their account as teachers by

God and yet they be not professional teachers nor receive any visible salary for their services. Will not our teachers of all kinds — and they are legion most assuredly — remember the idea of order suggested by the stars! "They that be teachers shall shine as the brightness of the firmament and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars," etc. Now, this being the word of the living God is strictly true; and it is a pledge to those who wish to do good and turn the wicked to righteousness that God will enable them to do so. If it be one's privilege so why may it not be one's business to teach, enlighten, turn many to righteousness? The Lord's word which returns not to him void but accomplishes that whereto he sends it, is pledged that such will succeed in their endeavors, and the more good they do the more they will shine, the more illustrious they will become in the sight of God and of all good people. Just look at the firmament, sun, moon, stars, planets, comets, meteorites, as symbolic of those variously shining ones! If you do not expect to be able to accomplish very much in the conversion of sinners to righteousness, why can you not, in humble dependence on God's help, endeavor to accomplish something?

Verse 4: "But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book, even to the time of the end, many shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased."

words or book to be sealed is the history of the world given by Daniel symbolically in his prophecy. God did not design that this prophecy should be exactly understood before it was fulfilled; not because he feared that any wicked persons could thwart its fulfillment if they should desire to do so; but simply because he willed to have it in this way. Therefore Daniel's prophecy was to be sealed up until "the time of the end" at which time it would be gradually and at length fully understood.

As before explained, "the time of the end" has here reference to two periods, the first the ending of the Mosaic Dispensation; and the second the ending of the "time, times and a half" after the great apostasy. Meantime, but mostly in the neighborhood of the times of the end, many should run to and fro and knowledge should be increased. These would be at the end of the Mosaic Dispensation, conspicuously apostles, evangelists, missionaries, etc., in the introduction or proclamation of the Gospel of Christ; and, secondly, at the end of the time, times and a half, inventors of various kinds, book agents, missionaries, and so on variously, that knowledge might be increased; for God wills that the knowledge

he designs to communicate to mankind shall be promulgated at its proper time without let or hindrance. Without my enumerating here the great inventions and discoveries of the last one hundred years, which render this nineteenth century so illustrious, you will agree with me that this is a miracle of an age in which we live as compared with all the preceding ages of which we have knowledge. Is there not many things which indicate to you that we have entered on a new era, and live, so to speak, in a new world? But of this you will feel better satisfied when you shall have more proof from the demonstrations throughout this book. You will, I say, rest better satisfied that the old things are fast passing away and that all things are fast becoming new.

Verses 5–8: "Then I Daniel looked and behold there stood other two, the one on this side of the bank of the river and the other on that side of the bank of the river. And one said to the one clothed in linen which was upon the waters of the river, How long shall it be to the end of these wonders? And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand to heaven and swore by him that liveth forever, that it shal be for a time, times and a part; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people all these things shall be finished."

In verse 5 and 6 we find depicted a river, with a man standing on each opposite bank, and another man, whe was clothed in linen standing on its waters. This is a symbolic scene. A river is a source of life; and a river symbolically represents a source of life and doctrine. The rivers, lakes and seas are sources of life, but could not fertilize the lands were not their waters taken up by evaporation and let down on the lands in the way of rain, etc. Notice nature's process of fertilizing the lands. The true Gospel church is a source of spiritual life, and so missionaries have to go forth and disseminate the Gospel doctrines. In Gen. II., 10 we read of a river running through the midst of the Garden of Eden; and in Rev. XXII., 1–2 of the river of the water of life, which flowed out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. So God and the Lamb are the source of prophecy. The man standing on the river, therefore, must represent the God of Daniel, symbolized in his true ministry. He is clothed in linen, which is the sacerdotal dress (Ex. XXVIII). One asks him (v. 6) how long it shall be to the end of these wonders? It is not said that it was either of those, who stood upon the opposite banks of the river, who asked him this question, it being left indefinite who it was that asked it; but it is clear that those two on the opposite sides of the river repre-

sent those who were to be the historic witnesses to the fulfillment of the oath, that it should be a time, times and a part, unto the end of those wonders.

According to the Jewish law two witnesses were required to establish the truth of testimony. Now, the witnesses that God in the book of Revelation recognizes as his are his martyrs. These are such as they whose souls call to him from under the altar of sacrifice in inquiry as to how long it would be before he would avenge their blood upon their murderers. Rev. VI. 9–10. And he tells them to rest yet for a season until an addition should be made to their numbers by martyrdom for the truth. The martyrs for the truth existed all along in God's church from the beginning to the present time: and it is the witness of these that God recognizes, and of no others. God thus honors his martyrs, and their murderers, the magnificent systems of Church and State, he rejects their testimony as altogether hypocritical and spurious. Of course I might proceed to descant upon the magnificent systems of Mohammedism and Papalism, the one pure Unitarianism, the other pure Trinitarianism, balancing each other as it were, in the two opposite halves of the Roman empire, and I might go on supposing that those are the witnesses to this oath of God. They are witnesses, in a sense, but not such as God calls his. The witnesses God calls his are of a much more humble frame than the magnificent systems of Justinian of Charlemagne, or of the Abassides; but nevertheless their earthly house of this tabernacle were the *bona fide* tabernacles or temples of God's spirit. God enshrined in their moving ta nacles took cognizance of the doings of the high and magnifice systems, with their wordly show and their diabolic brutality to God's humble good and true people.

In verse 7 he adds: "and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people all these things shall be finished."

The pronoun "he" in this sentence refers primarily to Antiochus Epiphanes, then to pagan Rome, which subverted and dispersed the Jewish nation in A. D. 70; third, to Christian Rome as Church and State; fourth to Mohammedism; and fifth to Papalism; all of which may be called different phases of the same Little Horn.

Now, A. D. 70, the date of the subversion of their polity, was the date of the ending of the Jewish politico-religious dispensation, or when all these things were "finished" politically concerning it.

Properly speaking, however, the year 34 A. D., on the death of Christ, ended their religious dispensation. And the end of the dominancy of the Little Horn, in its various phases, is another end when all things are finished as to the scattering and oppression of the holy people, that is, the Christian Israelites or the true Israelites, however variant in name, by that varied system of oppression.

The man clothed with linen swearing with his right hand and his left hand uplifted toward heaven indicates that the historic events, which the vision symbolized, were sure to come to pass in their time, that their fulfillment in the time and way appointed was certain and sure. The solemnity of the oath leads us to consider what a definite period that was to be and what important events were to transpire at its close.

The end of it was to be signalized by the cessation of the broken condition of nationality in which the people called the Saints had long been, as indicated in the feet and toes of the great image; now they were to take, though gradually, the more definite organic shape of a theocratic democracy. The stone cut out of the mountain, without hands, was now to fill the whole earth.

Of course the reorganization of God's Israel began with the cessation of scattering; it was gradual; steps to the organization of the Dutch republic began to be taken soon after the consummation of the Swiss republic; and steps to the organization of the present French Republic upon the accomplishment of the American republic. I am now speaking of those terrestrial polities characteristic of the age and ascendancy of the Son of Man; but the gathering or reorganization is also synonymous with the deliverance by Michael of those found written in the book, and coincides with the predictions of Israel's restoration. It is certain, however, that since the first trumpet-blast of the Reformation was blown by Luther or Huss, or Wickliffe, or whoever it was that blew that first blast, civil and religious liberty have sympathized with each other, and have gone hand in hand toward a common goal.

Now, as to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times we will show where this period will end by dating it from the cessation of the Jewish polity and worship in 70 A. D.

1260 years, the symbolic "time, times and a half," labor time.
70 A. D. the subversion of the Jewish polity.

1330 A. D. Wickliffe six years old: the popes resident at Avignon.

180 = $\frac{1}{7}$th of 1260 years for Sabbath days.

1510 A. D. John Calvin born in 1509.
24.23 = $\frac{1}{52}$d of 1260 years for legal holidays.

1534.23 A. D. the date of the abolition of the pope's spiritual supremacy in England by the English parliament.
In this year Luther finished his translation of the Bible.

If, now, to this last date we add $\frac{1}{7}$th of 1260 years for Sabbatic or earth rest time (minus $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{52}$nd of this $\frac{1}{7}$th on account of the Sabbath days and legal holidays already included) we have 1685 A. D., which marks the date of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when a large emigration of French protestants took place to America, Great Britain and Prussia, by the influx of whom those protestant countries were greatly strengthened and benefited.

And if to this last result we add the $\frac{1}{50}$th of 1260 years for Jubilee rest time (minus $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{52}$nd of this $\frac{1}{7}$th on account of the Sabbath days and legal holidays already included) we have the date 1706.18 A. D., which is that of the treaty of union between England and Scotland, called "the most important event in the reign of Queen Anne." While this event marks a complete period for our prophetic number it also marks a Jubilee period for Britain, and seemingly the revival of the ancient Jewish in the reformed British polity. It is just 70 years before the declaration of Independence of America, which may indicate the Jewish polity to have revived again in this republic, whose thirteen states (twelve originally) correspond to the number of the Israelitish tribes.

Verses 8–11: Interrogation and answer: "And I heard but I understood not; then said I, O my Lord, how long shall be those latter times? And he said: Go thy way Daniel; for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end. Many shall be purified and made white and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand."

The reply to Daniel's earnest inquiry is that the words (meaning the history of a very long period) are sealed up until the period of their fulfillment: That "many should be purified and made white and tried," which refers to God's elect during that long period; for "as many as he loves he rebukes and chastens" (Rev. III. 19), and "if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons." Heb. XII. 8. I say one of the

marks of God's children is the chastisement to which they are subjected during their earthly pilgrimage, and the patience with which they endure this chastisement, while obediently continuing in well-doing, being always about their heavenly father's business. It is impossible that such persons as these should injure any one; but because they will not profess a creed or conform in daily life and conversation to church rules they are handed over to the state authorities and burned to death (only think of it!). Yes "they were purified and made white and tried" during the long and doleful reign of Church and State Christianity, and while endeavoring, in all obedience, to do the will of their father in heaven. These are they that come out of great tribulation and trial, and these are they whom God accepts as his witnesses. "But the wicked shall do wickedly and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand."

The wicked who do wickedly and will not understand are here antithetical to the wise who do understand.

The wicked, judging after the manner of the natural man, are quite at home, like Moab settled on his lees, within the circle of State and Church rules; this world is the home of such people, and their interests, spiritual as well as secular, are all judged by a worldly standard. Consequently not judging like the wise, whose standard of judgment is spiritual, who are merely strangers and pilgrims on the earth, their proper home being in heaven, these wicked class of people are in character, as it were, antipodal to the wise: The one class are the spiritual, the children of God and citizens of the kingdom of Heaven; the other class are the natural, of the earth, earthy, whose home is on the earth, who mind earthly things, who are very dogmatic and arbitrary, and, judging every one by the gauge of their natural rules, make them comply with these rules whether they will or not. The first of these two classes, the spiritual, are God's witnesses down through the course of the ages; the others are the proper citizens of Church and State, whether under Epiphanes, or Roman paganism or State and Church Christianity. "None," therefore, "of the wicked shall understand" (spiritually, which is the proper cosmical ununderstanding); "but the wise shall understand" (spiritually, and properly).

Verses 11–13 inclusive: "And from the time the daily (sacrifice) shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up there shall be one thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the

thousand three hundred and five and thirty days. But go thou thy way till the end be, for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

While both the numbers here given are to be dated at the same point, namely 70, A. D., they evidently indicate somewhat different periods of termination, as we shall see:

1290 years of labor time.
184.2857= $\frac{1}{7}$th for Sabbath days.
24.8077= $\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{2}}$nd for legal holidays.

1499
70 A. D. Subversion of Jewish polity.

1569 A. D.; James VI., first Protestant king of Scotland, a minor, his mother Mary, queen of Scots, having fled to England for protection the year previous, 1568. This is 1260 years after Constantine became Cæsar in Britain. Beginning of the forty years war, which secured the independence of the seven united Provinces, of the Dutch Republic. (See Barnes Gen'l Hist., pp. 446–9.

Adding to the above date $\frac{1}{7}$th of 1290 years for Sabbatic or earth rest time (minus $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{2}}$nd of this $\frac{1}{7}$th on account of the Sabbath days and legal holidays already included), and then $\frac{1}{50}$th of 1290 years for Jubilee time (minus $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{2}}$nd on account of Sabbath days and legal holidays) we have 1745.12677 A. D., a date which, if anything, signalizes the rise of Prussia, under its king, Frederick II. (the Great), 1740-1786, to a great power, thus laying the foundation of a great German Empire; and also the establishment of the Hanoverian house in Britain. Speaking of this Frederick, Barnes says: "He was felt to be one of the great men, whose coming into the world changes the fate of a country." Under him "Prussia from being a petty kingdom, that nobody feared, was raised to be one of the five great powers of Europe." "The seven years' war," under Frederick, "made Prussia a European power; a seven weeks' war (1866) placed it above Austria; and a seven months' war (1870) made the king of Prussia emperor of Germany" (Gen'l Hist., pp. 530-31).

This number, on the whole, seems unmistakedly to point to the rise of the two great Protestant monarchies, which may be understood as the two great toes of Daniel's image (Ch. II.), namely,

Great Britian and Prussia, in both of which State and Church are united in government.

But, our prophecy, in Ch. XII., after, in verse 11, setting forth the number 1290, in verse 12 says: "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." This implies that the waiter would attain a better result, a better state or condition of things and times:

1335 years of labor time.
190.7143 " $=\frac{1}{7}$th for Sabbath days.
25.6730 " $=\frac{1}{52}$nd for legal holidays.

1551.3873.
70 A. D. " subversion of Jewish polity.

1621.3873 A. D. Date of the victory of the Protestant prince of Transylvania, Bethlem Gabor, over the Catholic emperor, Ferdinand, which resulted in a treaty in favor of the Protestants.

Date of the beginning of the war of Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestant king of Sweden, against Sigismund, the Catholic king of Poland, and which was carried on gloriously by Gustavus. "The thirty years war" which resulted in the establishment of Protestantism in Germany, by the treaty of Westphalia, was carried on by Gustavus in continuation of the war against Sigismund.

Gustavus Adolphus may be properly called the champion of Protestantism on the continent of Europe and in Scandinavia. He got killed in the battle of Lutzen in 1632, but his Swedes held the ground in Germany until they established their point in the treaty of Westphalia as aforesaid. This is, also, the true date (in the month of May) of the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock in north America. They came into the harbor in the winter of the previous year (1620), but kept their families on board ship, using that as a home until the spring opened and it was warm enough for the women and children to inhabit the houses, prepared for them meantime, on shore. If now we add to this last date (1621) $\frac{1}{7}$th of 1335 years for Sabbatic or earth-rest time (minus $\frac{1}{7}$ and $\frac{1}{52}$nd of this $\frac{1}{7}$th on account of the Sabbath days and legal holidays included); and then $\frac{1}{50}$th of 1335 years for Jubilee rest time (minus the $\frac{1}{7}$th and $\frac{1}{52}$nd of this $\frac{1}{50}$th on account of the Sabbaths and legal holidays) we have the date 1806–7, when the power of the Holy Roman (German) empire, which had come down for a thousand

years from Charlemagne, reverted to France, through the instrumentality (ostensibly) of Buonaparte (really), of republicanism.

Date of the purchase of Louisiana, which gave the United States most of the territory between the Missouri and Pacific Ocean. This result of the manipulations of this number constitutes a complete Jubilee period, a result which, doubtless, will ultimate in extensive republicism. We, therefore, at our stand-point of history, can view retrospectively that great period which Daniel (in verse 13) is told to expect with patience, for that he would yet stand in his lot at the end of the days. There is no doubt but that Daniel, as Job, had a definite belief in the resurrection, and that in his proper time he will stand in his lot (the lot of a witness to the truth of his former predictions), on the earth.

Gog and Magog.

Ezekiel, Chapters XXXVIII. and XXXIX.

The date of the giving of this prophecy is about 585 B. C. Ezekiel was one of the captive Jews at Babylon at this time.

Vs. 1, 2, 3. The Lord enjoins upon the prophet to set his face toward Gog (full form Edagarc); "of the land of Magog" (full form Mag-Edagarc, usually spelled Magyar; but by transposition, Deagarcaman or Deabarcaman, that is, what the Greeks pronounced Turkoman); "the prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal." "Rosh, taken as a proper name, signifies those inhabitants of Scythia from whence the Russians derive their name and origin," Lowth. But history informs us that the Russians proper derived their origin from Sweden with Ruric, who was accepted as their king by the people in some of those provinces now called Russia about 800 A. D. The full root of the word Rus of the form Russia is Gragaed or Grabaed, which by transposition is Deabarc or Deagarc, that is, as a race name of the Hindo-Germanic, called Turk or with the prefix Mag or Mac, whence our word man, it is Magyar or, with that as an affix, Turkman. It is from this very word of which I have given you now the full form, that you have your words root, road, tour, tower, grade, cravat, the torque or gold chain the Irish and Scythian kings wore round their necks, and hundreds of other word forms which you can trace yourself. From the component Deab of the full form you have both dome and Jew; and from Arc, the second component, you have arch, meaning in a sense the same with dome,

and which is the root of the forms work and create as again deab is of do and two, etc. From the whole word Deabarch you have the forms Hebrew and York. Tubal is the fifth and Meshech the sixth son of Japheth, according to Genesis X. 2. Josephus (Antiq. I., VI., I) says that "Tubal was the ancestor of the people called Iberians," which arises from the fact that in the old Turanian and Egyptian languages the l and r were identical, so that Tubal would be Deabarc as above: And so would Meshech be derived from the form Mag-Edag, through two or three other intermediate but equivalent forms. You are privileged here to bethink yourself that the great Turanian race-stem has in the long ages, of say 2,500 years, divided into very many branches, which, in some cases, not only now but long ago, might be disposed to deny an origin from in common with the Turk, the Hunn and the Finn. But it matters little what anybody's notions are in this respect, language will still tell its story and offer its testimony.

It was, however, against Gog, the prince of the land of Magog, that Ezekiel was now to prophesy. It was not for him to bring good news to the Turk at this time.

V. 4: "And I will turn thee about and put hooks in thy jaws, and I will bring thee forth and all thine army, horses and horsemen, all of them clothed with all sorts (of armor, even) a great company with bucklers and shields, all of them handling swords." Notice here that the Lord acts contrary to Gog in every thing. First he turns him from (doubtless) some course Gog was going to take without his permission. From this the Lord turns him back. Gog was doubtless going inconsiderately on some mission on which he should not have thought of going; and so a many a young man starts on a mission on which he should not go and from which it would be a great kindness of the Lord to turn him back. But it appears now that Gog being turned back, is not disposed to go on a certain expedition on which God requires him to go, and so the Lord puts hooks into his jaws and draws him forth with all his army, which, as here represented, principally consisted of cavalry. In this army were (v. 5) those of Persia (which was now the land of Magog, *i. e.*, the Iranians or Southern Scythians); a horde of Turanians or Northern Scythians, called Seljukian Turks, from Seljuk a chief of their horde, having supplanted another Turkish dynasty called the Gaznevide in 1038 A. D. There were also in this Gogite army Ethiopians (Cush) and Libyans (Phut). Persia being the principal base or headquarters from which this great

Gogite army now operated it is seen clearly what the turning back of Gog definitely means. Gibbon in speaking of the Turkish attempt on Egypt in 1076 by Atsiz the Carizmian general of Malek Shah, says: "The Fatimite (Caliph) was preparing to fly into the heart of Africa; but the negroes of his guard and the inhabitants of Cairo made a desperate sally, and repulsed the Turk from the confines of Egypt. In his retreat he indulged the license of slaughter and rapine; the judge and notaries of Jerusalem were invited to his camp; and their execution was followed by the massacre of 3,000 citizens." It appears clear enough that Atsiz took Jerusalem at this time and that the 3,000 citizens were killed in its capture, although it be not so stated by Gibbon, who goes on to say, that "The cruelty or defeat of Atsiz was soon punished by the Sultan Toucush, the brother of Malek Shah, who, with a higher title and more formidable powers, asserted the dominion of Syria and Palestine." Dec. and Fall, V. 534–5, From Egypt, at least, Gog was "turned about" at this time. But he effected the conquest of that country in about 100 years later (1169), and so afterwards had arrayed under his banner the Ethiopians and Libyans as well as Persians. The spirit of prophecy concentrates in one small picture the history of ages, as in the parable of the laborers in the vineyard, he who came in at the eleventh hour had his picture appear as well as he who came in at the first hour, so, while these two chapters of Ezekiel epitomize especially the history of the Turks in their relation to the crusaders they also concentrate the history of the Turks in Asia, Africa and Europe before and after the period of the crusades and even after our time.

V. 6, "Gomer and all his hordes; the house of Togarmah of the north quarters and all his hordes (and) many people with thee." These are peoples of Asia Minor, which was subdued by Solyman, son of Cutulmish, son of Izrael, son of Seljuk, a distant cousin of Malek Shah, in the interval 1074–1084. In this prophecy they appear under the Gogite banner.

V. 7: The prophet here gives Gog fair warning to make preparation for the great enterprise he had before him and also to have a proper care over all the peoples who marched under his banner: For says he: v. 8, "After many days thou shalt be visited: in the latter years thou shalt come into the land that is brought back from the sword, gathered out of many people, against the mountains of Israel, which have been a continual waste; but it

is brought forth out of the nations, and they shall dwell safely all of them."

Ezekiel, who wrote this, was a Jew in captivity at Babylon, and "the land" he speaks about as "brought back from the sword and gathered out of many people" must have reference primarily to his own people, the Jews, who, or some of whom, returned from Babylon to Judea in 536 B. C. But the "many days" and the "latter years" he speaks of, in which Gog should figure so conspicuously on the earth, do not appear to appertain to the pre-Christian ages. There is nothing in the history of the Persian dynasty while having Palestine in subjection (538-335 B. C.) to indicate an original for this symbolization: Nor yet does there appear anything under the Grecian dynasty (335-30 B. C.) to indicate it. "Nothing occurred in the wars of the Syro-Grecian kings against the Jews after their captivity, or in their conflicts with Antiochus Epiphanes that answers to it; and it is foretold that these events must be in the latter days," Scott. The fulfillment of this prophecy must, therefore, pertain to the Christian Israel, whom Paul speaks of Rom. II., 28, 29: "He is not a Jew who is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew, who is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men but of God." And Rom. IX, 7-9: "For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel; neither because they are of the seed of Abraham are they all children, but in Isaac shall thy seed be called; that is, they that are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of promise are counted for the seed." And Gal. III., 29: "If ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise."

"Against the mountains of Israel, which have been a continual waste." On this says Scott: "Always waste; long in the state of desolation, namely, first by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Antiochus Epiphanes and the Romans; lastly, and at this time by the Turks; Desolations far more durable than that of the Babylonian captivity are evidently predicated."

But, since the prophecy evidently refers to the Christian Israel, not the old Israel of Ezekiel's day, and since mountains symbolize kingdoms or governments it is evident that we find Gog arrayed generally against Christian governments and the Christian religion with whatever that was connected or by whatever upheld. Some of those Christian nations and princes of the Franco-German

empire which fought so persistently in the crusades had been Christians but a comparatively short time, and so might be said to have been always lying waste in paganism. The Christian Israelites in the crusades were truly gathered out of many peoples for to take the holy land back from the Moslem sword. They did take it back and dwelt there securely for 88 years, reposing with the utmost confidence on God, and possessing not only Palestine but several important states around, such as the principalities of Antioch and of Edessa, etc. These were all at that time mountains of Israel, just in the same symbolic sense as was the kingdom of England, of Denmark or the Holy Roman (German) empire, or the Græco-Roman empire. Of course it is understood that the land itself was not gathered from many nations, but it was taken back or redeemed by the sword of the Christian Israel gathered out of many nations, who, or a sufficient portion of whom remained there, lived in peace and confidence for 88 years until Gog came in like a flood upon them again. Then they had their mountains rolling in to help them again in five or six more crusades.

And, now, I will just ask one question as to this: Why was it that the crusaders bothered themselves at all about Jerusalem and its possession? The answer is, that they understood themselves to be for that age the Christian Israel. They thought they understood their business just then as well as any men on earth did theirs, and that this was their duty which they did with a burning zeal, and with the endurance, in its accomplishment, of unspeakable self-denial and suffering.

V. 9: Gog's invasion is said here to be "like a storm and like a cloud to cover the land." It refers to the first invasion of Asia Minor by the Turks, the same as that referred to in Rev. IX. 16-17. In regard to this first invasion of the Roman empire by the Turks (abt. 1050), Gibbon (V. 512) says: "The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of six hundred miles from Tauris to Arzeroum." The Turks, of course, had large bodies of infantry also, and thus the similes of a storm and a cloud are both in place. Such exceedingly large armies did they have until they were largely cut off by the larger armies of Mongols under Zinghis Khan and his descendants, including Holagou, who took Bagdat in 1258, and Tamerlane, who defeated Bajazet in 1402 (Mongol movements, 1206-1402).

So far the Turk was making his way westward in Asia Minor towards Constantinople, but now (vs. 10, 11, 12) a mischievous

thought comes into his mind, and he says, v. 11: "I will go up to the land of unwalled villages; I will go to them that are at rest, that dwell confidently, all of them dwelling without walls and having neither bars nor gates, to take a spoil, and to take a prey, to turn thine hand upon the desolate places (that are now), inhabited, and upon the people that are gathered out of the nations, which have gotten cattle and goods that dwell in the midst of the land."

Now, as we cannot call the Roman invasion which resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D., an invasion by Gog, or anything like to an original for Gog then we must conclude the Israelites who dwell so securely without walls, gates or bars, to be the Christian Israelites, oriental and western, who inhabited Palestine under the Saracen regime and previous to the Turkish invasion in 1076. Speaking of the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem before 1076 Barnes says: "The number of pilgrims greatly increased about the year 1000, many desiring to await in the holy land the coming of the Lord. The Saracens welcomed the pilgrims; but the Turks, who afterwards conquered Palestine, inflicted upon them every outrage that fanaticism could invent." Genl. Hist., p. 397. The speaking of those Christian Israelites living, "all of them without walls and having neither bars nor gates," has reference either to the pilgrim and tabernacle or "witness," life of the Christian Israel or it is a kind of prophetic license. It is used by Jeremiah, chapter XLIX., 31 of his prophecy: "Arise get you up to the nation that is at ease, that dwelleth without care, saith the Lord, which have neither gates nor bars, which dwell alone." But now Gog thought to invade Palestine which he did in 1076 effecting its conquest; but this for him proved to be an act pregnant with mischief; for he soon got the whole of Europe up and in arms against him. The Turks lost their city Nice to the crusaders in 1097, Antioch in 1098 and Jerusalem in 1099, without here mentioning farther the punishments they received from the crusaders for nearly two centuries. Speaking of the possession of Palestine by the Turks (1076–1099) Gibbon says: "The Oriental Christians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution which instead of the regular government and old alliance of the Caliphs imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the north. In his court and camp the great Sultan had adopted in some degree the arts and manners of Persia; but the body of the Turkish nation, and more especially the pastoral tribes, still breathed the fierceness of the desert. From Nice to Jerusalem the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility;

and the shepherds of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leisure nor capacity to await the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom. The pilgrims, who through innumerable perils had reached the gates of Jerusalem, were the victims of private rapine or public oppression, and often sunk under the pressure of famine and disease before they were permitted to salute the holy sepulchre. A spirit of native barbarism or recent zeal prompted the Turkmans to insult the clergy of every sect: the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement, and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the Church of the Resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the west to march under the standard of the Cross to the relief of the holy land." Dec. & Fall, V. 535–6. Truly Gog stirred up for himself an hornet's nest in meddling at all, at this time, with Palestine.

V. 13: "Sheba and Dedan and the merchants of Tarshish "refer to the crusading nations from the west. In the 10th verse I think I can hear the cutting irony of the Franks and the westerners as they make fun of the Turks, asking them whether they are come out from Persia, Chorasan and Transoxiana to take a great spoil? In v. 14 we begin a reiteration of what we have had in the preceding verses, verse 15 conveying the same thought conveyed by John in Rev. IX., 16, 17. Verse 16 repeats what we have had in verse 8 with a little variation or addition. Verse 17 simply intimates the great space of time the prophecy covers. In verses 18 and 19 Gog is given to know of his sure defeat, arising from the Lord's anger on account of his misdeeds, and his great effrontery in coming to attack his holy land and people, a thought which materialized will prove pregnant with mischief to him! In verse 19 a great shaking (by war) is promised for the land of Israel. And verses 20, 21, 22, pre-indicate a general change of government to take place in Palestine as a result of the war against Gog, the new government being established by the Christian Israel; and in all this God will be magnified in the eyes of many nations; for all the world will know that the Gogites have been destroyed "with an overflowing shower and great hailstones, fire and brimstone," precipitated upon them by the mixture of nations,— northern, middle and southern,— in six crusades; and all the world will know that God rules in behalf of his people. "Some think," says Scott, "the Lord will send

assistance to Israel by the armies of Christian princes. In addition, however, to external opposition, he will occasion discord among the invaders," etc. This last is understood from verse 21, where it is said "every man's sword shall be against his brother." There was, as a matter of fact, much enmity existing between some branches of Moslems at the time of the first and second crusades, more especially between the Egyptian Caliphate and the Turks; but the Lord's calling for a sword against Gog in all his mountains (v. 21) refers to the call for the crusades in Europe through the instrumentality of the whole Catholic Church.

Chapter XXXIX., Ezekiel.

This chapter reiterates largely what has been given in chapter XXXVIII., with some additions and illustrations.

Verses 1–6 pre-indicate the general defeat of Gog by the crusaders and by others afterwards. V. 2: "I will turn thee back and leave but a sixth part of thee" is as well translated from the original "I will strike thee with six plagues," which is the sense Scott seems to prefer; or, "I will draw thee back with an hook of six teeth." Out of the eighth crusade six was the number which directly affected the Moslems at this time, the fourth crusade having been diverted to Constantinople, and the sixth, under Frederic II., having amicably arranged matters with the Sultan without bloodshed." In v. 4 Gog is to be given to the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field to be devoured. The Christians conquered the Turkish government of Palestine in 1099, and, of course, had the spoils of victory as well as the natural product of the country for 88 years, as regards the whole country; but as regards the coast country and cities, they had it for nearly two centuries. "Thou shalt fall upon the open field," v. 5; they shall be greatly overthrown, first by the crusaders; and then by the Mongols.

V. 6. "And I will send a fire on Magog and among them that dwell confidently in the isles," etc. There is here a reference to Amos 1, 4, etc. This indicates a general war against the Turks by the Christians and others. V. 7. The Lord will everlastingly impress not only his Christian Israelites, but the heathen with a sense of his holiness and power. V. 8: The spirit of prophecy, who sees everything as present, here declares the thing to be accomplished as had been foretold. V. 9: "They that dwell in

the cities of Israel shall go forth and shall set on fire and burn the weapons" of war of the different kinds left after them by the Gogites, "for seven years." There is little doubt that seven literal years are here meant, which would point to the great numbers of weapons left by the Turks in their defeat; but, on the other hand, we should consider how little fuel there is used in Palestine. In this verse we are given to understand that there are dwellers in cities in Israel which necessitates a different than literal gloss on v. 11 of Ch. XXXVIII.

V. 10 is a reiteration with some variation of the sense of v. 9. Verse 11: "And it shall come to pass in that day that I will give unto Gog a place there of graves in Israel, the valley of the passengers on the East of the Sea; and it shall stop the mouths of the passengers; and there shall they burn Gog and all his multitude; and they shall call it the Valley of the multitude of Gog." "The valley near this sea (Genesereth) is called the valley of the passengers; because it was a great road by which the merchants and traders from Syria and other eastern countries went into Egpyt." Lowth. There were of course large numbers of Turks killed in their wars with the crusaders; but the reference in "the place of graves" is to their political death, or disfranchisement while the Christian Israel held the government of the country. If the Moslems would not then conform to Christianity they should suffer the loss of citizenship.

V. 12: "And seven months shall the house of Israel be burying of them that they may cleanse the land." It would take the crusaders at least seven months to have organized their government throughout Palestine, so that this most likely has a literal interpretation. The seven months may refer also to all the time they occupied that country, seven denoting completed time. V. 13 indicates that all the Christian Israel would take a great interest in assisting government both in organizing and in keeping order. Verse 14 indicates that there would be men appointed by the governmen to see that everything was carried out according to the statutes throughout the country within the seven months: Then (v. 15), any man found dwelling in the country at the end of the seven months who had not conformed to the Catholic Church, or whatever it was required of him, he should be known and have to resort to his own place or conform.

V. 16: "The name of the city shall be Hamonah," the multitude. "No such city as Hamonah has yet been built." Lowth.

This, in its full accomplishment, doubtless refers to a later age than that of the crusades; it may refer to the Turkish empire, in the carrying out in that empire the decrees of the Congress of Berlin in 1878, when equal rights, civil and religious, were granted to all the subjects of the Turkish empire. By article LXII. of these decrees, "the same religious freedom, the same equality of the adherents of all religions in all political rights, privileges and prerogatives, is extended to and made the fundamental law of the whole Turkish empire." Clark History of Turkey, p. 515. This not only implies but gives an actual supervision of Turkish affairs, civil and religious, throughout that vast empire, to the Christian powers of Europe, the very powers that conqured the Turks in the crusades. "By these two treaties," says Clark, referring to those of San Stefano and Berlin, "the powers have extended their authoritative interference and their efficient control to every part of the Turkish empire and administration," etc. "While for the first time in many generations good government and prosperity are now made possible to all the peoples of the empire, it (the empire) is at the same time relieved from all occasion for its present great and ruinious armaments." *Id.* pp. 518–19. This looks like nearing the end of things with respect to Turkey as a government *per se:* but still the sick man is not yet dead and buried. But, in regard to the multitude being here called "the city," I may say that the cities of the Turkomans and Scythians generally were collections of tents in which their multitudes were gathered together; also their horn cattle, horses, chattels, personal effects, and wealth. That kind of a city was sometimes also the capital of their empire; so that their government is sometimes symbolized by a moving mountain.

Vs. 17–21: The prophecy, in these verses contemplates the conquest of the Gogites as accomplished, first after the conquest of Palestine by the crusaders, second, after the treaty of Berlin in 1878; and, thirdly, after some future conquest when the Turkish regime will be dispensed with in Europe and the Christian nations will have it all their own way? An invitation is, therefore, here given to every feathered fowl and every beast of the field — to the whole as would appear of Church and State — to come and partake of the sacrifice upon the mountains of Israel. "It was the custom of persons who offered sacrifices to invite their friends to a feast that was made of the remainder." Lowth. But the reference is here a direct one to the thing itself, and all evangelists are invited to come and do all the good they can in the interests of

true religion, and every Christian prince or man of ability in the interest of good and equal government and education for the masses of the people. In these four verses there seems evidently a reference to a time not characterized by war when men shall have beaten their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks and resolved to practice war no more. Would the doctrine and law of arbitration, which is so much needed, be here in operation? V. 21 the heathen, all nations outside of the Christian Israel, shall now know what the Lord has done and how he has executed his judgments; and, v. 22, from this time forward the Christian Israel will be confirmed in their belief of him, seeing how he has fulfilled his prophecies in due order, and in their resolve, with his help, to do their duty in the lines which he has prescribed. Vs. 23, 24, the heathen shall also come to understand that the punishments which the house of Israel has endured by captivities, etc., were on account of their sins of commission and omission, by which the judgment of God was exercised upon them. Verses 25 to 29 inclusive are generally repetitional in thought and expression of what has gone before, only in the last verse it appears better for the house of Israel, God's spirit being now exercised in its behalf.

In reference to the interpretation to be given to these two chapters, Scott says: "The return of a few Jews from Babylon, and their continuance, increase, partial reformation and prosperity till the days of Christ, followed by their present long-continued oppression under the frown of God and destitute of his spirit, could in no degree, answer to these predictions. We are, therefore, constrained either to explain them exclusively of the blessings conferred on the church at large; or to conclude that some future events equally answerable to them shall take place in respect of the nation of Israel; and this latter interpretation is far more consistent with the most obvious method of explaining the scriptures." Scott. Clark, who usually displays a just perception in his comments, has struck wide of the mark in referring our Gog of these two chapters to Cambyses or Antiochus Epiphanes, who, as shown above, do not touch upon it perceptibly. But Clark seems here to be referring to some other commentator on this subject and not giving any particular comment himself. See my explanation as to Gog and Magog: Rev. XX., where the prophecy being much more exactly defined enables the fulfillment in history to be more definitively shown. It will, of course, be understood that I am not, in the exposition of these two chapters, standing up as a

champion for the rectitude of the crusading principle, for war is not consistent with the principle of Christ in the Gospel, and at the same time as you will see from Gibbon (Dec. and Fall, VI., 37) there were crusades carried on by the Catholic Church "against the pagans of Livonia, the Moors of Spain, the Albigeois of France, and the kings of Sicily of the imperial family, that is of the family of Frederic II." He says further, "and even the popes in their zeal against a domestic enemy were sometimes tempted to forget the distress of their Syrian brethren," to which he seems to attribute the ultimate failure of the crusades. I for my part was only showing the fulfillment of this Gog and Magog prophecy in the history.

PROPHECIES OF REVELATION.

THE BOOK OF REVELATION is supposed to have been written by John, an evangelist, in the year 96, when Domitian, the brother of Titus and son of Vespasian, was emperor of the Romans. But by whomever it was written it will doubtless now be found, in the light of past history, the most marvelous book extant on the earth. What the writer himself tells us in verse 9, chapter I of this book — that he was in the isle called Patmos, because of his profession of the word of God, and of his testimony of Jesus Christ — accords with the tradition of the early Church, that he had been banished to that island for his profession of Christ in the persecution of Domitian.

Now, as John and Daniel occupy the same field, in so far as the fourth kingdom in its variouss phases is concerned, it may be expected that they will coincide as to the main facts of history which they symbolize, only that John, for obvious reasons, may be expected to give more particulars than his predecessor, concerning the ground which they go over in common. The imagery, too, may be expected to be a good deal alike in John as in Daniel, and the habit of repeating in several variant ways the same series of events.

CHAPTER I.

Verses 1–4: The first three verses are introductory to the whole book. The prophet states his book to be the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him to show to his servants things, which must shortly come to pass; and he (Jesus) sent and signified it by his angel to his servant John; who, on his own part, bears record to the word and testimony of all he saw of Jesus Christ. In the third verse the writer pronounces a blessing upon them that read and hear the prophecies of this book and attends to what they require.

The prophecies addressed here, in the form of messages, to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, are of course intended for the churches of all ages and nations; the Seven Churches being put by Synechdoche for the whole Christian Church in all time, seven having primarily reference to time, as the seven days of the week.

"Grace be to you and peace from him who is and was and is to come;" that is, the salutation comes from the mysterious deity, the triune God.

V. 5: Here Jesus Christ is called the faithful witness. Bear this in mind in considering who those were whom God calls his two witnesses, in the body of this book: remember that Jesus was the first witness for the truth in what is understood as the Christian sense.

You will gather, therefore, from this, that the martyrs for the truth who gave up their lives even by fire rather than deny his truth, were those whom God calls his "two witnesses." "And (from) the first begotten from the dead and the prince of the kings of the earth." Jesus Christ was the first begotten from the dead in the Christian sense, wherein there is a reference to Col. I, 18. The sense in which Christ is "the prince of the kings of the earth," is that in which he is the creator of the world, the word Archon, there translated prince, meaning primarily creator, originator, then chief. In Acts III. 15, Paul, addressing the unbelieving Jews, tells them they had killed the prince of life, and in this case the kindred form Archegos is used, whose primary meaning is author, originator.

"Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood," which refers to the act of Jesus by which, in sacrificing his life, he paid the purchase price of our redemption. If, reader, you be a believer in Jesus, you can look the devil in the face and tell him that in you he owns nothing, that you belong altogether, body, soul and spirit, to Christ; that you have nothing to give to him or in his direction at all. Persist in this and he will soon give you up and pass along, as the saying is, which is surely what you want, as you do not desire the devil's company. Verse 6: If the believers in Christ are kings and priests, of course Christ is a king of kings, as he is also high priest of his kingdom.

V. 7: "He cometh with clouds," which is the way Christ told Caiaphas, the high priest (Matt. XXVI. 64), that he would come again, and the way also in which the prophet Daniel saw the son of man coming in his vision (Dan. VII. 13).

V. 8: "He is Alpha and Omega — the Almighty:" Alpha and Omega are the first and the last letters of the Greek alphabet: And this is a corresponding title to that of "the root and offspring of David." The past and the future are present in the idea of the triune God.

V. 9: In this verse John, the writer, gives us a history of

himself, or, at least informs us why he is in the isle called Patmos, at the time he receives this Revelation, namely, because of his profession of the word of God and of the testimony of Jesus Christ. Domitian was quite an extensive persecutor of the primitive Christians.

V. 10: John was here in the Spirit in a kind of supernatural state, much as we suppose Paul must have been when he was taken up to the third heaven (2 Cor. XII. 2): "On the Lord's day," that is on Sunday, the day on which about 63 years before, Christ arose from the dead. Saturday being a day of rest, Christ lay in the grave, rested on that day. Sunday being the first of the six working days, Christ begins to make this revelation on that day, as it is fit that a reporter should work on a working day. In the primitive times it is evident the Christians were accustomed to assemble together on Sunday, whether or not they kept Saturday as Sabbath. But it was in the year 321 that a decree of Constantine made Sunday a legal holiday, as we would understand it, rather than a day strictly of rest as the Jewish Sabbath.

"And heard behind me a great voice as of a trumpet." V. 11: Here John is told to write what he sees in a book and send it to the seven churches which he named. V. 12: He naturally turns round to see who it is that addresses him, and he sees seven golden candlesticks. As a candlestick is a symbol of a church this is merely symbolic of the seven churches. Their being golden candlesticks indicates not only how precious the churches are in the sight of God, but that they are also channels of his grace to the people. As the seven churches are put by Synechdoche for the whole church so also the seven candlesticks.

V. 13: "One like unto the son of man." He appears to man in the likeness of a brother. If God appeared to man in any other way man could not so easily apprehend him. "Clothed with a garment down to his feet." He is clothed all over. He now sets forth the truths of history in symbolism; and when amongst men on earth he spoke to them mostly in parable. The Cosmos is all symbolical, a vast language, and the time will come when its varied meaning will be better understood.

"And girt about the paps with a golden girdle." The breast is the region of love, holy affections. How precious is the love of Christ! The gold in that his breast-girdle is tried gold, not tried in the fire at the martyr's stake, but on the cross. Heart love was that which Christ had for God his father and for human kind, and

that it was which bore him through his agony on the cross. Having advanced farther we shall find the vial-angels, who exercise the vengeance of God on those nations which persecuted the Christian martyrs, most of whom suffered by fire, to be girt round the breast with golden girdles.

V. 14: "His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow, and his eyes as a flame of fire." The hoary head is a crown of glory: Here it is charactertistic of the judge of all the earth; whose eyes are as a flame of fire indicating omniscient penetration as well as burning love. V. 15: "And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace." Feet are used for walking; brass symbolizes sin-atoning power. It is through the Gospel that salvation comes to men. In the feet like unto brass there is a reference to Ezek. I., 7, or to the appearance of the living creatures in his vision. "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who bringeth good tidings, who publisheth peace." Isaiah LII. 7: "And his voice as the sound of many waters." That is, as the voice of multitudes of people. Wonderful what numbers and zeal to be displayed in the spread of the Gospel! Ten thousand tongues in all the languages to proclaim the name and Gospel of Christ. This is what is indicated in this prophecy. "And behold the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of east, and his voice was like the noise of many waters; and the earth shined with his glory." Ezek. XLIII. 2.

V. 16: "And he had in his right hand seven stars." In verse 20 the seven stars are called the angels of the seven churches, that is, their bishops or presbyters. The seven stars meaning all the angels of all God's churches in all ages and nations, shows, first, the care which God takes of his Church, and being in his right hand indicates that he operates generally through the instrumentality of his churches in effecting the salvation of mankind. "And out of his mouth went a sharp, two-edged sword;" that is, the word of God which is so discriminating as to be called sharper than any two-edged sword. This indicates, too, his authority: "He beareth not the sword in vain."

V. 17: "I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying, Fear not, I am the first and the last." The sight, when he turned round and saw the Savior, so affected John that he became unconscious for a while, which means that these were different states of the mind in which he was, or thought he

was at this time. But the Savior's right hand helped him at the same time that the symbolization indicates that God's right hand is always ready to support his fainting cause; even a little touch from his right hand helps mightily.

V. 18: "I am he that liveth and was dead." Christ is the first fruits of the regeneration, the first begotten from the dead of the old system of Adam and of the law: "And behold I live forevermore," and to his followers, also, he gives the same everlasting life: for he has "the keys of hades and of death," and does not suffer them to descend to those conditions. "Our God is the God of salvation, and unto God, the Lord, belong the issues from death." Psal. LVIII. 20.

V. 19: "Write the things which thou hast seen," the description of this glorious symbolization here given of Christ and the church. "The things which are," that is, the affairs of the primitive church, particularly from 96 to 325 A. D. "And the things that shall be hereafter," that is, what will transpire under Church and State, and afterwards.

V. 20: This verse gives an explanation: "The seven stars, (v. 16) are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks (vs. 12–13), which thou sawest are the seven churches." You will, therefore, keep in mind what we have thus far, namely, that a star symbolizes a religious teacher and a candlestick or lamp symbolizes a church.

Chapter II.

The Messages to the Seven Churches.

Now taking up the churches particularly Christ begins with his message to that at Ephesus:

V. 1. "Unto the angel of the church of Ephesus write: These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks:"

Which shows that Christ is always in very intimate relationship with his churches and their pastors.

V. 2. "I know thy works and thy labors and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not and hast found them liars:"

Signifying that God is intimately acquainted with all the doings of his church; and knows the disposition and doings whether good

or bad or middling in these respects of every member of each church.

V. 3. "And (thou) hast borne and hast patience and for my name's sake hast labored and hast not fainted."

God knows all that is done for his sake by each one of his people, and makes that put to their credit draw interest in their behalf

Vs. 4, 5. "Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee because thou hast left thy first love. Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen; and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place except thou repent."

Some of the members of this church had departed from the love of Christ and are here called to repentance and to return to primitive condition. It is only the ardent love for Christ that can make the churches' candle burn and so if that love do not exist with its attendant good works the candlestick might as well be removed as the candle emits neither light nor heat.

V. 6. "But this thou hast that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate."

But this one thing I approve in you that ye lend no countenance to the doctrine or practice of a community of wives but hold fast to the doctrine and practice in this respect promulgated in the patriarchal age, in the law of Moses and in my Gospel. "Nicolaitaines," says Brown of Haddington, "the disciples of Nicholas, one of the first seven deacons, who taught the community of wives."

V. 7: "He that hath an ear let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches; to him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God."

This verse urges to attention and consideration. It is not said that the church at Ephesus only should hear and attend; but "he that hath an ear," wheresoever he be and at whatever time, should hear and attend; and that "to him that overcometh" in my cause, wheresoever he be and in whatsoever age, "I will give to eat of the tree of life," etc. This corresponds to Christ's injunction to his disciples: "What I say unto you I say unto all, watch!" In Christ's address to the church of Ephesus, he speaks to all of all time. Ephesus means desirable.

V. 8, 9: "And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna write: These things saith the first and the last which was dead and is alive; I know thy works and tribulation and poverty (but thou art rich) and (I know) the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews and are not, but (are) the synagogue of Satan."

Smyrna signifies myrrh, a fit appellation for the yet, comparatively speaking, sweet smelling primitive church. Christ recognizes the works and tribulation of this church, and their poverty as regards worldly wealth, but as regards spirituality he decides them to be rich. In this ninth verse you get a definition of blasphemy, which, according to this, consisted in pretending to be God's people (Jews), while in reality they are of the synagogue of Satan. According to this definition it is safe to say that "the man of sin," is Antichrist at least in an important sense: for, although he never denies Christ verbally, yet he acts so evidently and positively against his principle and teaching as plainly to show him an enemy of Christ acting out under his name. Mohammedism, too, while professing belief in Christ as the prophet of God and judge of mankind, yet acts so notably contrary to his precepts, as to its practice of war, polygamy, and its general oppression of the people, that it proves itself plainly in opposition to him and so Antichrist. In so far as these systems pretend to be of God and act contrary to him they are blasphemous; and blasphemy is always and inevitably connected with hypocrisy. By the Jews is here meant God's true Israel, as is in the sense of Paul, Rom. II. 28–29.

Vs. 10 and 11: "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days; be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life. He that hath an ear let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches: He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death."

Here the church at Smyrna is forewarned of the persecution which awaited them during a period of ten prophetic days. But they are told to be faithful even unto death, if necessary, not in anywise to deny the Christian principle and that so doing they would receive a crown of life. You remember how that Christ tells his disciples (Matt. X. 22) that they should be hated of all men for his sake, but that they that would endure to the end should be saved. And in Jas. I. 12, that apostle says: "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him." You see how consistent the Scriptures are the one part with the other, as to

the character of the true Christian life, as to the consecutive ideas of the cross and the crown.

Verse eleventh shows again that this message, though nominally to the Smyrnans, hath its application to Christians in all ages and places. "He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death," which death is surely the wages or penalty of sin, and should be prevented by the denying of self, and the living, the life of active godliness through evil as well as good report.

Verses 12 and 13: "And to the angel of the church in Pergamos write: These things saith he, which hath the sharp sword with two edges: I know thy works and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat (is): and thou holdest fast my name and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas (was) my faithful martyr, who was slain among you where Satan dwelleth."

Antipas means against all. The name doubtless, refers to a martyr who suffered for his opposition to polytheism. The meaning of Pergamos is height, elevation, and this message points to a time when the church began to feel itself exalted after a worldly fashion. Indeed it would seem to indicate the church as united with the state, as the following suggests:

Verses 14–15: "But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols and to commit fornication. So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate."

Here we have introduced a king and a prophet, which is, in its way, prophetic of the State and Church system of the Roman empire and as to how its supreme rulers both temporal and spiritual, acted, in setting up a system of religion in the empire, a substitute for polytheism, under the name of Christianity. As to the story of Balaam and Balak see Numbers XXII., XXIII., XXIV. Would the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes have a spiritual signification, referring here to a corrupt church? There were some in the primitive church who desired to profess Judaism and Christianity at the same time; and there were very many in the Roman empire after 385 A. D. who could not make much distinction between polytheism and Christianity, such as they had it then. As a woman is a symbol of a church would this combining of churches be what is meant in the tradition concerning the Nicolaitanes instead of any community of natural wives?

Vs. 16–17. "Repent or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth. He that hath an ear let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches: To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it."

The call to repentance, with the warning if neglected, is here followed by the injunction for all to hear and give attention to what God says to the churches. And there is a promise to him who overcometh (wheresoever, whosoever, whensoever) that he shall be given to eat the hidden manna, and that he shall come into possession of a peculiar white stone, with a peculiar name therein. Christians are symbolized by stones, and each true Christian, whom God acknowledges as his, is a living stone; and the name in that stone is the name by which that Christian is sealed unto God. A man's name is properly on his seal, if there be any name, thereon; so God's name is on each of his living stones; yea his name is in their foreheads, and nobody knows it but himself and themselves, who realize it in the state of adoption in which they know they are. The hidden manna is that meat Christ refers to in Jno. IV., 32, which those who are not yet regenerate know not of.

Verses 18–19: "And unto the angel of the Church in Thyatira write: These things saith the son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet (are) like fine brass; I know thy works and charity and service and faith, and thy patience and thy works; and the last to be more than the first."

Thyatira means perfume, sacrifice of labor. Here the only thing calls for particular notice is the fact that the works of the Thyatirans are said to have been more than their patience or faith. Although this message has its application to primitive Christians, as all the messages have, still this applies also particularly to the Church and State system of the Roman empire and at a later stage than that to which the preceding message points. This has in view the western division of the empire in particular and especially as to its system of religion, as the following may be found to indicate:

Vs. 20–24: "Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce my servants to commit fornication and to eat things sacrificed to idols.

"And I gave her space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not. Behold I will cast her into a bed and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds. And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts; and I will give unto every one of you according to your works."

We had the prophet Balaam mentioned in the preceding message; here we have the "prophetess" Jezebel, who seduces God's servants to commit spiritual fornication and to eat things offered to idols. She has been warned and given space to repent, but has not done so: Therefore God will cast herself and her spiritually adulterous brood into great tribulation and will kill her children with spiritual death and with natural death by war and other plagues and chastisements; so that all the world for all time may take warning from her example and not sin against God.

It will be seen that Christ begins this general message by recognizing the good and true Christian qualities, both active and passive, of the Thyatirans. But notwithstanding (v. 20) he has a few things to say against them, the first of which is that they suffered that woman Jezebel (an idolatrous system of Christianity peculiar to Church and State) which called herself a prophetess or "Holy Mother Church" to seduce God's people to commit (spiritual) fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols (in their festal imitations of paganism). But now since he hath given her warning and time to repent and she hath not done it (vs. 21–23) he will in the way of punishment, cast her into a bed (which is the death state) and those who commit (spiritual) adultery with her into great tribulation (which is the hell state) unless they repent of their gross spiritual and carnal sins.

And he will kill her children with death (they will reduce themselves to the spiritually dead condition); so that from this, their very condition, all may know that God does govern and judge and administer to every one according to their works.

Vs. 24–29, see Bible:

But to the Thyatirans who had continued in the true faith, amid evil as well as good report, during the reign of that sorceress Jezebel, and had not sacrificed the principle of Christ to worldly considerations he lays upon such no further burden than that they had already of holding fast to the true faith and advancing the true cause.

To such of you as in the midst of this general declension and universal prostitution keep my word and attend to my work to the end I will give (spiritual) power over the nations. My word in you will be with power and effect and in the progress of reformation and republicism you will break those old systems as one might break the vessel of a potter to shivers. This is as I have received spiritual power from my father. And not only this but I will give

to my true and working servants the morning star, which will be to them a day star from on high ushering in new life. Rev. XXII. 16.

Verse 29 shows the application of this message to be general to all Christians of all places and ages; but the burden of the message is in reference to the religious system which resulted especially in Western Europe, from State and Church combination in government.

Chapter III.

This message is sent to the angel of the church at Sardis, vs. –7, see Bible: The meaning of Sardis, is "prince or song of joy," or "that which remains." This message is sent by him who hath the seven spirits of God (the omniscient One), and the seven stars, that is, who hath in his care all the angels of all the churches in all the places and ages. He tells the Christians of Sardis that he knows their works, and that while they have a name to live they are really dead. He warns them to be watchful and strengthen the things that remain, but are ready to die, for that he has not found their works perfect before God. "This," applying to the "reformed nations," indicates that they have reformed not quite half, that they have not gotten out quite half way from the old mother church system; that they are still bound up in the shackles of Church and State; still in bondage to the old legal and fiery orthodoxy; still priding themselves in those things, and so he has not found their works either perfect or complete, that while having a name to live they are dead spiritually. While, therefore, he earnestly warns those "reformed" nations to repent he still recognizes the names of a few people in Sardis who had not defiled their garments, and promises that they shall walk with him in white, for they are worthy. He promises further that he who overcomes in living the true Christian life, through evil as well as good report, shall be clothed in white raiment, and that he will not only blot out his name out of the book of life but will confess that name before his father in heaven, and before his holy angels. While the burden of the application of the Sardian message is evidently to the "reformed nations," verse 6 shows the application to be general, not only to each Christian in Sardis but in every nation and age.

Verse 7–14, see Bible:

This message is to the angel of the church at Philadelphia. The

meaning of Philadelphia is brotherly love. Christ apprizes the Christians of Philadelphia that this message comes to them from him who hath the key of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth, and no man openeth; which indeed should insure those Philadelphians now starting out in their new lines of thought and practice; Quakers, Shakers, Methodists, Moravians, Swedenborgians, Huguenots, Campbellites, Cumberland Presbyterians, etc., that if his Christianity opens the kingdom of heaven to them no man can shut it against them. The key appears here to have been taken out of the hands of the "vicar of Christ," and held and manipulated by Christ himself. The Philadelphians, therefore, do not look either to St. Peter or to State and Church polity for the key which unlocks for them the kingdom of heaven. They, like the holy martyrs in the midst of the flames, have no trust in any man-devised system or ceremony as in any way effectual for their salvation: nor in any other name under heaven given among men by which they can be saved excepting that of Christ do they trust. Not in the Greek Church nor in that of Abyssinia or of Rome nor of Luther nor of Calvin do they trust for their salvation: but in the cross of Christ they glory towering o'er the wrecks of time. Their doctrine is quite simple and they know in whom they believe, and that he is able to keep that they intrust to him unto the great day.

Christ tells them farther encouragingly (and I see not what more they can want) that he has set before them an open door, which no man (even he who calls himself his vicar on earth) can shut against them: And this implies that they may enter into the kingdom of heaven if they but will, in all the freedom of true Christianity under republicism or even under the monarchies now in Europe: For they have a little strength and they did keep his word to the best of their ability, or perhaps nearly up to that (poor trusting ones!), and did not deny his name. He further promises them that he will make them of the synagogue of Satan, who say they are Jews and are not, but do lie, to come and worship before their feet (that is, he will gradually turn over the State and Church systems' peoples to worship in the same simple way as theirs) and to realize in their hearts' experience that he has loved his Philadelphians. He further promises them that because they kept his injunction of Christian patience he will keep them from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world (that is all the world outside of his true children, whom he particularly loves and cares for) to try them that dwell upon the earth (in Church and

State system). He then tells them that he comes quickly, to be persistent in the faith till he appears, so that each may obtain their own crown. To each endeavorer who overcometh he will give the position of a pillar in his temple (which implies surely fixedness of principle rather than of position as a pillar in a temple) and the meaning is here, I think, that such an one will not fall or become a backslider from the faith of Christ. And upon each of these pillars he will write the name of his God and of the New Jerusalem, v. 12; that is, those pillars of this new church will be not only dedicated, as pillars are in a temple, but wholly consecrated to God. While this message has particular application to those here called Philadelphians in every age and country, its application is directly to those I have mentioned in the ages succeeding the reformation, to the non-conformists as to State and Church system; and this is decidedly the best showing as to spiritual religion that we have met with in any of the messages thus far, or that we shall meet with. Its last verse (13) shows that it hath the general application to all nations and ages, as well as the particular and individual application to any nation or age.

Verses 14–22: See Bible:

This is the seventh message to the seventh church, that is, the seventh general state of religion to be noticed. Laodicea means a judging people, and it would appear that from a spirit of hypercriticism in matters spiritual Christians had become lukewarm as to the outworkings or activities of faith. The true church of Christ is founded on his undying love, and where the glowing love of Christ is not manifested in the church or in the individual the true faith is not fully there. The true faith and the true man Christ Jesus seems to be manifested in the people of the sixth message; but a kind of Sabbath day stillness, without the warmth and effervescent religious feeling which should be manifest on that day, seems to characterize the Christianity of the seventh. The message is sent by the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God, which are all titles the Savior applies to himself. Christ then tells them (v. 15) that he knows them to be neither cold nor hot as to religion; intimating perhaps that they are altogether too critical as to its tenets; and implying that it is preferable for them to have his love in their hearts, and the outworking of it in their lives, than to have always a perfectly logical understanding as to all tenets spiritual: and he informs them that since they are but lukewarm and neither cold nor hot he will spue

them out of his mouth. What a nauseating taste tepid water has to us; the perfectly cold tastes better: Even so we may understand that God has more regard for one who has made no profession of Christianity than for one who has and is altogether lukewarm in its service. "I would," says the Savior, "thou wert cold or hot." How much there is in this very sentence uttered by omniscience? Is there not volumes of wisdom in it as to the knowing and ordering of our own and other's character? Christ rejects half way faith as a tasteless morsel which one spues out of one's mouth. Moreover, because the Laodiceans boast that they are rich in goods and have need of nothing, judging after the manner of the natural man, and know not that they are wretched and poor and miserable and blind and naked, spiritually: the wonderful Counsellor, yea the Mighty God and everlasting Father, tells them to buy of him gold (spiritual) tried in the fire, that they may be truly rich; and white raiment that their (spiritual) nakedness may be covered, and that their shame may not appear: and to anoint their eyes with eye-salve (spiritual) that they may see with the eyes of the spiritual man. Those whom he loves he rebukes and chastens and when they feel his chastening rod they should repent. They should also keep their spiritual ear attuned for the Savior's knock at the door of their hearts; and when they hear they should open the door that he may come in and eat and drink with them. Even to those lukewarm people of this Laodicean or hypercritical age who will receive and love him in warm loving faith and practice he promises a seat on his throne, even as he, by his self-denying merits, has sat down with his father on his throne.

This Laodicean message characterizes an age which we are now entering upon or have entered into slightly; an age or state of things which arises primarily from republicism, wherein every one feels obliged to think for themselves as to everything. Education in all countries now prevails somewhat, consequent upon the impetus given to it by republicism; and, of course, where education prevails thinking must be done independently. The pupil in the school has to think for himself; nobody can think out his lessons for him, as, for example, in old times the makers of creeds thought for everybody in the jurisdiction of the creed, and left them nothing to think of as to that and no choice as to its profession. But now if not all over the world, yet at least all over Christendom, people think and judge about every thing; even about the creeds and the simple tenets of the Christian faith. This spirit of criti-

cism as to the tenets of Christianity has not gone so far yet as it may go; but, doubtless it has gone as far as it is for the people's good it should, that is, if their deductions should cause them to become lukewarm in the faith of Christ or at all languid as to his love and its active every-day outworking. People should remember and wise men should always have in mind that the subject of existence in regard to the Creator and the Cosmos is and always will be a standing miracle how much soever it may be simplified; that, while, therefore, they need never expect to apprehend or comprehend this subject in all its bearings and aspects, Christianity, properly understood, is the most simple as well as the most rational exposition which we know that God has yet been pleased to make of himself to man. Instead, therefore, of men troubling themselves in trying to explore an abyss they should rest sincerely thankful for what God has given them to know and take Christ at his word as given in the Gospel, which word is true and so simple that the most ignorant man as well as the most learned can equally understand it.

While this seventh message has the particular application to the Laodicean Christians and to this general phase of Christianity we have now considered, still v. 22nd and last shows that it has a general application to every individual Christian in every age, calling them from lukewarmness to fervent love and faith of Christ.

As to the seven messages Matthew Henry says: "An opinion has been held by some commentators of note, which may be given in the words of Vitringa: 'That, under this emblematical representation of the seven churches of Asia, the Holy Spirit has delinated seven different states of the Christian church, which would appear in succession, extending down to the coming of our Lord and the consummation of all things; and this is given in descriptions taken from the names, states, and conditions of these churches, so that they might behold themselves, and learn both their good qualities and their defects, aad what admonitions and exhortations were suitable for them.' Vitringa has given a summary of the arguments which may be alleged in favor of this interpretation. Some of them are ingenious but they are not now considered sufficient to support such a theory. Gill is one of the principal of the English commentators who adopt this view, that they are prophetical of the churches of Christ in the several periods of time until he appears again." Bishop Newton and Scott are all in the line of the thought here given by Henry. I have given my exposition

of the seven messages independently and see no reason why Vitringa and Gill, with whom all now in effect agree, should not be correct. For, if the messages themselves did not prove their application to different conditions and ages of the Christian Church as given above yet the number seven in symbolization has primarily reference to time, as for example the seven successive days of the week making a completed period; and so there may be seven successive periods in an era; or seven varying states or conditions, each embracing its own period of time, in an era; say in the completed Mohammedan era or the completed Christian era. The wise may, therefore, contemplate the whole history of Christianity in the messages to the Seven Churches, but God by his prophet has been very liberal to us in giving us parallel views or symbolizations of the same great period.

The History of the Primitive Christian Church.

The greater part of the original Jewish converts to Christianity adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and were desirous of imposing them upon the Gentiles who continually increased the number of the Christians. The first fifteen bishops, or rather presbyters, of Jerusalem were all circumcised Jews*; and the congregation over which they presided united the law of Moses with the doctrines of Christ. It was natural that the primitive tradition of a Church which was founded shortly after the first introduction of Christianity should be acknowledged by all the other Christian Churches as the standard of orthodoxy. The distant Churches very frequently appealed to the authority of their venerable parent, and relieved her distresses by their voluntary contributions. But when numerous and opulent Christian societies were established in the great cities of the Empire, in Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome, the reverence which Jerusalem had inspired to all the Gentile Christians insensibly diminished. The Jewish converts, or, as they came afterwards to be called, the Nazarenes, who had laid the foundation of the Church, soon found themselves overwhelmed by the increasing multitudes that from all the various religions of Paganism enlisted under the Christian banner; and the Gentiles who, with the approbation of their peculiar apostle, had rejected the Mosaic ceremonies, at length refused to their more scrupulous brethren the same toleration which they had at first humbly solicited for their own practice. The ruin of the city, and of the temple and public religion of the Jews about the year 70 A. D., was severely felt by the Nazarenes. They retired just before the siege began to the little town of Pella, east of

* These, as given in succession by Eusebius, are James, "the Lord's brother," Simeon, his cousin, Justus, Zaccheus, Tobias, Benjamin, John, Matthew, Philip, Seneca, Justus, Levi, Ephres, Joseph, Judas. With Mark, in the time of Hadrian, about 130 A. D., commenced a succession of Gentile bishops of whom he mentions thirteen or fifteen more.

the Jordan, where the ancient Church languished above sixty years in solitude and obscurity. At length, in the reign of Hadrian, they again effected an entrance to the new Roman city, Ælia Capitolina, which was founded on Mount Zion, on the ruins of old Jerusalem, by that Emperor, and from which all other Jews were excluded. This entrance the Nazarenes accomplished in a peculiar manner. They elected for their bishop Marcus, a Gentile, and most probably an Italian, or a native of one of the Latin provinces. Persuaded by him, the most considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosaic law, in the practice of which they had persevered above a century. By this sacrifice of their prejudices and habits they purchased a free admission into the colony of Hadrian, and more firmly cemented their union with the general Christian Church. When this restoration to Mount Zion was effected, the crimes of heresy and schism were imputed to the remnant of the Nazarenes which refused to accompany their Latin bishop. They still preserved their habitation of Pella, spread themselves into the villages adjacent to Damascus, and formed an inconsiderable Church in the city of Berœa, now Aleppo, in Syria. The name Nazarenes* was soon thought to be too honorable an appellation for these Christian Jews, and they received from their supposed scanty resources of mind and of estate the contemptuous epithet of Ebionites, that is, paupers.

In a few years after the restoration of the church to Jerusalem it became a matter of dispute whether a man who had acknowledged Christ as the Messiah, but who still continued to observe the law of Moses, could possibly hope for salvation. Justin Martyr answered this question in the affirmative; and though he expressed himself with the most guarded diffidence he ventured to determine in favor of such an imperfect Christian, if he were content to practice the Mosaic ceremonies without pretending to assert their general use or necessity. But when Justin was pressed to declare the sentiment of the Church he acknowledged there were very many among the orthodox Christians, who not only excluded their Judaizing brethren from the hope of salvation, but who denied intercourse with them in the common offices of friendship, hospitality, and social life. The more rigorous opinion prevailed over the milder; and a line of demarcation was drawn between the disciples of Moses and those of Christ.

The Ebionites, rejected from one religion as apostates and from the other as heretics, found themselves compelled to assume a more decided character; and although some traces of that sect may be discovered as late as the fourth century they insensibly melted away into the Church or the Synagogue. Of all the systems of Christianity

* The Nazarenes, which were the stock of the Ebionites, we are to regard as the first founders of Christianity: to that sect we are to look for the facts as to its origin. Whatever may have been their individual beliefs as to the character of Jesus, they appear to have had no doubt that their man was crucified.

it is said that of Abyssinia is the only one which adheres to the Mosaic rite.

While the orthodox Churches preserved a just medium between excessive veneration and improper contempt for the law of Moses, the various heretics deviated into equal, but opposite extremes. From the acknowledged truth of the Jewish religion the Ebionites had concluded that it could never be abolished. From its supposed imperfections the Gnostics * as hastily concluded that it never was instituted by the wisdom of the Deity. There are some objections seeming or real against the authority of Moses and the Old Testament institutions which readily present themselves to the inquiring mind. These objections were eagerly embraced and petulantly urged by the Gnostics. As those heretics were for the most part opposed to the pleasures of sense they arraigned the polygamy of the patriarchs, the gallantries of David, and the seraglio of Solomon. The conquest of the land of Canaan and the extirpation of the unsuspecting natives they were at a loss how to reconcile with the common notions of humanity and justice. But when they recollected the sanguinary list of murders, of executions and of massacres which stain almost every page of the Jewish annals they acknowledged that the barbarous Israelites had exercised as much compassion towards their idolatrous enemies as they had ever showed to their friends and countrymen. Passing from the sectaries of the law to the law itself they asserted that it was impossible that a religion which consisted only of bloody sacrifices and trifling ceremonies, and whose rewards, as well as punishments were all of a carnal and temporal nature, could inspire self-denial or the practice of virtue. The Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man the Gnostics treated with derision. They would not listen with patience to the repose of the Deity after six days' labor, to the rib of Adam, the garden of Eden, the tree of life and of knowledge, the speaking serpent, the forbidden fruit, and the condemnation pronounced against human kind for the venial offence of their first parents. The God of Israel was represented by the Gnostics as a being liable to passion and to error, capricious in his favor, implacable in his resentment, meanly jealous of his superstitious worship, and confining his partial providence to a single people, and to this transitory life. In such a character they could discover none of the features of the all-wise and omnipotent universal parent. They allowed that the religion of the Jews was somewhat less criminal than the idolatry of the Gentiles; but it was their fundamental doctrine that the Christ that they acknowledged as the first and brightest emanation of the Deity appeared upon earth to rescue man-

* A strong, considerably intelligent, and influential sect of primitive Christians. To the Gnostic name Tatian was attached. In his old age he founded in his native country, Assyria, a Gnostic sect chiefly distinguished for abstinence.

kind from their various errors, and to reveal a new system of truth and perfection. The Gnostics, also called Docetæ,* believed in the non-reality of a material body of Christ. Their doctrine was that instead of issuing from the womb of a virgin, as the orthodox have it, he had descended on the banks of the Jordan in the form of perfect manhood; that he had imposed upon the senses of his enemies and his disciples: and that the ministers of Pilate had wasted their impotent rage upon an airy phantom that seemed to expire on the cross and after three days to rise from the dead. Educated in the Platonic school, they conceived that the brightest Æon or emanation of the Deity might assume the outward shape and visible appearance of a human being: but they did not conceive the imperfections of matter to be compatible with the purity of the celestial substance. The most learned of the orthodox Fathers ‡ held a kind of Gnostic doctrine; and allowing that the literal sense is inconsistent with faith as well as reason, they take their stand and deem themselves secure behind the veil of allegory, which they claim is spread over most of the Scriptures.

During the first one hundred years of Christianity its professors were indulged in a freer latitude of faith and practice than has ever been allowed in succeeding ages. As the spiritual authority of the prevailing party was exercised with increasing severity, and the terms of communion were gradually narrowed, many of its most respectable adherents who were called upon to renounce, were provoked to assert their private opinions, and openly to erect the standard of rebellion against the orthodox rule of the Church. The Gnostics were distinguished as the most polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy of the Christian name; and that general appellation which expresses a superiority in knowledge† was either assumed by themselves or ironically bestowed by their envious adversaries. They were almost all of the races of the Gentiles, and their principal founders appear to have been natives of Syria and Egypt. The Gnostics blended with the faith of Christ many sublime but obscure tenets, which they derived from oriental philosophy and even from the religion of Zoroaster, concerning the eternity of matter, the existence of the two principles, and the mysterious hierarchy of the invisible world. As soon as they had launched out into that ocean of speculation they delivered themselves to the guidance of a disordered imagination, and they were insensibly divided into more than fifty particular sects, of whom the most celebrated were the Basilidians, the Valentinians, the Mar-

* From *δοκέω* to seem, as they held that Christ was only an appearance, and not a real body.

† From *γιγνώσκω* to know.

‡ There are some of those Fathers of the first three centuries who are now known in their own writings or in those of their contemporaries or successors. I may mention Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, a disciple of Pantænus; Origen, the most learned of the Fathers of this period. "In his commentaries," says Dr. Geisler, "he has furnished rich contributions towards the grammatical interpretation (*i.e.*, by showing the distinction between the literal, the moral, and the allegorical in the Scriptures) by which

cionites, and, in a still later period, the Manichæans. Each of these sects could boast of its bishops, and congregations, of its doctors and martyrs; and instead of the four Gospels adopted by the Church they produced a number of histories in which were related the actions and discourses of Christ and his apostles; but we may remark here that Origen, that indefatigable writer, who spent his life in the study of the Scriptures, relies for their authenticity upon the inspired authority of the Church.

The success of the Gnostics was rapid and extensive. They covered Asia and Egypt, established themselves in Rome and penetrated to some extent into the provinces of the West. They arose in the first and second centuries, flourished in the third, and were depressed in the fourth and fifth by the prevalence of the Orthodox, or Trinitarians, and the superior ascendant of the ruling power.

Whatever difference of opinion might subsist between the Orthodox, the Ebionites, and the Gnostics concerning the divinity or obligation of the Mosaic law, they were all equally animated by exclusive zeal; and by the same abhorrence for idolatry which had distinguished the Jews from the other nations of the ancient world. The philosopher who understood the systems of polytheism as compositions of human fraud and error could disguise a smile of contempt under a mask of devotion without fearing that either the mockery or the compliance would subject him to the resentment of any invisible, or, as he conceived them, imaginary powers. But the primitive Christians were accustomed to look upon the established religions of Paganism in a much more odious and formidable light. It was their invariable sentiment that the demons were the authors, the patrons, and the objects of idolatry. Those rebellious spirits, they thought, which had been degraded from the rank of angels, and cast down into the infernal pit, were still permitted to roam upon the earth to torment the bodies, and seduce the minds of sinful men. The demons soon discovered the natural propensity of the human heart towards devotion, and artfully withdrawing the worship of mankind from their Creator, they usurped the place and honors of the supreme Deity. By the success of their usurpations they at once gratified their pride and revenge, and obtained the only consolation of which they were yet susceptible, the hope of involving mankind in a participation in their guilt and miseries. It was imagined that they had distributed among themselves the most important characters of polytheism, one demon assuming the name and attributes of Jupiter, another of Æsculapius, a third of Venus, and a fourth of Apollo; and that by the advantage of their long experience and aerial nature, they were enabled to execute with skill and dignity the parts which they had undertaken.

means he has become the chief source for succeeding commentators." Also, Heraclas, Dionysius, etc. In common with the Docetæ they believed that their Gnosis had been handed down as a mysterious doctrine and should be communicated only to the initiated. Their doctrine with respect to the character and person of Christ was a refined Christian or Christian Gnostic not

They lurked in the temples, instituted festivals and sacrifices, invented fables, pronounced oracles, and were frequently allowed to perform miracles. The Christians who, by the interposition of invisible evil spirits, could so readily explain every preternatural appearance were disposed to admit the most extravagant fictions of the Pagan mythology. But the Christian's belief was accompanied with horror. The most trifling mark of respect paid to the national religion he considered as a direct homage yielded to the demon, and as an act of rebellion against the majesty of God.

In consequence of these opinions, the Christian regarded it as his first and most imperative duty to preserve himself pure and uncontaminated from the practice of idolatry. The religions of the nations were not merely speculative doctrines professed in the schools or preached in the temples. The innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were interwoven with all the circumstances of business or pleasures of public or private life; and it appeared impossible to escape the observance of them without at the same time renouncing all the offices and amusements of society, and all commerce with mankind. We in the present age can hardly conceive the difficulties which the primitive Christians experienced in preserving themselves from the countenancing and practice of idolatry.

The doctrine of a future state was scarcely considered among the polytheists of Greece and Rome as a fundamental article of faith. They understood the providence of the gods as it related to public communities rather than to private individuals, to be principally displayed upon the theatre of this visible world. The petitions offered on the altars of Jupiter or Apollo expressed the anxiety of their worshippers for temporal happiness, without regard to a future life. The doctrine of the soul's immortality was inculcated with more diligence and success in India, Assyria, Egypt and Gaul; and, since we cannot attribute such a difference to the superior knowledge of the barbarians, we may ascribe it to the influence of an established priesthood, which employed it as a motive tending to the practice of virtue, and as an instrument of their ambition. We would naturally expect that a principle so essential to religion would have been revealed in the clearest terms in the Mosaic law, and inculcated by the hereditary priesthood of the Jewish nation. But we discover that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is omitted in the law of Moses. After the return of the exiled Jews from Babylon, and after Ezra had restored the ancient records of their religion, two celebrated sects, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, gradually arose at Jerusalem. The former, belonging to the more opulent ranks of society, adhered strictly to the literal sense of the Mosaic law, and

quite Docetic. Christ was with them, *i.e.*, considering him as a unit, a mediate between God and man, not quite the one nor the other. Herein one perceives this early Eastern orthodox idea of Christ to be an intermediate one between that of the Docetæ and that of the Nazarenes, the idea of the latter, as understood by Eusebius, being that of a man distinguished above other men only by his virtues.

rejected the immortality of the soul as an opinion which received no support from the book which they revered as the only rule of life. To the authority of the Scriptures the Pharisees added that of tradition; and they accepted under the name of tradition, several speculative tenets from the religions of the Eastern nations. The doctrines of fate or predestination, of angels and spirits, and of a future state of rewards and punishments were in the number of the new articles of their belief: and as the Pharisees, by their austere manners, had drawn into their party the body of the Jewish people, the immortality of the soul became the prevailing sentiment of the synagogue under the reign of the Asmonæan princes and priests. As soon as the Jews admitted the idea of a future state, they embraced it with that zeal which has always so characterized their nation.

When the promise of eternal life and happiness was proposed to mankind on condition of adopting and practising the faith of the Gospel, it is no wonder that so advantageous an offer should have been accepted by great numbers of every religion, rank, and province of the Roman Empire. The ancient Christians were animated by a contempt for their present existence, and by a confidence of immortality, of which the doubtful and imperfect faith of modern ages cannot give us any adequate notion. The influence of the doctrines of the primitive Church was much strengthened by an opinion which universally prevailed therein, that the end of the world and the kingdom of heaven were at hand. The near approach of this awful event they believed to be foretold in the Gospels, and those who understood in their literal sense the discourses of Christ, as represented there, expected the second and glorious coming of the Son of Man in the clouds before that generation should have passed away which was witness of the calamities of the Jews under Vespasian or Hadrian. The revolution of eighteen centuries shows us the fallacy of interpreting these prophecies literally; but as this opinion subsisted in the Church it was productive of the most salutary effects on the faith and practice of the Christians, who lived in the awful and constant expectation of that moment when the globe itself and all the various races of mankind should tremble at the appearance of the Divine Judge. The ancient and popular doctrine of the Millennium was immediately connected with the second coming of Christ. As the works of creation had been finished in six days their present state, according to a tradition which was attributed to the prophet Elijah, was limited to six thousand years. By the same analogy it was inferred that this long period of toil and contention which was now almost elapsed would be succeeded by a joyful Sabbath of a thousand years, and that Christ, with the triumphant band of the

Saints and the elect who had escaped death (see I. Thessalonians IV., 15–18), or who had been miraculously revived, would reign upon earth till the time appointed for the last and general resurrection. So pleasing was this hope to the mind of the Christians that they quickly adorned the new Jerusalem, the seat of the blissful kingdom, with all the gayest colors of the imagination. The inhabitants of this millennial paradise were still supposed to retain their human nature and senses after as before the resurrection. A city was erected of gold and precious stones, and a supernatural plenty of corn and wine was bestowed on the adjacent territory, in the free enjoyment of whose spontaneous productions the happy and benevolent people were never to be restrained by any jealous laws of exclusive property. The assurance of such a Millennium was carefully inculcated by a succession of Fathers from Justin Martyr and Irenæus, who, it was said, conversed with the immediate disciples of the apostles, down to Lactantius, who was preceptor to the son of Constantine. Such appears to have been the reigning sentiment of the orthodox believers, and it seems so well adapted to the desires and apprehensions of mankind that it must have contributed in a very considerable degree to the progress of the Christian Church. But when the Christian edifice was almost completed the temporary support was laid aside. The doctrine of Christ's literal reign upon earth was at first regarded as a profound allegory, was considered by degrees as a doubtful and useless opinion, and was at length rejected as the absurd invention of fanaticism and heresy.

Whilst the happiness and glory of a millennial reign was promised to the true Christians, the most dreadful calamities were pronounced against an unbelieving world. The edification of a new Jerusalem was to advance by equal steps with the destruction of the mystic Babylon; and as long as the Emperors who reigned before Constantine persisted in the profession of idolatry the epithet of Babylon was applied to the city and empire of Rome. A regular series was concocted of all the evils, physical and moral, which can afflict a flourishing nation; intestine discords and the invasion of the fierce barbarians from the unknown regions of the North; pestilence and famine, comets and eclipses, earthquakes and inundations. All these were only so many preparatory and ominous signs of the great catastrophe of Rome, when the country of the Catos, the Scipios, and Cæsars should be consumed by a flame from heaven, and the city of the seven hills, with her palaces, her temples, and her triumphal arches, should be buried in a vast lake of fire and brimstone. The country which from religious motives, had been chosen for the origin and principal scene of the conflagration was the best adapted for that purpose by

natural and physical causes, by its deep caverns, beds of sulphur, and numerous volcanoes, of which those of Vesuvius, of Etna, and of Lipari exhibit but an imperfect representation. And the calmest and most intrepid skeptic, in the then state of scientific knowledge, could hardly refuse to allow that the destruction of the system of the world by fire was in itself not improbable. The Christian also founded his belief much less on the deduction of reason than on the authority of tradition, and his interpretation of Scripture; expected it with terror and confidence as a certain approaching event; and as his mind was perpetually filled with the solemn idea he considered every disaster that happened to the Empire as an infallible symptom of an expiring world.

The condemnation of the wisest and most virtuous of the ancients on account of their ignorance or incredulity with respect to Christianity, implies an idea offensive to reason, and highly presumptuous. But the primitive Church, whose faith was of a firm consistence, delivered over without hesitation to eternal torture the far greater part of mankind. They might perhaps indulge a charitable hope in favor of Socrates, or some other sages of antiquity, who consulted the benefit of mankind according to the light of reason, before that of the Gospel had arisen. But they unanimously affirmed that those who, since the introduction of Christianity, had obstinately persisted in the worship of the demons, neither deserved nor could expect a pardon from the justice of the Deity. These rigid sentiments, which had been unknown to the ancient world, appear to have infused a spirit of bitterness into a system otherwise of love and harmony. The ties of blood and friendship were frequently torn asunder by the difference of religious faith; and the Christians who in this world found themselves oppressed by the power of the Pagans, were sometimes reduced by resentment and spiritual pride to delight in the prospect of their future triumph. "You are fond of spectacles," exclaims Tertullian; "expect the greatest of all spectacles, the last and eternal judgment of the universe. How shall I admire, how laugh, how rejoice, how exult, when I behold so many proud monarchs, so many fancied gods groaning in the lowest abyss of darkness; so many magistrates who persecuted the name of the Lord, liquefying in fiercer fires than they ever kindled against the Christians; so many deluded philosophers blushing in red-hot flames with their deluded scholars: so many celebrated poets trembling before the tribunal, not of Minos, but of Christ; so many tragedians more tuneful in the expression of their own sufferings; so many dancers—" but feelings of humanity suggest to us to draw a veil over this fearful description which the fierce African (rather an exception, indeed, in

this respect, to the generality of the early Christian writers), still pursues in a long variety of affected and unfeeling witticisms.

But beyond doubt there were many among the primitive Christians of a temper more corresponding to the meekness and charity of their profession. There were many who felt a sincere compassion for their friends and countrymen, and who exerted their zeal and influence to save them from impending destruction. The careless and ignorant polytheist, assailed by new and unexpected terrors, against which neither his priests nor philosophers offered him any certain protection, was frequently terrified and subdued by the menace of eternal damnation. His fears might assist the progress of his faith and reason; and if he could only persuade himself that the Christian religion might possibly be true it became an easy task to convince him that it was the safest party that he could possibly embrace.

The supernatural gifts, too, which were claimed to be exercised by the Christians above the rest of mankind, must have conduced to their own comfort, and frequently to the conversion of infidels. The expulsion of evil spirits from the bodies of those persons whom they had tormented was considered a signal though ordinary triumph of the Christian faith, and is repeatedly urged by the ancient Fathers as the most convincing evidence of the truth of Christianity. The ceremony was usually performed in a public manner, and in the presence of a great number of spectators; the patient was relieved by the power or skill of the exorcist, and the vanquished demon was heard to confess that he was one of the fabled gods of antiquity that had impiously usurped the adoration of mankind. The reader cannot fail to see how such effects and phenomena may have been produced after reading the illustrations in the case of the miracles of the Gospels; still considering that they may have been produced in other ways by the influence of the Holy Spirit. But the most miraculous cure of diseases of the most inveterate and preternatural kind can no longer occasion us any surprise when we are informed that in the days of Irenæus, about the end of the second century, the resurrection of the dead was very far from being esteemed an uncommon event. Dr. Middleton, however, thus objects to this statement of Irenæus: "It is very strange that from the time of the apostles there is not a single instance of this miracle to be found in the three first centuries: except a single case slightly intimated in in Eusebius from the works of Papias,* and which he seemed to rank among the other fabulous stories delivered by that weak man." And

* The preceptor of Irenæus and who claimed to have conversed with the apostle John. Such is how tradition comes to us. Eusebius, in his Chronicon (Olympic 220), allows without hesitation Papias to have been the disciple of the Apostle John; but in his Eccles. Hist. (III. 39) he declares that he was only the pupil of a certain presbyter John. Some have enquired what right he had to do so?

Bp. Douglass considers Irenæus to speak of what had "been performed formerly," not in his own time. At such a period, however, when faith could boast of so many wonderful victories over death, it seems difficult to account for the skepticism of these philosophers who still rejected and derided the Christian doctrine of the resurrection. A noble Greek had rested upon this important ground the whole controversy, and promised Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, that if he could be gratified with the sight of a single person who had been actually raised from the dead, he would immediately embrace the Christian religion. It is to be remarked that this prelate, however anxious he may have been for the conversion of his friend, thought proper to decline this fair and reasonable challenge.

It is evident that the unresisting softness of temper, so conspicuous among the primitive Christians of the first three centuries, proved of some benefit to the advancement of their cause. The most credulous or curious among the Polytheists were often persuaded to enter into a society which asserted an actual claim of miraculous powers. The primitive Christians perpetually trod on mystic ground, and their minds were exercised to the habit of believing the most extraordinary events. They felt, or they fancied, that on every side they were incessantly assaulted by demons, comforted by visions, instructed by prophecy, and sometimes delivered from sickness, danger, and death by the supplications of the Church. The real or imaginary prodigies of which they so frequently conceived themselves to be the objects, the instruments, or the spectators, happily disposed them to adopt with the same ease the wonders of the evangelic narratives; and thus miracles which did not exceed the measure of their own experience inspired them with the most lively assurance of mysteries which were represented to surpass the limits of their understanding. It is this deep impression of supernatural doctrines which has been so much celebrated under the name of faith; a state of mind described as the surest pledge of the divine favor, and of future felicity, and recommended as the first, perhaps the only real merit of a Christian. According to the more rigid Christian doctors, even to our own time, the moral virtues, which may be equally practised by infidels, are destitute of any value or efficacy in the work of our justification; a doctrine which is carried out to its full extent by those of a Jesuitical spirit in every Christian Church and which bears its own refutation, not to mention the crooked practices of some of its professors. The conduct, however, of the Jesuit missionaries, who have so much bettered the condition of the heathen world, is forever praiseworthy.

But the primitive Christians were accustomed to demonstrate their faith by their virtues; and it was justly supposed that the

divine persuasion which enlightened or subdued the understanding did at the same time purify the heart and direct the actions of the believer. The first apologists for Christianity who justify the innocence of their brethren, and the writers of a later age who celebrate the sanctity of their ancestors, display in the most vivid colors the reformation of manners which was introduced to the world by the preaching of the Gospel. It was a very ancient reproach of the Pagans against the Christians that the latter allured into their society the most atrocious and abandoned criminals, who, as soon as they were touched by a sense of remorse, were easily persuaded to wash away in the waters of baptism the guilt of their past conduct, for which the temples of the gods refused to grant them any expiation. But this seeming reproach, when cleared from misrepresentations, contributes perhaps as much to the honor as it did to the increase of the Church. The friends of Christianity may acknowledge without shame that many of their most eminent saints had been, previous to their baptism, abandoned sinners. Those persons who, in the world, followed, though perhaps imperfectly, the dictates of benevolence and propriety, derived such a calm satisfaction from the consciousness of their own rectitude as rendered them much less susceptible of the sudden emotions of shame, of grief, and of terror which have given birth to so many wonderful conversions. After the example of their divine master, as set forth in the Gospels, the Christian missionaries of this age did not disdain the society of men, and of women, oppressed by the consciousness and often by the effects of their vices. As they emerged from sin and superstition to the glorious hope of immortality they resolved to devote themselves to a life, not only of penitence but of virtue; and the desire of perfection became the ruling passion of their soul. When the Christians of Bythinia were brought before the tribunal of the younger Pliny, under certain accusations, they assured the Proconsul that far from being engaged in an unlawful conspiracy, they were bound by a solemn obligation to abstain from the commission of those crimes which disturb the private or the public peace of society, from theft, robbery, adultery, perjury and fraud. And this blamelessness was admitted by the candid and enlightened Roman, so far as his opportunity of observing the Christians allowed him to judge. Near a century after this Tertullian with an honest pride, could boast that very few Christians had suffered by the hand of the executioner, except on account of their religion. Their serious and sequestered life, averse to the gay luxury of the age, inured them to chastity, temperance, economy, and all the sober and domestic virtues. The contempt of the world exercised them in the habits of humility,

meekness and patience. The more they were persecuted the more closely they adhered to each other. Their mutual charity and unsuspecting confidence has been remarked upon by infidels, and was too, often abused by perfidious friends. It is an honorable circumstance for the morals of the primitive Christians that even their faults, or rather errors, were derived from an excess of virtue. Some of the bishops and fathers of the Church, whose evidence attests, and whose authority might influence the professions, the principles, and even the practice of their contemporaries, had studied the Scriptures with less skill than devotion; and they often received in the most literal sense those rigid precepts of the Gospels to which succeeding commentators have applied a figurative mode of interpretation. Ambitious to exalt the perfection of the Gospel above the wisdom of philosophy, the zealous fathers have carried the duties of self-mortification, of purity and patience to a height which one would think scarcely possible for a human being to attain, much less to preserve. Aspiring to imitate the perfection of angels they disdained, or they affected to disdain, every earthly and corporeal delight. The first sensation of pleasure was marked as the first moment of the abuse of the senses. The candidate for heaven was instructed, not only to resist the grosser allurements of the taste or smell, but even to shut his ears against the harmonies of profane music, and to view with indifference even the most finished productions of human art. Gay apparel, magnificent houses, and elegant furniture were supposed to unite the double guilt of pride and of sensuality; a simple and mortified appearance was more becoming to the Christian, who was certain of his sins, and doubtful of his salvation. In their censures of luxury the fathers are exceedingly minute and circumstantial; and among the various articles which excite their pious indignation we may mention false hair, garments of any color except white, instruments of music, vases of gold and silver, downy pillows (as Jacob reposed his head on a stone), white bread, foreign wines, public salutations, the use of warm baths, and the practice of shaving the beard, which, in the language of Tertullian, is a lie against our own faces, and an impious attempt to improve the works of the Creator. When Christianity was introduced among the rich and polite, the observance of those rules was left to such as aspired to superior sanctity. But the virtue of the primitive Christians, like that of the primitive Romans, was to a large extent guarded by poverty and ignorance, since it can hardly be said that the less wealthy ranks of mankind can claim a merit for foregoing that which they are not able to possess; and still if men be real Christians (whether they be poor or rich) they are infinitely more content and godly without the use of luxuries. Modesty in

moderation is commendable in all, for it must be confessed that the poor in many cases are inclined to be more vain than they should be as well as the rich.

The fathers were correspondingly particular in the restraints which they imposed upon the commerce of the sexes. It was their unanimous sentiment that a first marriage was all that was requisite for the purposes of nature and of society. The marriage tie was defined as a resemblance of the mystic union between Christ and his Church, and was pronounced indissoluble either by divorce or death. The practice of second nuptials was branded with the name of a legal adultery, and the persons who were guilty of such a scandalous offence against Christian purity were excluded from the honors and from the alms of the Church. They considered a state of celibacy and a godly life as the nearest approach to the divine perfection. It was often with difficulty that ancient Rome could maintain the institution of six vestal virgins; but the primitive Church was filled with a great number of persons of either sex who had devoted themselves to the practice of perpetual chastity. A few of these occasionally, among whom we may reckon the celebrated Origen, judged it most prudent to disarm the tempter by marriage. Among the Christian ascetics, however (a name which from their peculiar manner of life they soon acquired), many, as they were less presumptuous were probably more successful. The loss of sensual pleasure was compensated in them by spiritual pride; and it was in praise of these chaste spouses of Christ that the Fathers have poured forth the stream of their eloquence. Such are the early traces of monastic principles and institutions which in a subsequent age counterbalanced all the advantages of Christianity.

While the primitive Christians inculcated the maxims of passive obedience they were not inclined to take any active part in the civil administration of the government, or the military service of the empire. This seeming indifference to the public welfare exposed them to the contempt and reproaches of the Pagans, who often asked what must be the fate of the Empire, attacked on all sides by the barbarians, if all the Roman citizens should adopt the pusillanimous sentiments of the new sect. To this reproachful question the Christian apologists returned obscure and ambiguous answers, as they were unwilling to reveal the secret cause of their security, the expectation that before the conversion of mankind was accomplished, war, government, the Roman Empire, and the world itself should be no more.

But though the primitive Christians were dead to the pleasures and business of the world, their love of action, which could not be

extinguished, found a new occupation in the government of the Church. The safety of their society, its advancement and honor produced in their minds a spirit of patriotism such as the early Romans had felt for the republic, and sometimes also of a similar indifference in the use of whatever means might probably conduce to so desirable an end. The ambition of elevating themselves to the honors and offices of the Church they disguised by the laudable profession of devoting to the public good the power and consideration which, for that purpose only, it became their duty to solicit. In the exercise of their office they were frequently called upon to detect the errors of heresy or the arts of faction, to oppose the designs of perfidious brethren, to stigmatize their characters with infamy, and to expel them from a society whose peace and harmony they had attempted to disturb. The ecclesiastical rulers of the Christians were taught to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove: but as the former was subtile so the latter gradually became corrupted with the habits of government. In the Church, as in the world, those who were placed in any prominent station rendered themselves considerable by their eloquence and firmness, by their knowledge of mankind, and by their dexterity in business; and while they concealed from others, and perhaps from themselves, the secret motives of their conduct, they too frequently displayed all the turbulent passions of active life, which were tinctured with an additional degree of bitterness and obstinacy from the infusion of spiritual zeal.

Those who have studied the subject with candor and impartiality are of the opinion that those primitive Christians to whom the name of apostles is ascribed declined the office of legislation, and rather chose to endure some partial scandals and divisions than to exclude the Christians of future ages from the liberty of varying their forms of ecclesiastical government, according to the changes of time and circumstances. The scheme of policy which was adopted during the first century may be discovered from the practice of the Churches of Jerusalem, Ephesus, and Corinth. The Christian societies which were organized in the cities of the Roman Empire were united only by the ties of mutual faith and charity. Equality and independence formed the basis of their internal constitution. The want of discipline and human learning was partially supplied by the assistance of the prophets, who appear to have had their spiritual call to that function without distinction of sex or natural abilities, and who, as often as they felt the impulse of inspiration, poured forth their prophecies in the Christian assemblies. But these extraordinary gifts were frequently abused or misapplied by the prophetic teachers.

They displayed them at an improper season, presumptuously disturbed the service of the assembly, and by their misdirected zeal, or their vanity, they introduced into the Church of Corinth a long and melancholy train of disorders. As the institution of prophets became useless, and even harmful, their powers were withdrawn and their office abolished. The public functions of religion were then solely entrusted to the established ministers of the Church, the bishops and presbyters; two appellations which in their first origin appear to have distinguished the same office and the same order of persons. The name presbyter was expressive of their age, or rather of their gravity and wisdom. The title of bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) denoted their inspection over the faith and morals of the Christians who were committed to their pastoral care. In proportion to the number of the faithful in the infant congregations a larger or a smaller number of these episcopal presbyters guided with equal authority and united counsels.

But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of an acknowledged superior; and the order of public proceedings soon introduced the office of a president, at least, with the authority of collecting the sentiments, and of executing the resolutions of the assembly. A regard for the public order and tranquillity which would have been so frequently interrupted by annual, or by occasional elections, induced the primitive Christians to constitute an honorable and perpetual rulership, and to choose one of the wisest and the most holy among their presbyters, to execute during his life the duties of their ecclesiastical Governor. It was under these circumstances that the lofty title of bishop began to raise itself above the humble appellation of presbyter or elder; and while the latter remained the most natural distinction for the members of every Christian senate, the former was appropriated to the dignity of its new president. The episcopal form of government, which appears to have been instituted before the end of the first century, was adopted without delay by all the societies which were already scattered over the Empire, had acquired in an early period the sanction of antiquity, and is still looked upon by the most numerous branches of the Christian Church as a primitive and even a divine institution. It need hardly be observed that the pious and humble presbyters or elders, who were first dignified with the title of bishop, could not possess, and would probably have rejected the power and pomp which afterwards pertained to the Roman Pontiffs, or now pertain to a German or English prelate. Their jurisdiction, which was originally of a spiritual, though in most cases of a temporal nature also, we may define in a few words. It consisted in the administration of

the sacraments and discipline of the Church, the superintendence of religious ceremonies, which insensibly increased in number and variety, the consecration of ecclesiastical ministers, to whom the bishop assigned their respective functions, the management of the public fund, and the determination of all such differences as the faithful were unwilling to expose before the tribunal of an idolatrous judge. These powers, during a short period, were exercised according to the advice of the college of presbyters, and with the consent and approbation of the assembly of Christians. The primitive bishops were considered as only the first of their equals, and as the honorable servants of a free people. Whenever the episcopal chair became vacant by death, a new president was chosen among the presbyters by the suffrages of the whole congregation, every member of which supposed himself invested with a sacred and sacerdotal character in respect to holiness and virtue. Such was the mild and equal constitution by which the Christians were governed for more than a hundred years after the first introduction of Christianity. Every society formed within itself a separate and independent republic; and, although the most widely separated of these little states maintained a mutual and friendly intercourse of letters and deputations, the Christian world was not yet connected by any supreme authority or legislative council. As the numbers of the faithful gradually multiplied they discovered the advantages which might result from a close union of their interests and designs. Towards the end of the second century the Churches of Greece and Asia adopted the institution of provincial synods. It was soon established as a custom and as a law that the bishops of the independent Churches should meet in the capital of each province at the stated periods of spring and autumn. They were assisted in their deliberations by the advice of a few distinguished presbyters, and attended by the presence of a listening multitude. Their decrees, which were styled canons, regulated every important controversy of faith and discipline. The institution of synods was so well suited to private ambition and to public interest that, in the space of a few years, it was adopted throughout the whole Empire. A regular correspondence was established between the provincial councils, which mutually communicated and approved their respective proceedings, and the universal Christian Church soon assumed the form and acquired the strength of a great federative republic.

As the legislative authority of the several Churches was insensibly superseded by the use of councils, the bishops obtained by their alliance a much larger share of executive and arbitrary power; and as soon as they became connected by a sense of their common

interest they were enabled to attack, with combined vigor, the original rights of their clergy and people. The bishops of the third century imperceptibly changed the language of exhortation into that of command, scattered the seeds of future usurpations, and supplied by Scripture metaphor and declamatory rhetoric their deficiency of force and reason. They magnified the unity and power of the Church as it was represented in the episcopal office, of which each bishop enjoyed an equal portion. Princes and magistrates, it was often repeated, might boast a claim to a transitory earthly dominion; but it was the episcopal authority alone which was derived from the Deity, and extended itself over this and over another world. The bishops were the vicegerents of Christ, the successors of the apostles, and the mystic substitutes of the high priests of the Israelitish Church. By their exclusive privilege of conferring the sacerdotal order, they invaded the freedom of the clerical elections; and if, in the administration of the Church, they still consulted the judgment of the elders, or the inclination of the people, they took great care to inculcate the merit of such a voluntary condescension. The bishops acknowledged the superior authority which resided in the assembly of their brethren; but in the government of his peculiar diocese, each of them exacted from his flocks the same implicit obedience as if that favorite metaphor had been literally just, and as if the shepherd were of a superior nature to that of his sheep. This obedience, however, was not imposed without some efforts on one side and some resistance on the other. The democratic part of the constitution was, in many places, very warmly supported by the zealous or interested opposition of the inferior clergy. But their patriotism received the ignominious epithets of faction and schism; and the episcopal cause was indebted for its rapid progress to the labors of many active prelates who, like Cyprian of Carthage, could reconcile the arts of a most ambitious statesman with the Christian virtues which secured him the character of a saint and martyr.

The same causes which at first operated to destroy the equality of the presbyters introduced among the bishops a pre-eminence of rank and from thence a superiority of jurisdiction. As often as they met in the provincial synod, which happened each spring and autumn, the difference of personal merit and reputation was very sensibly felt among the members of the assembly and the multitude was governed by the wisdom and eloquence of the few. But the order of public proceedings required a more regular and less individious distinction; the office of perpetual presidents in the councils of each Province was conferred upon the bishops of the principal cities; and these aspiring prelates, who soon acquired the lofty titles of Metro-

politans and Primates, secretly prepared themselves to usurp over their episcopal brethren a like authority to that which the bishops had so lately assumed above the college of presbyters. Nor was it long before an emulation of pre-eminence and power prevailed among the Metropolitans themselves, each of them affecting to display in the most pompous terms the temporal honors and advantages of the city over which he presided; the number and wealth of the Christians that were subject to their pastoral care; the saints and martyrs that had arisen among them; and the purity with which they had preserved the orthodox faith as it had been handed down through a series of bishops from the apostle or apostolic disciple to which the founding of their church was ascribed. From every cause either of a civil or of an ecclesiastical nature it was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the respect, and might soon claim the obedience of the provinces. The Roman Church was the greatest, the most numerous, and, in regard to the west, the most ancient of the Christian establishments, many of which had been founded by the labor of her missionaries. Instead of one apostolic founder, the utmost boast of Antioch, or Corinth, or Ephesus, the city of the seven hills was supposed to have been honored with the preaching and martyrdom of two eminent apostles; and the bishops of Rome ingeniously claimed the inheritance of whatsoever prerogatives were attributed either to the person or the office of St. Peter. The bishops of Italy and the provinces were disposed to allow them a primacy of order and association (such was the way they expressed it) in the Christian aristocracy. But the power of a monarch was rejected with abhorrence, and the aspiring genius of Rome encountered with the nations of Asia and Africa a more determined resistance to her spiritual than she had formerly to her temporal dominion. The bishop of Carthage, the patriotic Cyprian, who himself ruled with the most absolute sway the Church of Carthage and the provincial synods, opposed with resolution and success the ambition of the Roman bishops, artfully connected his own cause with that of the Eastern bishops, and like Hannibal, sought out new allies in the heart of Asia. If this Punic war was carried on without any blood being shed it was owing much more to the weakness than to the moderation of the contending parties. Invectives and excommunications, which were their only weapons, they hurled at each other during the whole controversy with equal fury and devotion.

The progress of ecclesiastical authority gave rise to the distinction of the clergy and laity, which had before been unknown to the Greeks and Romans. The latter of these appellations comprehended the great mass of the Christian people, the former that select portion

which had been set apart for the service of religion; a class of men which has formed an important, though not always an edifying subject of history. These mutual hostilities sometimes disturbed the peace of the early Church; but their zeal and activity advanced the common cause, and the love of power, which, under the most plausible disguises, could insinuate itself into the breast of bishops and martyrs, impelled them to increase the number of their subjects, and to enlarge the extent of the Christian Empire. They were, during the period we are considering destitute of any temporal force, and for a long time discouraged and depressed, rather than assisted by the civil magistrate; but they had acquired, and they employed within their own society, the two most effectual instruments of power, rewards and punishments; the former derived from the pious contributions, the latter from the spiritual apprehensions of their people.

The way in which baptism was performed in the primitive Church appears from the strongest historical evidence to have been by immersion. Dr. Mosheim, in his Church history, in speaking of the first century, says; "The sacrament of baptism was administered in this century without the public assemblies, in places appointed and prepared for the pnrpose, and was performed by immersion of the whole body in the baptismal font.

At first it was usual for all who labored in the propagation of the Gospel to be present at that solemn ceremony; and it was also customary that the converts should be baptized and received into the Church by those under whose ministry they had embraced the Christian doctrine. But this custom was soon changed. When the Christian Churches were well established and governed by a system of fixed laws, then the right of baptizing converts was vested in the bishop alone. This right, indeed, he conferred upon the *presbyters* and *chorepiscopi*, or *country bishops*, when the bounds of the Church were still further enlarged, reserving, however, to himself the *confirmation* of the baptism which was administered by a presbyter. There were doubtless several circumstantial rites and ceremonies observed in the administration of this sacrament for the sake of order and decency. Of these, however, it is not easy, nor perhaps possible, to give a certain or satisfactory account, since upon this subject we are too much exposed to the illusion which arises from confounding the customs of the primitive times with those of succeeding ages." *

In speaking of the practice of the same right in the second century he says: "The sacrament of baptism was administered publicly twice every year at the festivals of Easter and Pentecost, or Whit-

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist. Cent. I.

suntide, either by the bishop, or the presbyters, in consequence of his authorization and appointment. The persons that were to be baptized, after they had repeated the creed, confessed and renounced their sins, and particularly the devil and his pompous allurements, were immersed under water, and received into Christ's kingdom by a solemn invocation of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, according to the express command of our blessed Lord. After baptism they received the sign of the cross, were anointed, and by prayer and imposition of hands were solemnly commended to the mercy of God, and dedicated to his service, in consequence of which they received milk and honey, which concluded the ceremony. The reason of this particular ritual coincides with what we have said in general concerning the origin and multiplied ceremonies that crept from time to time into the Church." * In speaking of the same rite in the third century, he says: "There were twice a year stated times when baptism was administered to such as, after a long course of trial and preparation, offered themselves as candidates for the profession of Christianity. This ceremony was performed only in the presence of such as were already initiated into the Christian mysteries. The remission of sins was thought to be its immediate and happy fruit, while the bishop, by prayer and the imposition of hands, was supposed to confer those sanctifying gifts of the Holy Spirit that are necessary to the life of righteousness and virtue. We have already mentioned the principal rites that were used in the administration of baptism; and we have only to add that none were admitted to this solemn ordinance until by the menacing and formidable shouts of the exorcist they had been delivered from the dominion of the prince of darkness and consecrated to the service of God.

The driving out of this demon was *now* considered as an essential preparation for baptism, after the administration of which the candidates returned home adorned with crowns and arrayed in white garments as sacred emblems, the former of their victory over sin and the world, and the latter of their inward purity and innocence." † In speaking of the same right in the fourth century, after the Christian religion was established in the Empire, he says: "Baptismal fonts were now erected in the porch of each Church for the more commodious administration of that initiating sacrament. Baptism was administered during the vigils of Easter and Whitsuntide, with lighted tapers, by the bishop, and the presbyters commissioned by him for that purpose. In cases, however, of urgent necessity, and in such only, a dispensation was granted for performing that sacred

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist. Cent. II. † Id. Cent. III.

rite at other times than those now mentioned. In some places salt was employed as a symbol of purity and wisdom, and was thrown with this view into the mouth of the person baptized: and a double unction was everywhere used in the celebration of this ordinance, one preceding its administration, and the other following it. The persons who were admitted into the Church by baptism were obliged, after the celebration of that holy ordinance, to go clothed in white garments during the space of seven days." * And in his history of the Church in the eleventh century we find a passage which implies or proves that baptism by immersion was the rule even at that late period. Here, in a controversy that took place between the Greek and Latin Churches, Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople, complains among other things, "that in the rite of baptism they (the Latins) confined themselves to one single immersion." † At what time the baptism by sprinkling was introduced does not appear, but it may have been practised to some extent all along in the ages after Constantine. Granting all that has here been said with respect to the manner of baptism in the primitive Church, we still remark that carnal ordinances, however performed, are of no account in comparison with regeneration, which baptism symbolizes, and which is the all-important thing Christianity has in view to achieve. Circumcision is nothing; uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God is everything.

The way in which the Lord's Supper was administered in the primitive Church was as follows: "The professors, according to their means, brought with them oblations of bread and wine and other things which they offered as gifts to the Lord; and hence both the ministers of the Church and the poor derived their subsistence. Of the bread and wine presented in these offerings such a quantity was separated from the rest as was required in the administration of the Lord's Supper. This was consecrated by certain prayers pronounced by the bishop, to which the people assented by saying: *Amen*. The Holy Supper was distributed by the deacons, and this sacred rite was, in some churches, followed by the Agapæ, or feasts of love, which in other churches preceded it." By this it plainly appears that the Christian priesthood was designed to be a substitute for the Jewish priesthood (the Christian bishop being the substitute for the Jewish high-priest, the presbyters for the priests, and the deacons for the Levites); and that the Lord's Supper represented the whole sacrificial ritual of the Jews, consisting of popular oblations and priestly sacrifices. The primitive mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper, as

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* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist. Cent. IV.

† Id. Cent. XI. The above quotation is explained by saying that it was, at least largely, the practice of the primitive Christians to immerse the person thrice: 1st, into the name of the Father, 2d, into that of the Son, and 3d, into that of the Holy Ghost. But, it is plain, that the one immersion into the three names is an abridgment of the three immersions, and means the same, while the three immersions may indicate more strongly the order in dignity of the names.

given above, was much altered in course of time, and was also considerably varied according to locality.

We do not find that a community of goods was practised in the primitive Church, at least to any noticeable extent; the converts who embraced the new religion were permitted to retain the possession of their property, to receive bequests and inheritances, and to increase their separate property by all the lawful means of trade and industry. Instead of an absolute sacrifice, a moderate portion was accepted by the clergy; and in their weekly or monthly assemblies every believer, according to the measure of his wealth or the exigency of the occasion, presented his voluntary offering for the use of the common fund. Nothing, however inconsiderable, was refused, but it was diligently inculcated that in the article of tithes the Mosaic law was still of divine obligation, and that since the Jews, under a less perfect dispensation, had been commanded to pay a tenth part of all they possessed, it would become the disciples of Christ to distinguish themselves by a superior degree of liberality, and to acquire some merit by resigning a superfluous treasure which must so soon be annihilated with the world itself. The bishop was the natural steward of the Church; the public stock was entrusted to his care without account or control; the presbyters were confined to their spiritual functions, and the more dependent order of the deacons was solely employed in the management and distribution of the ecclesiastical revenue.

If the vehement declamations of Cyprian are to be credited, there were too many among his African dispensing brethren who, in the execution of their charge violated every precept, not only of evangelical perfection, but even of moral virtue. By some of these unfaithful stewards, the riches of the Church were lavished in sensual pleasures, by others they were perverted to the purposes of private gain, of fraudulent purchases and rapacious usury. But it appears reasonable that as long as the contributions of the Christian people were free and unconstrained, the abuse of their confidence could not have been very frequent, and the general uses to which their donations were applied reflected honor on the religious society. A decent portion was reserved for the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy; a sufficient sum was set apart for the expenses of the public worship, of which the *agapæ*, or feasts of love, as they were called, constituted a pleasing part. The whole remainder was reserved for the poor.

According to the discretion of the bishop, it was distributed to support widows and orphans, the lame, the sick, and the aged of the community; to supply the wants of strangers and pilgrims, and to alleviate the misfortunes of prisoners and captives, more especially when their sufferings had been occasioned by their firm attachment

to the cause of religion. A generous intercourse of charity united the most distant provinces and communities, and the smaller congregations were cheerfully assisted by the alms of the more wealthy. Such an institution, which paid less regard to the merit than to the distress of the object, very materially conduced to the spread of Christianity. The humane among the Pagans, while they derided the doctrines, acknowledged the benevolence of the new sect. The prospect of speedy succour and of future protection allured into its hospitable fold many unhappy persons whom the neglect of the world would have abandoned to want, sickness, and old age. There is also some reason to believe that numbers of infants who, according to the inhuman practice of these times, had been exposed by their parents, were frequently rescued from death, baptised, educated, and maintained by the pious charity of the Christians.

Every society has the right of excluding from its numbers such of its members as reject or violate those regulations which have been established by general consent. In the exercise of this power, the primitive Christian Church directed its censures chiefly against scandalous sinners, and particularly those who were guilty of murder, fraud, or incontinence; against the authors or the abettors of any heretical opinion which had been condemned by the judgment of the episcopal order: and against those unhappy persons who, whether from choice or compulsion, had practised after their baptism any act of idolatrous worship. The consequences of excommunication were of a temporal as well as a spiritual nature. The Christian against whom it was pronounced was deprived of any part in the common fund. The ties both of religion and private friendship were to him dissolved, and he found himself shunned and suspected by those whom he had esteemed, or by whom he had been beloved. The situation of these exiles was in itself very painful and melancholy, and their apprehensions must in some cases at least have far exceeded their sufferings; for in the state of their knowledge then they could hardly erase from their minds the awful impression that these ecclesiastical governors, by whom they were condemned, possessed as the prerogative of their office the keys of hell and heaven. But the heretics who might be supported by the conscious rectitude of their intentions, and by the flattering hope that they alone had discovered the true way of salvation, endeavored to regain in their separate assemblies those comforts, temporal as well as spiritual, which they no longer enjoyed from the great societies. But almost all those who had reluctantly yielded to the allurements of vice and idolatry were sensible of their fallen condition, and anxiously desired to be restored to Christian communion.

With respect to the treatment of these penitents two opinions, the one of justice, the other of mercy, divided the Primitive Church. The more rigid casuists refused them forever the meanest place in the community which they had disgraced or deserted; and leaving them to the remorse of a guilty conscience indulged them only with a faint ray of hope that the repentance of their life might possibly be accepted by the Deity in lieu of eternal salvation. A milder sentiment was embraced in practice as well as in theory by the purest and most respectable of the Christian Churches. The door of reconciliation was seldom shut against the returning penitent, but a severe form of discipline was instituted, which, while it served as an expiation of his crime, might powerfully deter the spectators from imitating his example. Humbled by a public confession, emaciated by fasting, and clothed in sackcloth, the penitent lay prostrate at the door of the assembly, imploring with sighs and tears the pardon of his offences, and soliciting the prayers of the faithful. If the fault was of a very heinous character, whole years of penance were esteemed an inadequate satisfaction to the divine justice; and it was always by slow and painful gradations that the sinner, the heretic, or the apostate was admitted into the bosom of the Church. A sentence of perpetual excommunication was, however, reserved for some crimes of an extraordinary magnitude, and particularly for the inexcusable relapse of those penitents who had already experienced and abused the mercy of their ecclesiastical superiors. The exercise of the Christian discipline was varied according to the circumstances or the number of the guilty.

Of the number of Christian martyrs who suffered for their principles under the rule of the pagan Emperors it is difficult to make a true estimate, since we have to rely only on the statements, often exaggerated, of ecclesiastical historians of the fourth or fifth centuries, who appear to have ascribed to the magistrates of Rome the same degree of implacable and unrelenting zeal as actuated themselves against the heretics or the polytheists of their own times. The celebrated number of ten persecutions has been determined by the ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century, who possessed a more distinct view of the prosperous or adverse fortunes of the Church from the time of Nero to that of Diocletian. The ingenious parallels of the ten plagues of Egypt and of the ten horns of the Apocalyptic beast, appears to have first suggested this calculation to their minds; and in their application of the fulfilment of prophecy to the events of history they carefully selected those reigns, which were in fact the most hostile to the Christian cause. The martyrs devoted to death by the Roman magistrates were selected from opposite extremes.

They were either bishops and presbyters, the persons most distinguished among the Christians for their rank and influence, and whose example might strike terror into the whole sect; or else they were the meanest and most abject among them, especially those of the servile condition, whose lives were esteemed by the ancients of little value, and whose sufferings were wont to be viewed by them with too much indifference. The learned Origen, who was intimately acquainted with the history of the primitive Christians, declares in express terms, that the number of martyrs was very inconsiderable when compared with the whole number of Christians. This general assertion of Origen obtains an illustration in the particular testimony of Dionysius, who, in the great city of Alexandria, and under the reign of Decius, reckons but ten men and seven women who suffered for the profession of Christianity. The ecclesiastical writers before the fourth century content themselves with pouring forth a liberal effusion of loose and tragical invectives, without ascertaining or stating the precise number of Christians who were permitted to seal with their blood their belief of the Gospel. From the history of Eusebius, an ecclesiastical writer of the fourth century, it may be gathered that only nine bishops were punished with death in the violent persecution of Diocletian, his associates and successors. And in his particular enumeration of the martyrs of Palestine he appears to state that in that province no more than ninety-two Christians were entitled to the appellation of martyrs; but from other statements it is inferred there may have been a greater number. From the latter particular statement an important, though perhaps not very probable conclusion has been formed. According to the distribution of the Roman provinces, Palestine may be considered as about a sixteenth part of the Eastern Empire; and since there were some Governors in some of the provinces who had kept their hands unstained with the blood of the Christians, it has been concluded that the country which gave birth to Christianity produced at least a sixteenth part of the martyrs of the Eastern Empire in that persecution. The whole number, it is thought, might consequently amount to about fifteen hundred, a number which, if it be equally divided between the ten years of this persecution, will allow for each year about one hundred and fifty martyrs. Giving the same proportion to the provinces of Africa, Italy, and perhaps Spain, where at the end of two or three years the rigor of the penal laws was either suspended or abolished, the number of Christians in the Roman Empire, on whom a capital punishment was inflicted by a judicial sentence during this persecution, will be about two thousand. Since doubtless the Christians were more numerous and their enemies more

exasperated in the time of Diocletian, than they had ever been in any former persecution, this probable computation may teach us to estimate approximately the number of primitive Christians who may have sacrified their lives for the purpose of introducing Christianity into the world.

The following circumstances tend to show that the treatment of Christians who were apprehended by the officers of the government, was not altogether so intolerable as it might be imagined to have been. I: The Christians who were condemned as a penalty to work in the mines were permitted, through the humanity or neglect of their keepers, to build chapels, and freely to exercise their religion in the midst of their dreary habitations. 3: The bishops were obliged to check or censure the forward zeal of the Christians who voluntarily threw themselves into the hands of the magistrates. Some of those were persons oppressed by poverty and debts, who impetuously sought to terminate a miserable existence by a glorious death. Others were allured by a hope that a short confinement would expiate the sins of a whole life; and others still were actuated by the less honorable motive of deriving a plentiful subsistence, and perhaps a considerable profit, from the alms which the people through charity bestowed on the prisoners. After the Church had triumphed over all her enemies, the interest as well as vanity of the captives appears to have prompted them to magnify the merit of their respective sufferings. A convenient distance of time and space gave an ample scope to the progress of fiction; and the frequent instances which had been alleged of holy martyrs whose wounds had been instantly healed, whose strength had been renewed, and whose lost members had been miraculously restored, were found extremely convenient for the purpose of removing every difficulty, and of silencing every objection. The most extravagant legends, as they tended to the honor of the Church, were applauded by the credulous multitude, countenanced by the clergy, and attested by the suspicious evidence of ecclesiastical history; and thus a multitude of real or fictitious martyrs were objects of the worship of after ages.

We shall conclude this sketch by a melancholy truth which obtrudes itself on our mind, which has been seen and will be seen more fully from statements in this book; that, even admitting without hesitation or question all that ecclesiastical history has recorded or devotion has feigned concerning the subject of martyrdoms, it must still be acknowledged that the Christians, in the course of their intestine dissensions, have inflicted immensely greater severities on each other than they had experienced from the persecutions of Pagans or in

fidels. During the dark ages which followed the subversion of the Roman Empire in the west, the Popes of Rome extended their dominion over the laity as well as the clergy of the Latin Church. The fabric of superstition which they had built up, and which might long have defied the feeble efforts of reason, was at length assaulted by a crowd of daring men who, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, assumed the popular character of Reformers. The Church of Rome defended by violence the Empire which she had acquired by deception and fraud; a system of pretended peace and benevolence was soon characterized by wars, massacres, and the institution of the "Holy Inquisition." As the reformers were animated by the love of civil, as well as of religious freedom, the Catholic princes connected their own interest with that of the clergy, and enforced by fire and the sword the terrors of spiritual censures. In the Netherlands alone, more than one hundred thousand of the subjects of Charles V. are said to have suffered by the hand of the executioner, and this extraordinary number is attested by Grotius, a man of learning and genius, who appears to have preserved his moderation amid the fury of contending sects, and who wrote the annals of his own age and country at a time when the art of printing had facilitated the means of intelligence and increased the danger of detection. If we may believe the authority of Grote we must allow that the number of Protestants who were executed in a single small province and in a single reign far exceed that of the primitive Christian martyrs in the space of three centuries and in the whole Roman empire. But even though the improbability of the statement should prevail in the mind over all the evidence given for it, yet many consider themselves justified in inquiring what superior confidence should be placed in the imperfect and often doubtful records of early credulity? What degree of credit should be given to Eusebius or Lactantius, who under the protection of Constantine, recorded the persecutions inflicted on the primitive Christians by his now disregarded Pagan predecessors and vanquished rivals? But let all this be as it may it is certain that the genuine martyrs for the principle of Christ and for the true Christian faith are worthy of being kept in everlasting and grateful remembrance!

ROME'S DIFFERENT KINDS OF RULERS WERE IN THEIR ORDER AS FOLLOWS, THE LAST KIND, THE IMPERIAL, BEING THAT CONTAINED IN THE EASTERN EMPIRE:

Kings.
Consuls.
Dictators.
Decemvirs:
Consular Tribunes.
Triumvirs.
Emperors.

1. Octavius, i.e., Augustus (i.e. Gustavus), first emperor.
2. Tiberius.
3. Caligula.
4. Claudius.
5. Nero.
6. Galba.
7. Otho.
8. Vitellius.
9. Vespasian.
10. Titus.
11. Domitian.
12. Nerva.
13. Trajan.
14. Hadrian.
15. Titus Antoninus Pius.
16. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.
17. Commodus.
18. Pertinax.
19. Julius Didianus.
20. Severus.
21. Caracalla (and his brother Gaeta).
22. Heliogabalus.
23. Alexander Severus.
24. Maximinus.
25. Maximus and Balbinus.
26. Gordian.
27. Philip, "the Arabian."
28. Decius.
29. Gallus.
30. Æmilianus.
31. Valerian.
32. Galienus.
33. Claudius.
34. Aurelian.
35. Tacitus.
36. Florianus.
37. Probus.
38. Carus.
39. Diocletian (and his Cæsars Maximianus, Galerius and Constantius.
40. Constantine, the son of Constantius.

Here are forty successors in the empire in about 370 years, that is, reckoning from the battle of Actium in 31 B. C., when Octavius attained to the supremacy over the last of the second Triumvirate, to the death of Constantine in 37 A. D., which leaves only a little over 9 years for the average reign. The cause of this shortness of average reign is found in the violence which prevailed in the empire during most of this time, and in the further fact that the imperium was not generally in effect hereditary, most of the emperors having been before generals of the armies.

Chapter IV. Revelation.

V. 1. "After this I looked and behold a door was opened in the heaven: and the first voice I heard was, as it were, of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter."

The prophet has now his attention directed toward the heaven of which the idea he had was rather of exalted place than of a state of mind. The expression in the Greek is "the heaven," singular, not plural. And he sees a door opened in the heaven, not a door opened into the heaven, the preposition here in the Greek being "in" not "into." He sees, therefore, a door opened from one department of the heaven into another, or, as it were, from an outer to inner department, as from the holy into the holiest place in the temple. And the voice invites him, "Come up hither and I will show you what must be hereafter." This, of course, is preparatory to the revelation now to be made which is contained in this chapter.

V. 2: "And straightway I was in the spirit and a throne was set in heaven and upon the throne one seated."

The prophet here sees Christianity seated upon the throne of the Roman empire 229 years after the date of this vision.

V. 3: "And he who sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone; and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald."

The one sitting on the throne had the appearance of a stone, seemingly in color like the jasper and sardine or what we know as a purple mixed with a blood red. The one sitting on the throne, therefore, had a right royal appearance, to look upon like a king or emperor in his royal robes of purple or scarlet. His being represented as a stone shows the symbolization to be of Christ himself or of a professor of his doctrine, for Christ and Christians are the living stones. But considering how the exhibition proceeds afterwards the symbolization is most likely to be understood of God the Father. His having a rainbow of a green or emerald color about his head shows him to be propitious to Christianity, for this revelation is a symbolization of the history of Christianity. Therefore, the idea of the rainbow, the sign of promise and of divine propitiousness, as connected with him that sitteth on the throne, would suggest him to stand for God the Father or for a professor propagator and friend of Christianity rather than for Christ himself, as

it would be taken for granted by the spirit of prophecy that Christ would be understood as propitious to his religion, thus obviating the necessity of symbolizing that disposition of his thereto by a rainbow.

V. 4: "And round about the throne I saw four and twenty seats, and upon the seats four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white outer garments; and they had on their heads crowns of gold."

This whole representation is symbolic and suggests that Daniel's kingdom of the stone (Dan. II. 45) is now introduced and has taken the place of the great image. As this symbolization has to have some sort of a realization if not an exact realization upon the earth, it is certain that it represents Christianity as introduced to the Roman empire and as now reigning right royally. Yes, it represents it as legally established, for the 24 elders are also seated upon thrones, as we conceive encircling the throne and having on their heads golden crowns. In regard to the crowns these elders have, let me here explain that there are two kinds of crowns: first, the diadem, or emblem of supreme authority; and, second, the stephanos, or emblem of delegated authority, that is, authority given by and responsible to an higher power. The crowns these elders wear are of the latter kind, which shows them to be under powers of the supreme power represented, whatever this may be. So far then the symbolization is of the government of Church and State after Constantine; the 24 elders showing the Jewish and Gentile churches to be united in one Christianity.

V. 5: "And out of the throne proceedeth lightnings and thunderings and voices; and seven lamps of fire were burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God."

These lightnings and thunderings and voices indicate not so much the ordinary workings of government, divine, or human, as they do that changes are taking place, politico-religious changes, in a government, and these changes proceeding from or out of the throne indicates them to arise from the will of the occupant of the throne, the supreme authority.

The seven lamps of fire burning before the throne are the same with the seven candlesticks having their lights burning, and symbolize all the churches in the jurisdiction of the monarch and which he has now as special objects of his care and regards. On the other hand and reciprocally the lamps burning before the throne shows

the churches to have the monarch as a peculiar object of their care and prayers.

Considering for illustration and for a moment this system of symbolization as having the Roman empire of Church and State in its incipient state as its original then it is reasonable to conclude that the monarch, who may have believed that he came into his power, partially at least, through the church's prayers would be interested in the church and establish it as a constituent part of the government; and, on the other hand, the bishops and all the kind ecclesiastical, as well as the church generally, being so well supported and endowed by the moneys and lands of the state could not do less than to pray for the peace and prosperity of the government and its head. If even two men do each other mutually a good and lasting deed they are or should be mutually interested in each others welfare.

Vs. 6–8: "And before the throne there was a glassy sea, like unto crystal; and in the midst of the throne and encircling the throne (were) four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind. And the first living creature was like a lion, and the second like a calf, and the third had a face as a man, and the fourth (was) like a flying eagle. And the four living creatures had each of them six wings about him; and (they were) full of eyes within; and they have no rest day and night saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord, God, Almighty, which was and is and is to come."

In regard to the wings on the four living creatures we find they aggregate the number of the elders; each of the four having six make altogether 24 wings.

Therefore, as the twenty-four elders signify religious functionaries it is evident that the four living creatures symbolize a higher order of the same kind. Now, as the twenty-four elders are, according to our present supposition, symbolic of the bishops of the Church and State Roman empire, so the four living creatures might have some vague reference to the four patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Constantinople, which were established in the Roman empire of the east and have now a standing under the Turkish government. Wings in symbolism signify, first, velocity, second, power, government, in the sense of shade or protection. These patriarchs had large dioceses and had, doubtless, to be "flying about" a good portion of the time in their superintendence of the general affairs of the church.

But those four living creatures were full of eyes before, behind and within, which signifies surely superintendence, omniscience,

and not altogether of human instrumentality. The four living creatures would, therefore, signify God's superintendence of mundane affairs world-wide.

As to the glassy sea I may say that a sea symbolizes peoples, and nations and tongues (Rev. XVII. 15). It being glassy or crystal-like, suggests the ease with which omniscience sees through all people even as to the thoughts of their hearts: The throne rests directly upon the four living creatures, and they upon the sea.

The throne in the symbolization is in the heaven and so he that sits upon it. The four living creatures are in the firmament, they being the supports of the throne. The 24 elders, are also in the firmament on the same plane in space though not in dignity as the living creatures and situated above or on the surface of the sea. Religious teachers are usually symbolized by the stars of the firmament; but the Supreme Being, as in the symbolization here, is elevated even above the stars. The four living creatures here symbolize the direct representatives of the monarch with the people or of God with man if the symbolization be considered in that way. The one on the throne does not appear to touch the sea, excepting through the intermediary of the living creatures and the elders, who evidently symbolize the ministers or servants of him who sits upon the throne. The variation in the appearances of the four living creatures — a lion, calf, man, eagle — suggests plainly enough the whole representation to be but variations of the one power that is at the same time present in the glassy sea on the throne, in the fourfold display of animate creation, and so forth.

But, considering the symbolization to be of the Church and State system of the Roman empire, which it is with less or more directness, then the glassy sea from its transparency would indicate the throne or government to be founded originally upon intelligent organization, in such a way that knowledge might be had with comparative swiftness of things happening in the remote parts of the empire.

"And they" (the four living creatures) "rest not day and night saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God, the Almighty who was and is and is to come." This points to the main occupation of the four living creatures, considered as symbolizing functionaries in the empire, as being of a religious character. Their time was spent mainly in the ministry of religion. The four living creatures, therefore, symbolizing functionaries of the government, would not

point so clearly to the four Prætorian Præfects of Constantine and his successors, who were the hightest ministers in the Christian Roman empire system, being directly representative of the emperor (see Dec. and Fall, II. 115–116), as they would to the four patriarchs aforesaid, whose business was wholly of a religious nature. For the four patriarchs were the highest religious functionaries in the empire, next below, in the scale, him that sits upon the throne (in this sense the emperor), and next above the 24 elders (in this sense the bishops).

Of the four Prætorian Præfects the main business was not that of religion or its superintendence; but these four living creatures full of eyes before, behind and within, point, first, to God's omniscience as omnipresent in his government of the world; and, second, to the four patriarchates of the Christian Roman empire, whose business was the superintendence and government of religious affairs general and domestic or public and private as indicated by the eyes without and within.

Our predecessor, the author of Armageddon, mistook in stating that it was the wings of the living creatures which were full of eyes within. No, the adjective gemonta (full) agrees within zoa (living creatures) and not with pteruga (wings). The four living creatures were full of eyes before, behind and within, symbolizing, first, God's general government of the world; and, secondly, the ecclesiastical or religious superintendence of the Christian Roman empire as being of a private as well as public nature.

Vs. 9–11: "And when those (four) living creatures give glory and honor and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth forever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth forever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created."

The four living creatures and the 24 elders we are to understand as worshiping God together, although there might seem to be here a little precedence given to the adorations of the four living creatures. And, if we can imagine, for illustration, a levee of the Christian emperor, at which the highest religious functionaries in the empire were present, the natural proceeding would be that the patriarchs would salute or adore the emperor first, then the bishops or elders and so on in the scale of dignity; and thus, it is true, they were engaged too often when the rough Goths, Vandals, Hunns or Turks were crossing their frontiers and robbing and murdering, in

multitudes, their poor defenseless peoples. The 24 "elders cast their crowns before the throne." Having gotten their crowns and worldly dignities from the supreme authority they felt that they should give them back to that authority at any time: and speaking of the Christian Roman empire, for example, there were many times in its history that the church was called upon to make great sacrifices for the defense of the empire or its capital. But, speaking of the Almighty God, the author and giver of universal life, is it not a fact that we owe our lives, our services, our all to him, when he sees fit to levy upon us. This no sane man will deny.

And, in regard to the rise of the Patriarchs of the eastern empire, now having a legal standing under the Turkish government, I have noticed already in the "History of the Primitive Christian Church" that some of the great cities of the Roman empire had attained to a certain pre-eminence and peculiar dignity over all the others, in the estimation of the Christians, at an early day.

The council of Nicea in its sixth canon, which by the vagueness of its language has given rise to many disputes, was the first to attempt to lay down some definite rule on the subject of the precedency of bishops, and this was particularly with reference to the bishop of Alexandria. This is as follows: "Let the ancient custom which has prevailed in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, that the bishop of Alexandria should have authority over all these places, be still maintained, since this is the custom also with the Roman bishop. In like manner at Antioch and in other provinces, the churches shall retain their ancient prerogatives."

Afterwards this canon speaks farther of the rights of the Metropolitans generally, in which it makes distinctions between even these, implying some of them to be of higher rank than the rest. At first those higher Metropolitans were denominated Exarchs, a title originally applied to the provincial governors, but it was soon after exchanged for the title Patriarch. This title occurs first in the council of Constantinople in 381 A. D., and was originally applied to the bishops of the three great capitals of the empire, Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, but was now applied also to Constantinople, which had, long ere this, ranked, ecclesiastically, second to old Rome. The second canon of this second œcumenical council of Constantinople (381) ordains that the bishop of Constantinople shall rank next after the bishop of Rome, "since Constantinople is new Rome," and the council of Chalcedon (451 A. D.) in its last canon but one, confirms this decree, with the following comparison

between the Church of the old and that of the new Rome: "The fathers rightly conceded that rank to the episcopate of ancient Rome, because Rome was the mistress city." The seventh act of this same council of Chalcedon, after many disputes had with the church of Antioch, added still another to the number of Patriarchates, which was that of Jerusalem.

There were five Patriarchates recognized in the empire, the Patriarchs standing in a like relation to the Metropolitans below as the latter did to the bishops below them again. The pope of Rome was recognized as chief of the Patriarchs, and in the progress of time by imperial enactments and general acknowledgment, so outranked them all that he was at length reckoned as of a supereminent dignity to all the Patriarchs.

"The history of the church in these centuries," says Neander, "shows how much impure worldly interest became diffused in the church, through the eager thirst and strife of the bishops for precedence of rank; what mischievous disputes sprang out of the mutual jealousies of the patriarchs — particularly the jealousy of the patriarchs of Alexandria towards the patriarchs of Constantinople — and how this state of things contributed to check the oppositions of the different tendencies of the dogmatical spirit in the free evolution, and to intermingle with them worldly and party passions; so that by the impure motives, which made use of the doctrinal interest as a pretext, this interest itself was smothered. Very justly could Gregory of Nazianzan say as he did at Constantinople in 380, when lamenting over the evils of the church which he had learned from his own experience: Would to heaven there were no primacy, no eminence of place, and no tyrannical precedence of rank; that we might be known by eminence of virtue alone! But as the case now stands the distinction of a seat at the right hand or the left, or in the middle; at a higher or lower place; of going before or aside of each other, has given rise to many disorders among us to no salutary purpose whatever and plunged multitudes in ruin."

Neander: Gen'l Hist. Chris. Relig. II., p. 164.

Chapter V.

This is the same vision, contained in chapter IV., continued in accordance with the historic development of doctrine in the Christian Roman empire system and with the thought which prevailed in the

empire of the relation as to power, dignity, office, etc., of the son of God to the father in heaven.

Verse 1: "And I saw in the right hand of him that sat upon the throne a little book written within, and on the backside sealed with seven seals."

"In the right hand" should be literally, as given from the original, upon the right hand (Epi with the accusative, means stretching over or towards, but its sense with any case can be only a variation of its primal meaning "on" or "upon." It is not, therefore, said but may be implied that he who sat upon the throne, had a right hand. We suppose it was the general contour of a man, perhaps, with the more or less clear delineation of parts; but even if the delineation of the parts were not clear the face or front of the throne would determine the right hand side and the left hand side. The Almighty God is without body, parts or passions, if the reference be to him in the one who sits upon the throne: It is through his son that we have the idea of God, delineatively considered.

That he had the little book upon his right hand indicates it to be in high esteem with him, while things are arranging themselves preparatory to its interpretation by delegated authority. On the right hand was the position of honor among the ancients; and so Christ, having ascended to heaven, sat on the right hand of God.

In regard to this little book Wesley remarks: "The usual books of the ancients were not like ours, but were volumes or long pieces of parchment, rolled upon a long stick, as we frequently roll silks. Such was this represented which was sealed with seven seals. Not as if the apostle saw all the seals at once; for there were seven volumes wrapped up one within another, each of which was sealed; so that upon opening and unrolling the first the second appeared to be rolled up till that was opened, and so on to the seventh."

In speaking on this, Scott, while generally giving the description as this by Wesley, says: "Yet the appearance on the outside seems to have indicated that it consisted of seven, or at least, of several parts." "The long rolls of parchments," says Bloomfield, "used by the ancients, which we call books, were seldom written but on one side; namely, that which was on rolling turned inward." Grotius, Lowman, Fuller and others remove the comma and read thus: "Written within, and, on the back side sealed," which is the punctuation of my original. According to this, therefore, the book was not written within and on the back side, as the punctua-

tion of our common version makes it, but written on the side inwards and sealed on the side outwards of each folio.

On the giving of the prophecy to Daniel, as you will remember, he was told to shut up the words and seal the book to the time of the end. Now, John's book of Revelation is the opening of that sealed book of Daniel, as its title indicates. Those prophecies of Daniel, however, had been so effectually sealed that only omniscience and omnipotence united could unseal them before their proper time came to be developed: and so we have

V. 2: "And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, who is worthy to open the book and to loose the seals thereof?"

By this strong angel and his loud proclamation, is doubtless symbolized the efforts which humanity would put forth in the time of the introduction of Christianity to extricate itself from the thralldom of superstition. Vs. 3 and 4: The prophet weeps because there is no one found in heaven or earth, the old or the new church or the world, to open the book or unloose its seals. But one of the 24 elders raises his courage by saying to him: "Weep not; behold the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root* of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to unloose the seven seals thereof." Christianity was primarily of the Jews. The ideal Christ sprung from the tribe of Judah and the family of David. Here, however, Christ is represented as the root or ancestor of David, which suggests that mankind personified, especially the Jewish nation, from which Christianity originated, is meant: that mankind personified under the idea of Christ (or in the ideal Christ), the ancestor and offspring of David, is meant. The Lion of the tribe of Judah, will in this sense, signify Christianity and all its agencies. This by teaching men what they were and what they ought to be and do imparted to them divine wisdom and knowledge, broke the seal of mystery regarding the Creator and the Cosmos; so that the humble Christian, if he be moderately intelligent otherwise, may become as conversant with the all important subject of Deity as the proud and learned worldly philosopher.

V. 6–8: "And I beheld and lo in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures and in the midst of the elders stood a lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God, sent forth into all

* Let those who are not Greek scholars not suspect that the word "root" here refers to "Juda" immediately preceding; for the word "root" is in apposition with the word "Lion," and so the meaning is as we have given it; otherwise it would be different. See Rev. XXII. 16.

the earth. And he came and took the book from the right hand of him that sat on the throne."

In the midst of the throne, as regards the position of the Lamb, is here to be understood of the space between the throne with its occupant and the four living creatures, and this would be still in the midst of the external but concentric circle of elders. In the center of the scene was the throne of the Father, and, standing in the center of the open space which surrounded it but next to it, was the Son, under the symbol of the Lamb, that had been slain (and has come to life again). In another concentric circle but external to that of the elders (v. 11) was an innumerable company of angels.

"A lamb stood as having been slain," would be literal, but the verb *Σφάζω*, from which this perfect passive participle is, means to slay by cutting the throat. I think, however, we should take here the general sense of the verb, namely, to slay, rather than the particular and over-literal sense; for, in the first place, the Scriptures do not represent Christ as having been slain by a throat wound; and, secondly, the way the prophet saw him must have been as he appeared after having been revived from the dead, not as having been slain and without revival as the literal sense is. If the Lamb had not appeared alive to the prophet he would not have appeared to him as taking and opening a sealed book. Of course some will think and say that a lamb has no hand to handle a book. But such should remember that we are not reading literal language here but interpreting symbolical or picture language. Jesus Christ is called the lamb of God, but only by way of illustration of his character, being in point of gentleness, harmlessness, etc., so much like that of a lamb. He was called a lamb for this reason also that he was offered once for all in lieu of all the lambs and goats or other animals which the Jewish rite offered in sacrifice to God. His offering of himself to God did away once for all with all those sacrifices to every one who believes in him. But, although as I say he was called a lamb both in the Gospel and here by the prophet he was not a literal lamb but the God-man all the same. In like manner as Christ is called a lamb slain he is called the first-begotten from the dead, as having been revived again.

But having thus far recognized in the Christian Roman empire at its beginning an historic original for the symbolization or much of it we have in this chapter V. an important picture added to our

symbolic gallery as additional to what was in Chapter IV. And now what does this addition of the symbolic lamb point to in the history of the Christian Roman empire? Referring to Chapter IV. we thought we recognized in its symbolization the Christian Roman hierarchy, so far as concerned the emperor, the supreme head of the Church and State, the four patriarchates, who were his vicegerencies in spiritual matters, and the bishops who were subordinate to the patriarchs in the spiritual government.

Now, it is well known that the pope of Rome became in time not only by imperial laws but by public approval elevated above the patriarchs and bishops. He was recognized as the supreme authority in the interpretation of scripture doctrine, the final authority to whom all questions of a doctrinal nature had to be submitted. He called himself also the vicar of Christ, and by himself or by others he has been declared infallible and another God upon earth. It is true men may say that the whole Christian Roman empire system, with the emperor and pope at its head, is only a base patterning after the symbolization iu these chapters: It will be claimed that men are very cunning and will construct such systems as that after this scriptural and celestial symbolic pattern so as by them to captivate and govern the masses. While allowing that this is not improbable that men should do in the organization of class government yet here I have no space for speculation but have to interpret the prophecy as it is.

(A lamb) "having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth." The eyes and horns denote severally and together the omniscience and omnipotence of Christ. But as eyes in symbolism denote spiritual superintendency we might justly conclude the seven cardinal bishops of Rome to have been institutrd in correspondence to the symbolization of the eyes, and the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, which are the powers by which the papacy has so long held the nations absolutely in its obedience, would be of course just seven in correspondence to the seven horns in the symbolization of the lamb. There are only two of the sacraments, however, which are needed in that church to entirely subdue the nations unto it, namely, baptism and the Lord's supper. The seven sacraments are the seven oaths whieh bind men and women, body and soul, to the church. The two oaths, baptism and the Lord's supper, should be considered quite as effectual as the seven so far as binding the people to the church is concerned. The number seven as con-

nected with the lamb of God denotes completeness and perfection in regard to what is symbolized. The Christian Roman empire and the papacy are systems characterized by sevens.

The Lamb takes the book from the right hand of him who sits upon the throne. Christ, by his death and resurrection, brought life and immortality to light; here he brings knowledge. His self-denying merits had entitled him to break the seals of the book of mystery; first, in regard to the Creator and Cosmos; second, in regard to the history of mankind or the development of the mystery of the man-Cosmos. He knew that he had a right to step forward and take the sealed book from the right hand of the universal monarch, and interpret it. All felt so as seen in verses 8–10: Here the four living creatures and the 24 elders fall before the Lamb in adoration. Here is acknowledged the right of Christ to open the book, to interpret the old prophecies, and besides there are ascriptions of praise to him from every tribe and tongue and people and nation, for the reason that he had made them unto God kings and priests, so that they should reign as kings upon the earth. Here is an acknowledgment by so many nations and peoples and languages of Christ's having kept his word, that his disciples should reign as kings on the earth, not over earthly kingdoms surely, but over spiritual provinces, which they should conquer to him. Christ's kingdom is not of this world nor are the kingdoms he gives to his followers of this world. Vs. 11–13: The Father and the Son are evidently here worshiped together, the Son because of his merits in what he had done for mankind; the Father because of his inherent and indefeasible right to the worship and the all of his creatures. The worship of the Trinity or of the system to be understood as such is not here implied farther than it is to the intelligent mind in the worship of God. Here the four living creatures assent to the worship, such as it was, of the Father and the Son; and the 24 elders finish by worshiping him who sits upon the throne. The song sung by the redeemed here is called a new song. The religion of Christ was a new and living phase of the Jewish religion; it was the religion of the new birth, of the regeneration; this was principally the new song.

But from before the Council of Nicea the pope of Rome had precedency among all the bishops of the empire, and in that council his precedency was acknowledged by the legal head of that empire; and after that time laws were enacted by the Christian emperors, from Theodosius I. to Justinian and even Phocas, determining and

fixing the papal precedency in church matters next to the emperor himself and above all other bishops. There was no doubt left in the language of the enactments as to the pope's being the first legal spiritual functionary in the empire next to the emperor, who was first spiritual and secular head. But in effect the emperors did hand over things spiritual to the church so that the pope of Rome being the supreme bishop was in effect the spiritual head of the empire, and so undoubtedly acknowledged during a time, times and an half.

Says Neander on this phase of our subject:

"It is impossible to doubt as to what the popes, even as early as the fifth century, believed themselves to be or would fain be in relation to the rest of the church, after having once listened to the language which they themselves hold on this subject. When a North African Council at Carthage had sent a report of their conclusions, in the decision of a controverted point of doctrine, to the Roman bishop, Innocent, and demanded his assent to the conclusions, in his answer of the year 417 he first praised them because they had considered themselves bound to submit the matter to his judgment, since they were aware what was due to the Apostolic chair; since all who occupied that seat strove to follow in the steps of that Apostle, from whom the episcopal dignity itself, and the entire authority of this name had emanated. With good right had they held sacred the institutions of the fathers, who had decided not according to human, but according to divine counsels, that whatever was transacted in provinces, let them be ever so remote, should not be considered as ratified until it had come to the knowledge of the Apostolic chair; so that by its entire authority every just decision might be confirmed, and the other churches, as the pure streams, should be distributed from the original, undisturbed source, through the different countries of the whole world might learn from the church what they had to ordain, whom they had to pronounce innocent, and whom to reject as irreclaimably wrong. Leo the great declares in a letter to the Illyrian bishops, in which, after the example of the Roman bishop, Siricius, he names the bishop of Thessalonica, the representative of the Apostolic power; that on him, as the successor of the Apostle Peter, on whom, as the reward of his faith the Lord had conferred the primacy of Apostolic rank and on whom he had firmly grounded the universal church, was devolved the care of all the churches to participate in which he invited his colleagues, the other bishops."

Such was the influence of the Roman bishop at an early day that his decisions were found to be of great consequence and large numbers of cases were submitted to his judgment. His decisions which went far to help those in whose favor they were and to depress those against whom they happened to be, were not always allowed to pass without loud protest from the bishops of Asia. The following three decrees were made by the Council of Sardica: Canons III., IV. and V.: "I. When a bishop is condemned in a matter and he believes that injustice has been done him the synod which judged him shall write to the Roman bishop; so that, if necessary, the investigation may be renewed by the bishops of the neighboring province and he himself name the judges. II. That in such a case no other person shall be nominated to fill the place of the deposed bishop until the Roman bishop shall have received notice of it and decided on the point. III. If in such a case the deposed bishop appeal to the bishop of Rome, and the latter considers a new investigation to be advisable, he may commit such investigation to the bishops of the neighboring province, and may also send it to presbyters out of the body of his clergy to assist in the inquiry. Thus, this synod, no doubt, assigned to the Roman bishop a certain supreme power of jurisdiction, a right of revision in the affairs of the bishops." Gen'l Hist. Christ. Relig., Vol. II. 170–172.

Consequent upon a dispute belween Hilarius bishop of Arles and another bishop, named Celidonius, which came finally to be between Hilarius and pope Leo, the emperor Valentine III. (425–455) published the following law: "The primacy of the apostolic seat having been established by the merit of the apostle Peter, by the dignity of the city of Rome, and by the authority of a holy synod" (the council of Nicea or Sardica or both) "no pretended power shall arrogate to itself anything against the authority of that seat. For peace can be universally preserved only when the whole church acknowledges its ruler. — "Resistance to the authority of the Roman bishop is declared to be an offense against the Roman state. It is established as a settled ordinance for all time that as well the Gallic bishops as the bishops of all the other provinces could not properly undertake anything without authority from the pope of the eternal city. What the authority of the apostolic seat ordained should be law for all, so that every bishop, who, when summoned before the tribunal of the Roman bishop, declined to

appear, should be forced to do so by the governor of the province." *Id.*, II. 103–4.

Neander might in general be thought dry in his style but the following from him will be allowed by others as well as me to contain a proper sentiment: "The essence of Christianity struggles against the demands of a blind submission to human authority; it requires no other obedience than that which answers to the true nature and dignity of man's spirit; and it stands in no sort of contradiction to true freedom, but rather is the only thing that can produce it. All that it requires is that man's spirit, having become conscious of its true wants, should submit to the teachings of God's eternal spirit, who alone can communicate that which will satisfy all its longings. This spirit speaks through the divine word to each individual, in the inner recess of his heart, according to the measure of his recipiency; and it is only what each one knows from this source, and through this revelation in the inner recesses of his heart, that he can vitally believe and from his inmost consciousness acknowledge to be true. *Id.*, p. 177.

In continuation of the development of the history of this age he says: "Again, since the general councils constituted a legislative tribunal for the entire church, the material was now at hand for a universal ecclesiastical legislation. The Roman abbot, Dionysius Exiguus, presented to the western church, in the early times of the sixth century, a book of ecclesiastical laws; consisting of a collection which he had made from the written decisions (decretales) of the Roman bishops in answer to ecclesiastical questions addressed to them from the time of Siricius or from 385 and onward, and from decrees (canones) of the general and of the more important provincial councils. This work soon obtained paramount authority; and it had an important influence in shaping out the papal monarchy in the western church, that he had assigned so prominent a place to the papal decrees." *Id.*, p. 178.

"Finally the great distinction between the Roman Church in respect to religion, was that she had been honored by the martyrdom of the apostles, Peter and Paul, and possessed their tombs, which were objects of reverence to the east. All this taken together might create even among the orentials a peculiar veneration for the Roman church." *Id.*, II. 166.

By several emperors after Constantine, including what we have seen, the power of the Roman See was considerably augmented. Justinian revised all Roman law, thus including the ecclesiastical as

well as the civil departments. His code of law settles distinctively the powers of the church, of the several patriarchates and that of Rome particularly. He gave it its limits and prerogatives and distinguished these from his own and others. Justinian in these laws having given precedency to the bishop of Rome over the patriarch of Constantinople says he gives him only what had been allowed him before by the councils. *Sancsimus secundum (sacrorum Synodarum) definitiones sanctisimun Senioris Romae papam priorum esse omnium Sacerdotum: beatisimum autem archiepiscopum Constantinopoleos, novae Romae, secundum habere locum post sanctum apostolicum senioris Romae sedem; Alies autem omnibus sedibus proponatur.*"—Justin. Novell.—Tit. 14, Constitut. CXXXI.: Cap. 2). "We sanction, as according to the definitions of the sacred synods, that the most holy pope of Rome be first of all priests; and that the most blessed archbishop of Constantinople, new Rome, have second place, that is, next in order and honor to the holy and apostolic see of old Rome; for all other sees, however, it is differently arranged."

Everybody knows what this "most holy" pope of Rome became as to power, influence, etc.; and as for the "most blessed" archbishop of Constantinople he came to be recognized as the first of the four patriarchs of the Greek Church, both under the Christian and Turkish empires. Is it not evident that this slavishness as to titles, position, etc., arises from that system of class which monarchy begets. Even the English translators of the Bible have, on its title page, addressed the man whom Dickens, in his child's History of England calls his "Sowship," as "the most High and mighty prince James." Higher than the most High or holier than the most holy cannot be supposed to exist. What did those Protestants or those Catholics give such high titles to their rulers for if not to blind and keep in subjection the people through that oppressive and degrading institution of class? What did those Protestant divines want to make of that puny mortal king James? Of course the title Sowship (*i. e.* Seach-ship or Kingship) is simple and there is no blasphemy in its use.

By a decree of Justinian, dated Feb. 3rd, 528, the work of review of the law was begun by Tribonian, and "in little more than a year the new code, containing in twelve books all the imperial laws, from the accession of the emperor Hadrian, was ready to appear. Justinian affixed the imperial seal to the new constitution in A. D. 529. In three years more, on Dec. 16th, 533, the Digest or

Pandects were completed. A revised code was published on Nov. 16th, 534."

In these codes the laws of Church and State were embraced. The beginning of the union was in the days of Constantine, with whose decrees all legal power of the church had its beginning.

Chapter VI. Revelation.

In this chapter there is proceeded with the breaking of the seals, which have hitherto locked securely the secrets of human history. The contents of those seven sealed volumes, when developed, are, at least in part, found to run parallel with the messages to the seven churches. Here, however, we begin the development of the history proper:

V. 1: "And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals; and I heard as it were the voice of thunder, one of the four living creatures, saying, Come and see."

Notice here the expression "one of the seals;" "one of the four living creatures," instead of "the first of the seals," "the first of the four living creatures," as we would expect. The "one," as given in the original, is, however, equivalent in this case to "the first." Our herald, then, to the opening of the first seal, is the first living creature, which looks like a lion. The lion was the emblem of the tribe of Judah, whose position, in relation to the tabernacle in the wilderness, was on the east (Numbers II. 3): The first living creature, therefore, represents in the ages, to which this development refers, the primitive Christian church as organized at Jerusalem, which represents the eastern side of the Roman Empire (see Ezekiel's vision, Ch. XL.).

V. 2: "And I saw and behold a white horse and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him; and he went forth conquering and to conquer."

This is the development made by the opening of the first seal. The horse with the rider thereon denotes first completed organization (Zech. VI. 3, etc). The church here rides forth fully ready to promulgate the Gospel of Christ. The horse is white, denoting purity of doctrine (white as a symbol denoting purity); the horse and his rider, fully equipped, going forth, indicates the Gospel as sent forth. By whom sent, you ask? Why, by Jesus Christ himself from Palestine, the land of the ancient shepherds; the rider goes forth with all authority. The Gospel did not wait to be sent

forth by Constantine 300 years later: No, it was now sent forth by the emperor or emperors, the king of kings, the Nazarene peasant: By him it was sent forth with all authority, and had the world largely converted to itself before Constantine was born. "And he that sat on him (the white horse) had a bow," Notice, here, the bow was not given to the rider on this white horse; he had it. Our Gospel missionaries on the street corners and cross roads will, of course, understand this. Such men usually have their Gospel bow all ready to shoot. They have not to wait to put on any vestments or go into any particular pulpit in order to preach. They use their Gospel bow in any place where they can use it to put Satan's minions to flight and proclaim free salvation through Christ. The first promulgators of Christianity, sandal shod and staff in hand, were fully equipped for their work. They did not usually have any excess of clothing nor were they troubled with either wallet or bank account. Thus they went forth conquering and to conquer.

"He had a bow." The bow is an instrument of war; in the olden times the sword and bow were the chief weapons in that bloody work. But as the Christian's sword is that of the spirit or the word of God so hath the bow here a spiritual signification. God, however, uses various means to bring about the results he would have. Psal. VII. 11–13, says: "God is a righteous judge, and God is angry with the wicked every day. If he turn not he will whet his sword; he hath bent his bow and made it ready. He hath also prepared for him the instruments of death; he ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors." In the Gospel sense as I have said, the bow has a spiritual signification, corresponding to the church militant.

"And a crown was given unto him." Notice, first, that he did not have originally the crown; this symbol of authority was an after gift by Church and State government. Notice, second, that this crown is not a diadem, the symbol of supreme authority, but a stephanos, the symbol of delegated authority. Notice, thirdly, that, in the consideration of the office of Christ as mediator or between God and man, the authority of the father, or of him who sits upon the throne, is to that of the Son or of the Lamb, who stands before and (as we may conceive) to the right hand of the throne, as the diadem is to the stephanos. The father is the absolute; but the son proves to be omnipotent in the way of a mediate, in the different phases in which that necessarily is, between the absolute father or

God and mankind; or between the monarch and his subjects in the earthly relation.

The prophetic development of this first seal symbolizes, first, the primitive Christian doctrine as proceeding from Jerusalem and from the Lord himself; and, secondly, it denotes in the crown given to it by Church and State government, the pure Gospel of Christ as carried down and taught, with too many additions, alas! in all ages and nations. Its index is primitive Christianity and it proceeds from the east side of the empire and remains somewhat characteristic of the eastern empire.

V. 2: "And when he had opened the second seal I heard the second living creature say, Come and see."

Notice here that the expression is in the original definitely, "the second" seal "the second" living creature.

V. 4: "And there went out another horse (that was) red; and it was given to him who sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another; and there was given unto him a great sword."

This symbolizes another phase of Christianity than that sent forth by the primitive church from Jerusalem; it symbolizes the Catholic Christianity of State and Church after Constantine and pertaining to the western as well as the eastern empire. This horse has a royal color, the word puros which expresses his color in the original meaning the color of fire or flame color. Christianity is here constituted a civil magistrate and equipped with a great sword, which brings into subjection to the religion of Rome the German nations, afterwards called the Holy Roman empire. It used the sword of the spirit, too, the tongue of persuasion; but where this failed of accomplishing what it wanted it used the sword of civil government. It has the whole civil service of the empire at its beck to enforce its judgments. "And it was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth and that they should kill one another." The earth here means the church and its place, the empire. This was to be a phase of Christianity characterized by discord among the brethren. In the primitive times the Christians, where having any dispute with each other, waged only verbal warfare; but under this regime they resort to the old-fashioned pagan way of settling their differences by regular field warfare. After the death of Constantine there was much mutual destruction of each other and of the empire's blood and property by the em-

perors themselves. Look for example at the doings of the sons of Constantine after the death of their father; their mutual destruction of each other after they had slain their near relations. Look at the doings of the sons of Louis le Debonnair, the second of the Holy Roman emperors. Contemplate the mutual destruction of the forces of the western empire on the field of Fontenai, for example, in 841, in the mutual quarrels of those brothers with each other. Read about this last in the German History of Zimmerman, about the former in the Decline and Fall of Gibbon. But these examples I mention are not a drop to the ocean of the blood that has been shed by those Christian Romans of the east and west, in all the ages after Constantine. To know this properly you will have to read the history consecutively and then comparing it with the prophecy judge if the latter has not been fulfilled therein.

The station of the second living creature was on the west, corresponding to that of Ephraim, in its relation to the tabernacle (Numbers II. 18); and, therefore, the historic development of this second prophetic seal belongs characteristically to the western regions of the empire, but of course, to the whole of the empire in a limited sense as to time; for from the seventh century most part of the empire in Asia and Africa was Mohammedan; and, as to the rest, Church and State Christianity was carried out more systematically, or, if I may so speak, with a more intense ecclesiastical dominancy in the western empire than in the eastern.

The blood or fire red color of this horse taken in connection with the great sword of the rider indicates, first, that the religion which it symbolized would be enforced upon the people, if they would not otherwise receive it, by all civil penalties; secondly, that it was not a system of religion either entirely as to its essence or as to the means of its propagation, like that symbolized by the white horse of the first seal. This was to be a system of legalized creeds and catechisms and confessions of faith and rules of the church, etc., rather than the pure Gospel of Christ as contained in the New Testament, which, indeed, the people were not allowed to read or express judgment on unless as expounded by officials regularly ordained and salaried for that purpose. Under the first seal pure Christianity goes forth under a system of gentle persuasion; under the second a legalized system of creeds, catechisms, church rules, etc., called Christianity, goes forth from under an iron system of compulsion and oppression.

V. 5. "And when he had opened the third seal I heard the third living creature saying: Come and see. And I saw and beheld a black horse, and he who sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand."

The third living creature is situated on the south, corresponding to the camp of Reuben in relation to the tabernacle (Numbers II. 10). We may expect, therefore, a historic religious development on the south side of the Roman empire.

Notice, first, the horse in the case of this third seal is black, so that we may expect a religious development, rather opposed to Christianity than a variation of itself, and yet that it will be a slight variation of Christianity it being here set in that system.

"He had a pair of balances in his hand." The word in the original means a yoke, but has the secondary meaning of a balance or a pair of balances, a meaning which fits it here.

V. 6: "And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures saying, A measure of wheat for a penny and three measures of barley for a penny, and the oil and the wine thou mayest not injure."

The Chænix, which is here translated a measure, holds about a quart. The denarion, translated here a penny, is a Roman coin equaling $15\frac{1}{2}$ to $17\frac{1}{2}$ cents. We would judge a quart of wheat to be dear at that price or even three quarts of barley and it certainly would. The quart of grain was the daily allowance for a slave or a working man; and it would be a poor state of things in which a man could realize for his labor only what gave him food without leaving anything for his family or even for his clothing: For the denarion or penny was the daily wages as we see in the parable of the laborers to work in the vineyard. (Matt. XX.)

"And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures say," etc. The meaning of this voice which comes from the God of all the earth is that the one on the black horse, which is a power inimical to Rome, is commissioned to take into possession the southern portions of the empire, more especially the Roman provinces of Africa, Egypt and Spain, which furnished the bread to old and new Rome; by which there would be a scarcity of provisions to the empire ever after; but that thus far only should he go; for if he cross the Pyrenees or go north of the Save he shall meet with stout and effectual Gaulic and German resistance; for it is not intended by God that he shall possess himself of the wine and oil producing countries of Italy, France, Burgundy, Germany, Poland, Hungary and Southern Russia.

This voice, therefore, that arose from the midst of the four living creatures, was, first a commission to Mohammedism to do what it did, giving it also its limits; and, secondly, it was a prophecy of the scarcity that should prevail at Rome and Constantinople and in all other large communities of the empire consequent upon the possession of Africa and Egypt especially by a power foreign and inimical to the empire. The power or rather religion thus commissioned, that is, Mohammedism, not only took possession of all those countries named in due time and order, but has been in possession of the capital of the Roman empire now for over four centuries.

V. 7: "And when he opened the fourth seal I heard the voice of the fourth living creature saying: Come and see:"

The station of the fourth living or eagle-like creature was on the north side of the empire, corresponding to that of Dan in relation to the tabernacle (Numb. II. 25). Consequently we may expect a historic religious development on the northern side of the empire or rather more in that direction than any other. Russia which is directly north of the empire, but was never included in it, is hardly intended here as we shall see.

V. 8: "And I looked and behold a pale horse, and his name that sat upon him was death and hades followed with him and there was given to them power to slay upon the fourth (part) of the earth, by sword and by famine and by death and (from) under the beasts of the earth."

"A pale horse." The original means rather a pale green. But, considering the word pale as applied to the horse in this case and that we understand this as a variety of whiteness I would be disposed to conclude this pale horse and his rider as symbolizing a phase of Christianity, the national or international organic and established result of an effort to restore Christianity to its primitive purity as symbolized in the white horse and his rider as appears in the historic development of the first seal. This symbolizes the result of a reformation in religion, which may have been pretty thorough in some respects, but did not go far enough and completely divorce the church from the state.

In regard to the name given to the rider of this pale horse we find in Romans VI. 23, that "the wages of sin is death:" and in James I. 15, we find "death is the offspring of sin." Leaving to the term death, therefore, the meaning the scriptures give it, we

conclude the historic original of the symbolization under this fourth prophetic seal must be a partially reformed system, a dual governmental offspring of the scripturally unlawful connection of the church with the state. But this symbolization implies also a remarkable spiritual poverty in this historic system symbolized and a quite remarkable carnality of life in that all classes of the priests marry (none abstaining as do the monks of the Greek church in Russia); and the governing classes having their minds much occupied as to marrying and giving in marriage with their own class or with classes they deem higher in the social scale than those they happen to be born into. In this way they come to estimate their mortal body as altogether better than it is while they are used to think in this way; for the body is either the temple of God or the tomb of the spirit; and so, you perceive that the name of the rider of this pale horse arises from the ways of thought and the practices of life of the state and church governing classes, or what they please to call the higher classes of the system here symbolized.

Now, in one of those dual reformed systems, a very remarkable one in the later ages, we have, in the constitution of society and of the state, the lords and the commons; and in another or two or three more there is no small number of counts and barons and greater and lesser dignitaries, all arising, of course, in the ideas of class which State and church system impregnates the mind with; and you will remark in our symbolization under this fourth seal that Hades (translated Hell) follows with our rider Death. He is not the same but he is sure to go in company "with him," both as to reform in religion, and as to national sympathies and alliances by marriage in the governing classes, by war, nationally, etc. You will distinguish, therefore, properly between the historic originals of Death and Hades in our symbolization under the fourth seal.

Hades, or the grave, is in the scriptures often called the pit (as in Psal. LV. 15; Job. XXXIII. 24): and the historic original of the symbolization of Hades, who here follows with death is the same (but later in time) with the original of the symbolization of the nations of the "pit" of Rev. XVII. Paul again in Romans VIII. 6, tells us that to be carnally minded is death, which explains what is here symbolized, namely, a carnally minded nation, with other nations alike very largely habituated to free thought as to lust and lasciviousness; nations which think largely after the manner of the natural man, not of the spiritual. A literal translation of vs. 6

and 7 of Romans VIII. is as follows: "For the minding of the flesh is death, but the minding of the spirit is life and peace. Because the minding of the flesh is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be."

Such is the way the matter is thought of by God, although there are no people on earth who think of themselves more highly than the carnally minded; in fact they think of themselves more highly than God or any right minded man thinks of them. They think after the manner of the natural man, but mark you, "the minding of the spirit is life and peace."

"And there was given unto them power to kill upon the fourth (part) of the earth, by sword and by hunger and by death and (from being) under the beasts of the earth."

This is a literal translation of this passage, which I suppose to signify that the religion characteristic of this combined system was so much different from that symbolized by the red horse and sworded rider as to be understood as a different religion from that and from all the other religions then co-existing in the Roman empire. Between the 16th and the 18th century there have co-existed in the empire as follows: Mohammedan; Greek Catholic; Roman Catholic; and Reformed. This might therefore be said to occupy or act as it pleased in a fourth of the (Roman) earth; and to kill by the sword of the carnal thought, by spiritual hunger; spiritual death; and by the act of unfeeling and oppressive landlords and their rent gatherers, as well as by carnally-minded, graceless and oppressive ecclesiastical lords of the tithes (all of whom are here fitly symbolized by the beasts of the earth), to kill, I say, by all these means such numbers as God only could have knoweledge of.

We have now made the complete circuit of the empire by the development of the first four seals, which in a sense cover the same ground as do the seven messages. We shall, therefore, begin a new phase of our subject commencing with the fifth seal just before the first reformation or the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. The four living creatures accompany us no longer. They represented well enough the four quardians of the empire, on its eastern, western, southern and northern sides. You need not, therefore, expect any of these four living creatures to invite you to the opening of any of the three seals, which yet remain of the seven. This shows you with sufficient plainness that you have passed through

all the space and all the time intended as to the empire; that the fourth seal covered the history of the empire till the opening of the Millennium, we being now in that fourth seal. In the idea of pale in the symbolization under the fourth seal is equally included the idea of green *Χλωρος* "green, or, secondarily, pale") and this calls back our mind to the idea of the tender grass spoken of in the beginning of Genesis, indicating such a state of the human heart as we are approaching to in the millennium when we shall have the paradisaical state again.

V. 9: "And when he had opened the fifth seal I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held."

This symbolizes the condition of the martyrs to paganism during the ten persecutions so called. The prophet sees these souls under the altar of sacrifice and his spiritual discernment easily divined what was meant. They had been slain for the principle of Christ and in fact their very appearance gave him to understand them as such.

V. 10: "And they cried with a loud voice saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth."

Not only the orthodox or Catholic martyrs to paganism but also the Arians had a strong party that sympathized very deeply with them in their sufferings and with their families left behind. We need not suppose that the saints in heaven, who have been subjected to death for the truth, have such a disposition as to call to God to take vengeance on their murderers; but their works do follow with them and God notices these particularly; their blood cries to him from the ground as did Abel's against Cain, and moreover, it is folly to suppose that in any age of the world or in any state of society justice is entirely absent from every breast. Martyrs for true principle have always friends. These may feel constrained to be silent but they judge, and when they feel free to do so they talk right out. Even the Arians after they were suppressed by the orthodox, from and after the reign of Theodosius I., had a strong sympathizing party in the State. These being on earth in the condition of human thought and experience would feel a righteous indignation against murderers and boldly in their prayers ask God to punish them. God does care for these things, too, and sooner or later the deserved punishment is meted out to the persecutors.

V. 11: "And white robes were given to every one of them; and it was said unto them that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren that should be killed as they were should be fulfilled."

The white robes indicated their purity of character, and there was not one of the martyrs overlooked in the distribution of these robes. Would it not be a thousand times better to be a martyr with a spotless character than one who would unite in his character knavery, hypocrisy, falsehood and murder and was possessed of the throne of the Roman empire? God, the righteous judge, has under his watchful eye every item of suffering endured in his cause; this he holds in everlasting remembrance and will repay it in his own time and way. "And it was said unto them that they should rest yet for a little time, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren that should be killed as they were should be fulfilled." Now these martyrs here spoken to and bidden to rest "a little time" being the martyrs to paganism before Constantine, these others who were to suffer as they did during "a little time" cannot be the martyrs to Church and State Christianity, which are called the "two witnesses" (Ch. XI. 3, etc.); for "a little time" does not mean the same with "a time, times and a half," which is 1260 years, the period of the persecution of the witnesses. But this "little time" refers to the period of 100 to 150 years or say 325 to 475 A. D., at which last date the worship of the primitive martyrs was, in effect, established in the empire. The martyrs for this last 150 years, in addition to those of the primitive church list, were principally those to the pagan Goths, Vandals, Hunns, Germans, Persians; and a few so reckoned in the reign of Julian. All of those whose merits were deemed by the church sufficient were in the list of those reigning with Christ and so worshiped. There seems to be evident justice in this, too, that those who suffered for Christ should reign with him and be honored in proportion to their merits: and the world's evangelists should recognize this in the case of our martyrs to State and Church Christianity for 1260 years. Justice should not be longer deferred in this matter by Evangelistic people the world over. When I read, for example, in Fox's Book of Martyrs of one example under the reign of Mary where 13 persons were burned in the same fire — "the 11 men being tied to three stakes and the 2 women loose in the flames" — that all these suffered in this nefarious way for the profession of the Gospel, I confess I feel a strong indignation against their fiendish murderers, which no sentimentalities can

surpress.* And I feel it to be nothing but just that there should be a respect amounting at least to veneration, paid to the memory of the holy martyrs who, following the example of Christ in defense of what they believed to be right and truth, were brave enough to give up their lives for it even in the unspeakably cruel and ignominious way required of them.

V. 12: "And I beheld when he had operated the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood."

Here the old regime of pagan polytheism in its civil and religious aspect gives place to State and Church Christianity. By the sun becoming black, etc., is symbolized the collapse of the old civil government; and, by the moon becoming as blood, the removal of the polytheistic religion. The great earthquake implies the general change of the government effected by Constantine.

V. 13: "And the stars of heaven fell to the earth, even as a fig tree casteth her unripe figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind."

Perhaps those old polytheists might have done some good farther on had they been allowed to ripen and mature their fruits; but they had been ripening and maturing from the time of Adam and most they had to show yet was war and its destructive results; whatever good fruits they had in maturing who can tell; but these fell before the blast of God and Constantine. The fact is the time had come for this change to be made and it could not have been longer delayed even in the prospect of the maturity of some good pagan fruit. In the practice of sorcery and witchcraft they could hardly have become more mature, They were *ex officio* about forty years when Julian got in again and it was feared by some that he was about to exterminate the breeds of horn cattle in having his haruspices render to him their prognostications. What a silly business! A person would think they should have been well satisfied with their long lease of the public offices, civil and religious, and their long hold upon the public purse. But now Constantine and his bishops have come along and ousted them and they know not what to do about it, as the sequel here shows:

V. 14: "And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were removed out of their places."

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* For somewhat of an idea concerning Christian martyrdoms read Fox's Book of Martyrs.

These scrolls or parchments being written on one side, the side innermost, and rolled round upon a stick, were unrolled gradually as read. When a parchment was read or read all that was for the time required it was rolled up again round its stick, and that operation is what is referred to here for illustration of the manner of the departure of the heaven, or of the old governmental regime of the Roman empire. "And every mountain," or provincial government "and every island," or religious institution, was changed; the occupants of those old institutions and offices had now to step down and out, to give place to the Christians.

V. 15: "And the kings of the earth and the great men and the rich men and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman and every freeman hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb; For the great day of his wrath is come and who shall be able to stand."

All the pagan great men, influential, men and officials of all kinds, secular and sacred as well as the bond and free of the pagan system, or who belonged to the emperors Maximian, Maxentius, and Licinius, who had opposed Constantine, and whom he had overcome in turn, all of such kind who survived found it necessary to come over to the Christian side or to get protection from such influential Christians as are here called rocks and mountains; they wanted to be protected till they had sufficient time to investigate Christianity and see if they could embrace it. Millions of such people were taken by surprise when Constantine had overcome all his opponents; and they found they would have to embrace his new religion and be baptized, perhaps soon after as well as submit to his civil rule. Constantine himself was not baptized till the day of his death, so that it is likely he did not press the reception of that ordinance on the conquered, so zealously as Charlemagne did; but the conquered had all to show compliance if not with his religion yet with his general rule or else go in hiding.

"For the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" The day long expected by the Christians and set forth in their prophecies had come! When the stone cut out of the mountain without hands (the Christian religion derived from the Jewish) became itself a great mountain (was seated at the head of the Roman government) and filled the whole (Roman) earth.

Some do not see how the expression "the wrath of the Lamb" can be used, as a lamb is not a wrathful creature. But this is only

symbolical and it is remembered that the Medo-Persian empire, which opposed Alexander, was symbolized by a ram with two horns.

"God is angry with the wicked every day," and mark you as well as remember, that the whole symbolization we have been viewing under this sixth seal is equally applicable to the general judgment day of God Almighty. Yes, keep in mind that then will be the great day of assize, and consider, who shall be able to stand? And of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels in heaven, not the Son but the Father.

Chapter VII.

This seventh chapter is all included under the sixth seal, for it is in the first verse of chapter VIII. that we meet with the seventh seal.

V. 1: "And after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree."

"Four angels;" the four contemporary emperors, Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius and Constantine. Dec. & Fall, I. 406–7. "On the four corners of the earth:" each of these emperors had his division of the empire. "Holding the four winds of the earth:" having in charge the forces of the empire (literally governing the winds): "that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea," that there should be order maintained in Italy and the rest of the empire, so that peace might prevail in relation to the rising Christian Church; "nor on any tree," any professing and properly living Christian.

Vs. 2 and 3: "And I saw another angel ascending from the east having the seal of the living God; and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads."

The angel ascending from the east is Christianity, now destined to take possession of the empire in the person of Constantine. The language implies that the four angels had it in their power to injure the earth and the sea although their business was to protect them from injury. But, nevertheless, there was much injury dealt to Italy and the empire generally by those emperors or their successors and representatives in their contentions with Constantine. There was very much "hurt" given to the countries of the em-

pire and to the Christians before Constantine had gotten the power of all these.

"Having the seal of the living God;" in which there is a reference to 2 Tim. II., 19, 20. God's seal is not any external mark. "The foundation of God standeth sure having this seal: The Lord knoweth them that are his." Therefore God's people do not need to have any external mark put upon them in order for God to know that they are his. And, on the other hand, the children of God, or the sealed of God, know that they are his without the help of any external mark put on by Church or State; their spirit witnessing with his spirit that they are his children. Now, although the people of the Roman empire after Christianity was established therein were required by law to make a profession and conform to the Christian religion, yet such profession and conformity did not of itself make them true Christians; nor did it of itself necessitate that God did not know them as his sealed. God only knows the heart; and it is the religion of the heart, carried out in the daily life, that he accepts rather than any external mark or profession of faith. God knows every one that is his; therefore, we have in this chapter VII. an account of the definite number sealed by the angel being the number of the twelve tribes of Israel multiplied by twelve; all true Israelites, a symbolic number, 144,000, which suggests to my mind a full and round number of the ultimately saved of the descendants of Abraham.

But besides this definite number the prophet still sees an infinite number saved as given in

Vs. 9–10: "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds and people and tongues stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands: And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb."

There is no mistaking this language as being truly the language of jubilation: the Christians have attained to the government of the Roman empire, the enlarged Canaan which had been promised to the descendants of Abraham; and so the true Christians at the final winding up of these mundane affairs will have their blessed and peaceful lot in heaven, a still more enlarged Canaan. There is no doubt here about the felicity of the saved for they are clothed with white robes and have palms in their hands, emblems of purity and peace. The Lord is able to save on earth and to reserve for heaven all who trust in him. Saved here they are saved forever.

Vs. 11-12: "And all the angels stood round about the throne and (about) the elders, and the four living creatures, and fell before the throne on their faces and worshiped God, saying, Amen: Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might be unto God forever and ever, Amen."

This appears to be an ascription of praise to God from the clergy generally (the angels or presbyters of the parish churches) as confirmatory of the doctrines of the established church, laid down in the ordained rules and authorities. This is shown by the ascription beginning and ending with the affirmative, Amen. In this ascription only God is mentioned, not the Lamb.

Vs. 13 and part of 14:
"And one of the elders answered saying unto me, what are these which are arrayed in white robes? And whence came they? And I said unto him, Sir thou knowest."

The langnage here implies that the elder knew that John wished to learn who they were who were dressed in white robes. And so he asks him in the first place, as it were by the way of an answer to his musings on this subject, who they were. John telling him that he himself knew who they were and whence they came, implying that he would like to be informed on this subject also; the elder proceeds:

Vs. 14–17 inclusive: "And he said to me these are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb: Therefore are they before the throne of God and serve him day and night in his temple; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them nor any heat; For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall lead them into living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

"Washed their robes and made them white in the blood," etc., is a symbolical expression for the living of the life of righteouness and active godliness; for how could a person be supposed literally to wash a garment white in blood? The blood-washed throng are before the throne of God and serve him continually in his temple; which is a fact in regard to all true Christians in whom God delights to dwell, and who are his choicest and most precious temples. They in him and he in them. When men and women are truly born of God they experience no more spiritual hunger nor thirst, nor parching heat nor blinding light of false religion. They have before seen through a glass darkly, now they see face to face, and have more than a foretaste of the joys and felicities of heaven. A

good preparation on earth for the blissful abodes above will make the redeemed enjoy their eternal felicity all the more.

"For the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters:"

Even for the opening of the prophetic seals the Lamb had to be resorted to, as the only one worthy to do it; and, now, through his pastors on earth and through the Holy Spirit he spiritually feeds his people; he feeds them, too, with spiritual manna, which is meat they have to eat that the outside world, strangers to the church of the regenerate, know not of. This is speaking of the heavenly church proper. But, in the Christian Church and State system of the Roman empire the ecclesiastics of all classes, at the head of which were the patriarchs and the people, were the source and fountain head of all doctrine; they led the people to the living fountains of water according to their interpretation; and, while they wiped tears from the eyes of some, ameliorating their condition variously out of their ability, brought intolerable grievances, amounting to tortures in the flames, to others. Christ the heavenly Lamb, is he only who is able to administer lasting comfort and to effect everlasting salvation. Desire to possess and exercise his love.

Chapter VIII.

We come here to the seventh seal.

V. 1: "And when he had opened the seventh seal there was silence in the heaven about the space of half an hour."

"Silence in the heaven" would here mean an *interimperium* for the space of time mentioned here. The prophetic hour being fifteen days the half hour is of course the half of that or $7\frac{1}{2}$ days. But the particle ὡς qualifiying the word for half an hour shows that it was not exactly that space of time but somewhere near that. This cessation from activity in the political heaven of the empire happened upon the death of the emperor Jovian, in 364 A. D. His death happened in Asia Minor, while the army was on its way home from Persia and the different corps and divisions of the army being far apart on the march it took some few days for the intercommunications to be made with all the generals concerning the death of the emperor, and so to converge at an headquarters with the greatest possible speed in order to elect a new one. About this, therefore, says Gibbon: "After the death of Jovian the

throne of the Roman world remained ten days without a master." Dec. & Fall, II. 524–5.

V. 2: "And I saw the seven angels, which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets."

The trumpet calls to war, and the developments from under this seal pertain mostly to the political heaven. The developments are by the way of punishment for the past crimes of the empire, whose account is not yet balanced by God.

V. 3–6: "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne.

And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand.

And the angel took the censer and filled it with fire of the altar and cast it into the earth: and there were voices and thunderings and lightning, and an earthquake."

On the death of Jovian in Asia Minor and in the conditions I have mentioned the staff elected Valentinian a Pannonian general in his stead as emperor and he on his arrival home feeling himself unequal to the cares of so vast an empire, divided the government with his brother Valens. This was the first division of the empire into the east and west made in the year 364 A. D.; Valentinian himself taking the western half, with headquarters at Milan, and giving to Valens the eastern with headquarters at Constantinople and Antioch. In regard to this division hear Gibbon: "In the castle or palace of Mediana, only three miles from Naissus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire. Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich prefecture of the East, from the lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the war-like prefectures of Illyricum, Italy and Gaul from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart, and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of mount Atlas." Dec. and Fall. II. 529–530.

The angel standing at the altar (v. 3) symbolizes here the foreign secretary of Valens, as we would express it or, to come closer to the thought, the angel would mean the religious functionary, acting foreign secretary if you will, who presented to the emperor the petitions from foreign peoples. It was upon the golden altar before the throne (which is now for the first time introduced to our attention) that the prayers or petitions of *all* saints were offered. The Goths from the regions north of the Danube had been for some

time petitioning for admission to live in the eastern empire; and happening to be of the same professed religion as the emperor himself, that is, Arian Christians, this permission was finally given which landed about two millions of Goths upon the lands of Thrace and finally brought Valens himself to his death. In more cases than one does the history of the Roman empire at this juncture suggest that the Goths were a praying people. "The smoke of the incense which came with the prayers of all saints ascended up before God out of the angel's hand." That is, the prayers or petitions were accepted, in this case both by the God of heaven and by the emperor Valens: and not only accepted but granted. For that "the angel took the censer and filled it with fire of the altar and cast it into the earth," indicates the admission of the nation of the Goths at this time into (εἰς) the very heart (the earth), of the Roman empire. The Goths were never dislodged again, but finally made Italy one of their principal homes. Of this admission of the Goths by Valens the final tendency was to break up the empire and leave it of itself but little internal strength.

"And there were voices and thunderings and lightnings and an earthquake." This symbolizes the changes which took place within the empire consequent upon the admission thereto of the Goths by Valens, beginning as it were with the death of this emperor himself, which I have noticed in the above remarks. There was, however, in the empire at this time a very remarkable literal earthquake as you will see in what follows: "In the second year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the morning of the 21st day of July, the greatest part of the Roman world was shaken by a violent and destructive earthquake. The impression was communicated to the waters; the shores of the Mediterranean were left dry, by the sudden retreat of the sea; great quantities of fish were caught by the hand; large vessels were stranded on the mud; and a curious spectator amused his eye or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearances of valleys and mountains, which had never since the formation of the globe been exposed to the sun," etc. See as to this earthquake, Dec. and Fall III. 1–2; and as to the transmission of the Goths over the Danube into Thrace, *Id.* 31–51. You will keep in mind now that the seven trumpets are developed from under the seventh seal.

V. 6: "And the seven angels, which had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound."

This is symbolic of the preparations for the particular historic developments found under the seven trumpets in their order.

V. 7: "And the first angel sounded and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up."

This refers to the invasion of Greece and Italy by Alaric and his Goths, 396–410: and the invasion of Italy, Gaul and the western empire generally by the Germans under Radagasins, 406–7, A. D. See Dec. and Fall, Chapter XXX. In this development of the first trumpet the hail symbolizes the pagan Germans, and the fire mingled with blood the Arian Christian Goths; large numbers of the Goths being also pagans. The third part of trees and green grass," etc., would refer to the destruction dealt out to the Christians in Europe; the empire being in three quarters of the globe, Europe, Asia and Africa: This trumpet affects Europe only.

V. 8: "And the second angel sounded, and, as it were, a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood; and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea and had life died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed."

The great burning mountain of this second trumpet symbolizes the invasion of the empire by the Hunns under Atilla (433–453). A mountain as a symbol means a government, and this great moving burning mountain is that mighty Scythic nation itself, whose capital city during those years was its camp; wherever that vast army might encamp, with the wives and children, the cattle and personal effects of the men, the government was always present himself, that is, Atilla; but the executive was the army always ready at his beck to do his will. This "was cast into the sea." All continental Europe, with its various races and languages (sea) was affected by this invasion. See Dec. & Fall, Vol. III. chapters XXXIV. and XXXV. The third part of the creatures in the sea, the ships, etc., were destroyed. This invasion affected Europe only and would seem to have wrought much destruction and suffering to the church as well as to the state. It could not possibly have been otherwise with that vast army depredating from end to end of Europe.

Vs. 10–11: "And the third angel sounded and there fell a great star from heaven burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers and upon the fountains of waters: And the name of the star is called wormwood; and many men died of the waters because they were made bitter."

The third part here effected is Africa and the original of the symbolization is the Vandalic kingdom of Africa, with its erroneous religion for about 100 years (429–534). The conquest of the city, Rome, by the Vandals under Genseric (Gæsaric) in 455 is hardly worthy of consideration here as compared with the history itself of this Vandalic kingdom. See the history of that kingdom under six successive kings in Dec. and Fall., Ch. XXXVII; and, further as to their treatment of the orthodox Christians see in Fox's Book of Martyrs, Bk. II. Referring to Heb. XII. 15, we find that the star called wormwood, which fell upon the rivers and fountains of waters, symbolizes a lapse from grace or from right and true Gospel doctrine to corrupt and false doctrine by an individual or a nation. The history of this Vandalic kingdom shows that it fell in both these respects for it acted so gracelessly and cruelly, in the treatment of those it deemed its enemies whether in politics or religion, as to render any pretension it might make to true Christianity appear ridiculously hypocritical. There is also a reference here to Deu. XXIX. 18, and Amos, v. 7, as well as Ex. XV. 23.

V. 12: "And the fourth angel sounded and the third part of the sun was smitten and the third part of the moon and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened and the day shone not for the third part of it, and the night likewise."

This means that the government of the Western empire at Rome gave way in 476 A. D., to that of Odoacer the chief of the Heruli and Thuringians from Germany. The symbols sun, moon, and stars, here denote the highest authorities in the government of the Western empire, the emperor with the civil government, and the Christian religion being denoted by the sun and moon; and the senate by the stars. All these passed now under the power of Odoacer, and, after him, in 493, under the Ostrogoths, which continued until 553. This occupation of Rome and Italy by Odoacer might be called a result of the invasion of the Hunns; for Edecon, the father of Odoacer, with his national forces marched under the standard of Atilla, being for a time his most trusted general. See Dec. & Fall III. 510–11.

But notice that only one-third of the heavenly bodies here mentioned was eclipsed, that is, the eclipse of them being so partial that two-thirds of them was still shining: Which means that Odoacer did not take the place or title proper of the western emperor; but governed Italy by commission of the emperor Zeno, then reigning at Constantinople, and under the title of Patrician of

Rome: and, secondly, *one-third* of the lands of Italy was given to the subjects of Odoacer, who had come in with him from the north. See Dec. & Fall III. 510–518.

This third part of the lands of Italy was also occupied by the Ostrogoths (493–553.)

"And the day shone not for a third part of it and the night likewise." Which is explained as follows: Rome was occupied by Odoacer, first, in 476; and Belisarius, the general of the emperor, Justinian reigning at Constantinople, occupied Rome again in 536 (though the Goths were in possession of Italy as a whole till 553); which leaves an interval of 536–476 = 60 years. This, then, would stand for one-third of the day; but there is yet one-third of the night to be added to this, thus making 120 years. This, you perceive, is just the one-third of the prophetic year, for three times 120 is 360.

V. 13: "And I beheld and heard an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying, Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels, which are yet to sound."

We have had four trumpets already and although there seemed with each of them an abundance of woe for the empire still it is the three remaining trumpets that are characterized in the prophecy by the term "woe." The reader, therefore, will be very desirous of knowing what the three remaining trumpets of the seventh seal have to develop. From chapter IX. we shall in connection with the history be able to develop two of these woes; the seventh and last we will come to in the fifteenth verse of chapter XI. I think it, however, necessary here to spice in some history of the Christian Roman empire, most of it pertaining to the time we have come over thus far; and on till the rise of Mohammedism; and first as to the emperor, Constantine:

Many years before his baptism and death he had declared to the world that neither his person nor his image should ever more be seen within the walls of an idolatrous temple; while he had distributed through the provinces a variety of medals and pictures which represented the Emperor in an humble and suppliant posture of Christian devotion. The Greek Church, which celebrates the festival of this imperial saint, seldom mentions the name of Constantine without adding the title of *Equal to the Apostles.*

The irresistable power of the Roman Emperors was from this time displayed in the important and dangerous change of the national

religions. The terrors of a military force silenced the faint and unsupported murmurs of the Polytheists. The exact balance of the two religions did not long continue, and the piercing eye of ambition and avarice soon discovered that the profession of Christianity might contribute to the interests of the present as well as of a future life. The hopes of wealth and honors, the example of an Emperor, his exhortations, his irresistible smiles or his terrible grimaces, diffused conviction among the venal and obsequious crowd which usually fill the departments of a palace. The cities which signalized a zeal for Christianity by a voluntary destruction of their temples were distinguished by municipal privileges and rewarded with popular donations; and Constantinople, the new capital of the East, gloried in the singular advantage, that it was never profaned with the worship of idols. As the lower classes of society are governed mainly by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth or power, or of wealth, was soon followed by dependent multitudes. The salvation of the common people was easily effected, if it be true that in one year twelve thousand men were baptized at Rome, besides a proportionate number of women and children; and that a white garment, with twenty pieces of gold, had been promised by the Emperor to every convert.

It had been established before by a fundamental principle of the Roman constitution that every order of citizens, the sacred as the civil, was alike subject to the laws; and that the care of religion was the right and duty of the civil magistrate. Constantine did not persuade himself that by his conversion he had forfeited any part of the imperial prerogatives, or that he was incompetent to give laws to a religion which he had protected and embraced. The Roman Emperors still continued to exercise a supreme jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical order, and the sixteenth book of the Theodosian code represents, under a variety of titles, the authority which they assumed and exercised as the supreme heads of the Catholic Church.

After the defeat of Licinius, his last rival, the victorious Emperor proceeded to lay the foundations of a city upon the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, destined to reign in future time the mistress of the East, and to survive the Empire and religion of Constantine. As he urged, himself, the progress of the work with the greatest zeal and energy, the walls, the porticos, and the principal edifices of this magnificent city were completed in the space of about ten years; upon which the founder celebrated with games and festivals the foundation of the new seat of Empire. As often as, during the reign of his successors, the birthday of the city returned, the statue of Constantine, of gilt wood, framed by his order, and bearing in its

right hand a small image of the genius of the place, was erected on a triumphal car. The guards, carrying lighted tapers, and clothed in their richest apparel, accompanied the solemn procession as it moved through the hippodrome. When it came opposite to the throne of the reigning Emperor he rose from his seat, and with grateful reverence adored the memory of his predecessor. At the festival of the dedication an edict, engraved on a column of marble, bestowed the title of Second or New Rome upon the new city. But the name of Constantinople has prevailed over that honorable epithet, and after the revolution of over fifteen centuries still perpetuates the fame of its author. Rome had some time before begun to be neglected by the Emperors: Diocletian, who may be called the immediate predecessor of Constantine, as sole Emperor, having taken up his residence for some time at Sirmium, and then at Nicomedia.

The foundation of a new capital was connected with the establishment not only of a new form of religion, but with that of a new form of civil and military administration. The manly pride of the ancient Romans, content with substantial power, had left to the vanity of the eastern nations the forms and ceremonies of ostentatious greatness. But when they lost even the semblance of those virtues which were derived from their republican freedom, the simplicity of their manners was insensibly corrupted by the stately affectation of the courts of Asia. The distinct view of the complicated system of policy introduced by Diocletian, improved by Constantine, and completed by his immediate successors within a period of one hundred and thirty years, not only amuses the fancy with the singular picture of a great Empire, but tends to illustrate the secret and internal causes of its rapid decay.* The distinction of personal merit and influence so conspicuous in a republic, so feeble and obscure under a monarchy, were abolished by the despotism of the Emperors, who substituted in their stead a severe subordination of rank and office, from the titled slave who was seated on the steps of the throne, to the meanest instruments of arbitrary power. This multitude of abject dependents was interested in the support of the actual government from the dread of a revolution which might at once confound their hopes and intercept the reward of their services. In this divine hierarchy, (for such it is frequently styled), every rank was marked with the most scrupulous exactness, and its dignity was displayed in a variety of trifling and solemn ceremonies, which it was a study to learn and a sacrilege to neglect. The purity of the Latin Language was debased by adopting in the intercourse of pride

* See Theodosian Code, and *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii.*

and flattery, a profusion of epithets which Cicero would scarcely have understood, and which Augustus would have rejected with contempt. The principal officers of the Empire were saluted, even by the Emperor himself, with the high sounding and plausible titles of Your Sincerity, Your Gravity, Your Excellency, Your Eminence, Your Sublime and Wonderful Magnitude, Your Illustrious and Magnificent Highness. The codicils, or patents of their office were curiously emblazoned with such emblems as were adapted to explain its nature and high dignity; the image or portrait of the reigning Emperors; a triumphal car; the book of mandates placed on a table, covered with a rich carpet, and illuminated by four tapers; the allegorical figures of the provinces which they governed; or the appellations and standards of the troops they commanded. Some of these official ensigns were exhibited in their halls of audience; others preceded their pompous march whenever they appeared in public; and every circumstance of their demeanour, their dress, their ornaments, and their train was calculated to inspire a deep reverence for the representatives of supreme majesty. To an observer, this new imperial system of the Roman government might have presented the appearance of a splendid and magnificent theatre, in which was displayed one object more prominent and conspicuous than the rest,—the Emperor,—which inspired the beholders with awe and terror, and in which the players of every character and degree repeated the language and imitated the passions of their original model.

All the magistrates of sufficient importance to find a place in the general state of the Empire, were accurately divided into three classes. 1. The Illustrious. 2. The Respectable. 3. The Honorable. In the times of Roman simplicity the last-mentioned epithet was used vaguely only as an expression of deference, till it became at length the peculiar and appropriated title of all who were members of the senate, and consequently of all who, from that venerable body, were selected to govern the provinces. The vanity of those who from their rank or office might claim a superior distinction above the rest of the senatorial order, was afterwards indulged with the new appellation of Respectable; but the title of Illustrious was always reserved to some eminent personages who were obeyed and reverenced by the two subordinate classes. It was communicated only: 1. To the consuls and patricians; 2. To the prætorian præfects, with the præfects of Rome and Constantinople. 3. To the masters-general of cavalry and infantry; and, 4. To the seven ministers of the palace who exercised their trusty functions about the sacred person of the Emperor. Among those illustrious magistrates who were esteemed co-ordinate with each other, the seniority gave place to the union of dignities.

By the expedient of honorary codicils, the Emperors who were fond of multiplying their favors might sometimes gratify the vanity, though not the ambition, of their courtiers. In the times of the Roman republic, the consuls were the first magistrates of the state, and derived their power from the choice of the people. But from the reign of Diocletian, even these vestiges of popular liberty were abolished, and the consuls, whose office was now become merely nominal, were appointed by the will of the Emperor; and their office was finally abolished in about the year 541, by the Emperor Justinian. Such is a concise view of the hierarchy of the state of the Christian Roman Empire, as established by Constantine.

In the fourth century, the age which we are now considering, there were violent controversies among the Christian sects, especially upon the subject of the Trinity. Three different hypotheses were formed concerning the nature of the divine Trinity. 1: According to the first hypothesis, which was maintained by Arius and his followers, the Word, or *Logos*, was a dependent and spontaneous production, created from nothing by the will of the Father. The Son, by whom all things were made, had been begotten before all worlds and the longest period of time which man can conceive could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the extent of his duration; yet this duration was not infinite, and there had been a time which preceded the generation of the Logos. On this only begotten Son the Almighty Father had bestowed his ample Spirit, and impressed the effulgence of his glory. Visible image of invisible perfection, he beheld, at an immeasurable distance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brightest archangels; yet he shone only with a reflected light, and like the sons of the Roman Emperors, who were invested with the titles of Cæsar, or Augustus, he governed the universe in the obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch. 2: In the second hypothesis, which was supported by the Tritheists, the word, or *Logos*, possessed all the inherent, incommunicable perfections of the supreme God. Three distinct and infinite minds or substances, three co-equal and co-eternal beings composed the Divine essence; and it would have implied contradiction that any of them should not have existed, or that they should ever cease to exist. The advocates of this system which seemed to establish three independent Deities, attempted to preserve the unity of the First Cause, so conspicuous in the design and order of the world by the perpetual concord of their administration and the essential agreement of their will. They discovered a faint resemblance of this unity of action in the societies of men, and even of the inferior animals. The causes which disturb their harmony proceed only from the imperfection and inequality of their

faculties; but the omnipotence which is guided by infinite wisdom and goodness cannot fail of choosing the same means for the accomplishment of the same ends. 3: The third hypothesis, which was maintained by the followers of Sabellius, maintained that three beings, who by the self-derived necessity of their existence, possess all the divine attributes in the most perfect degree; who are eternal in duration, infinite in space and intimately present to each other, and to the whole universe, irresistibly force themselves upon the mind, as one and the same being, who, in the economy of grace, as well as in that of nature, may manifest himself under different forms, and be considered under different aspects. By this hypothesis, a real substantial Trinity is refined into a Trinity of names and abstract modifications, which subsist only in the mind which conceives them. The *Logos* is no longer a person, but an attribute; and it is only in a figurative sense that the epithet of Son can be applied to the eternal reason or speech, which was with God from the beginning, and by which, not by whom, all things were made. The incarnation of the Logos they reduced to a mere inspiration of the divine wisdom, which filled the soul and directed all the actions of the man Christ Jesus. Thus, after revolving round the theological circle, we find that the Sabellian ends where the Nazarene and the Ebionite had begun.

In the Council of Nice, held in the year 325, A. D., at which Council Constantine was present, the Tritheists, or Trinitarians, gained the day. The consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was established by this Council, and has been unanimously received as the fundamental article of the Christian faith by the Greek, the Latin, the Oriental, and the Reformed Churches. The triumphant party here and henceforward are styled the Orthodox, in contradistinction to heretics, or Unitarians.

The orthodox Nicene Fathers, in decreeing the Son to be of the same substance with the Father, considered the word *substance* as synonymous with the word *nature;* and they illustrated their meaning by affirming that three men, as they belong to the same common species, are consubstantial, (Greek, homoousion) to each other. This pure and distinct equality was tempered on the one hand by the internal connection and spirtual penetration which indissolubly unites the divine persons; and, on the other, by the pre-eminence of the Father, which was acknowledged, so far as it was compatible with the independence of the son. The Orthodox, after their victory in the Council of Nice, have always treated with greater severity the heretics who degraded, than those who annihilated, the person of the Son. In the Council of Constantinople, convened under the aus-

pices of the Emperor Theodosius, in the year 381, A. D., or about fifty years after the death of Constantine, it was decreed that the Holy Spirit was consubstantial and equal with the Father and the Son. And thus, and at this time, was the system of the Trinity completed, and the doctrine of it established by law throughout the Roman Empire. And Theodosius was the first Roman Emperor who was baptized in the faith of the Trinity.

On the death of Constantine, which happened at Nicomedia, whither he had gone to enjoy the benefit of the fresh air, in the year 337, A. D., his body was transported back to the City of Constantinople, and there adorned with the vain symbols of royalty, the purple and diadem, was deposited on a golden bed in one of the apartments of the palace which, for that purpose, had been splendidly furnished and illuminated, and there kept to await the arrival of some of the sons of Constantine, who all happened to be absent from the city, in different parts of the Empire, in the command of armies, at that time. The forms of the court were strictly maintained. Every day, at the appointed hours, the principal officers of the state, the army and the palace, approaching the person of their deceased sovereign with bended knees and a composed countenance, offered their respectful homage as seriously as if he had been alive before them. This theatrical representation was for some time continued; nor could flatterers neglect the opportunity of remarking that Constantine alone, by the peculiar indulgence of heaven, had reigned after his death. But the same ministers and generals who bowed in such reverential awe before the inanimate corpse of their deceased Emperor, were engaged in a secret conspiracy to exclude his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, from the share which he had assigned them in the succession of the Empire. Their fate, as well as the funeral of Constantine, was deferred till the arrival of Constantius, the second of the sons of Constantine, who, from his comparative nearness to the imperial city at the time of the decease, was the first of the sons to arrive.

As soon as he had taken possession of the palace, his first care was to remove the apprehensions of his kinsmen, by a solemn oath, which he pledged for their security. His next business was to find some specious pretence which might release his conscience from the obligation of his promise. The arts of fraud were made to subserve the designs of cruelty, and a manifest forgery was put into the hands of Constantius, in which the Emperor is made to express his opinion that he had been poisoned by his brothers; and conjures his sons to revenge his death and consult their own safety by the punishment of the guilty. In the production and delivery of this forgery it is

said, on the authority of one respectable historian, that Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, was the chief instrument. Whatever reason these princes alleged in defence of their life and honor, and against so incredible an accusation, they were silenced by the furious clamors of the soldiers, who declared themselves at once their enemies, their judges, and their executioners. The spirit and the forms of legal proceedings were violated in a promiscuous slaughter, which involved the two surviving brothers of Constantine, seven of his nephews, of whom Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were accounted the most illustrious, the patrician Optatus, who had married the late Emperor's sister, and the Præfect Ablavius, whose power and riches had inspired him with some hopes of obtaining the throne. We may add that Constantius himself had espoused the daughter of his uncle Julius, and that he had given his sister in marriage to his cousin Hannibalianus. Of so numerous a family of the imperial race Gallus and Julian, the sons of Julius Constantius, the brother of the late Emperor, alone remained from the hands of the assassins. This massacre was succeeded by a fresh division of the Roman world, which was ratified in a personal interview between the three brothers. Constantine, the eldest, obtained with a certain pre-eminence, the possession of the capital. Thrace and the provinces of the East were allotted for the government of Constantius; and Constans was acknowledged as the sovereign of Italy, Africa, and the West. After this partition three years had scarcely elapsed before a war broke out between Constantine and Constans, in which the former was slain, and latter succeeded to his dominions, A. D., 340. The fate of Constans, the conqueror, was delayed about ten years longer, when he was overcome and slain by an aspirant to the throne, the usurper Magnentius, A. D., 350. Constantius, the now surviving Emperor, waged war against the usurper Magnentius, and conquered him; and he died in the year 361, as he was marching against his cousin Julian. Such were Constantine and his sons, whom the orthodox Christian world celebrated as the great builders and supporters of their establishment. And the sons of Constantine, though guilty of the most horrid and barbarous crimes, are yet honored and applauded under the beautiful name of a Christian profession, following the example of their father, as Mosheim expresses it "in continuing to abrogate and efface the ancient superstitions of the Romans, and other idolatrous nations, and to accelerate the progress of the Christian religion throughout the Empire." * But observe what follows: "This flourishing progress of the Christian religion was greatly interrupted, and the

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist. Cent. I.

Church reduced to the brink of destruction, when Julian, the son of Julius Constantius, was placed at the head of affairs." * What now is the matter? Although this prince had been educated in the bosom of Christianity, "yet he apostatized from that divine religion," says Mosheim. And what, pray, was the cause of his apostatizing? The answer is: "It was partly owing to his aversion to the Constantine family, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of his father, brother, and kinsmen."

As we have to view this system in its twofold aspect of civil and religious, it is in place to remark here upon some of the most eminent orthodox Fathers who were present at, and succeeded the first Catholic, or universal Council, that of Nice. These men were continually commenting and improving upon the canons, decrees, and doctrines of the Nicene Council. A conspicuous member of this first Council was the deacon Athanasius, afterwards a canonized saint, who is celebrated as the composer of the creed which begins thus: "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith," that is, as established in the Councils of Nice and Constantinople, the faith of the Roman Empire, of the Greek and Roman Churches; in short the Catholic faith: "which faith," it goes on to say, "except every one do keep, whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."* This creed which is yet professed, even in some Protestant Churches, we must certainly confess is an insult to reason and a dishonor to the Most High. What a strange amount of assumption and arrogance in any man or combination of men to condemn to eternal misery all who do not choose to believe in the dogmas which such saw fit to impose by the allurements of the secular arm! This faith, as the Athansian creed goes on to explain, is the doctrine of the Trinity, or rather Tritheism, which, as it explains it, is beyond the power of man to understand. Athanasius, however, was a zealous and ardent supporter of his doctrine of the Trinity: he was, in short, the acknowledged leader in his time of the Trinitarian party. Soon after the Council of Nice, he became bishop of Alexandria, from which position he was banished three several times by the power of his opponents, the Arians, and restored after an interval, each time by the power of his own party. In this age the Trinitarians and Arians, i. e., Unitarians, appear to have been pretty equally divided in numbers, (the Arians, perhaps, being considerably more numerous, but the Trinitarians having on their side the ruling power,) and to have been both imbued to an

* This creed is now generally admitted not to have been composed by him whose name it bears, but is commonly attributed to Vigilius Tapsensis, who lived at the close of the fifth century.

equal degree with the spirit of fanaticism and persecution. The Arians when in power persecuted the Trinitarians, and the latter the former in like manner: and the whole of these proceedings of bitterness and persecution simply exemplified the outworking of the principle of evil that is in man, which we have had occasion to remark upon before, and as will be seen more fully as we proceed.

Ephraim, the Syrian, acquired an immortal name by the multitude of his writings in which he combatted the sectaries. Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, is immortalized by his twelve books concerning the Trinity, which he wrote in opposition to the Arians. The following is the strain in which he speaks of the heresies of his time: "It is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us; because we make creeds arbitrarily, and explain them as arbitrarily. The Homoousion (the consubstantiality of the Father and Son) is rejected and received and explained away by successive synods. The partial or total resemblance of the Father and the Son is a subject of dispute for these unhappy times. Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done, we defend those who repent, we anathematize those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourselves, or our own in that of others; and reciprocally tearing one another to pieces we have been the cause of each other's ruin." This teaches us that human beings are radically in every age much the same: in the fourth century as well as now, and now as well as then; there are about as many different opinions on religion as there are human beings. And if we now-a-days have less wrangling and contention and bloodshed on account of religion, it is owing to religion becoming more pure, being made more comprehensible to the human mind; and to a higher state of general education and of civilization existing among the people. But let men be in the possession of ever so little knowledge, they still can cultivate the good principle and develop the godly character in themselves; and knowing ever so much they should not for a moment neglect to cultivate and develop these. Rufinus, presbyter of Aquileia, was famous for his commentaries on several passages of the Scriptures, and his bitter contest with St. Jerome. "He would," says Mosheim, * "have obtained a very honorable place among the Latin writers of this century had it not been his misfortune to have the powerful and foul-mouthed Jerome for his adversary." But the glory of these and of all other

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History; Century IV

ecclesiastical writers and saints of this age was eclipsed by that of St. Augustin. Mosheim says "The fame of Augustin, bishop of Hippo, in Africa, filled the whole Christian world." He gained much honor in his controversy with Pelagius, suppressing the Pelagian heresy almost in its beginning, and establishing the Catholic doctrines of the Imputation of Original Sin, Election, and Reprobation; and of salvation by mere grace without any foresight of faith, or regard to good works, which have darkened Christendom even to the present day. The African bishops, with Augustin at their head, maintained the Catholic faith even against the bishop of Rome, who esteemed Pelagius sound in the faith; and by their exhortations, letters and writings won over the Roman Pontiff to their side. Pelagius and his doctrines were condemned with the utmost severity at Rome, and also in the famous council at Ephesus, A. D., 431. "In short," says Mosheim, "the Gauls, Britons, and Africans by their councils, and the Emperors by their edicts and penal laws demolished this sect in its infancy." "While Genseric," says Robinson, "was defending the Arian faith at the head of eighty thousand men, Augustin, who had no command over the sword, was inflaming his hearers with violent passions by urging them to hate one another for their speculations." * In one of his sermons the following is worthy of notice. The discourse is about the strait gate, and this, according to Catholic faith, cannot be good works, or obedience to the Gospel law, but the wounded side of Jesus. "By this strait gate of the side of Christ," says he, "the converted thief entered, the penitent Jew, every converted Pagan: but the wicked Arian heretic turns his back upon him and goes out. He is one of those of whom St. John says; They went out from us,—O you Arian heretic!" "Several Catholic historians observe," says Robinson, "for the glory of God, for the honor of his providence, and for the benefit of the Church, that the very day on which Pelagius was born in Britain to shed darkness over the Empire, St. Monico lay in with St. Augustin in Africa, to dispel the darkness, and throw light and sunshine and mid-day splendor over the minds of mankind." "Just so," say they, "when heretics appeared in the Western world, did not God by his Spirit excite Pope Innocent to erect the most holy office of the Inquisition. From this bitter and bloody fanatic of Africa proceeded two hundred and thirty-two pamphlets. He understood the ten commandments in a spiritual sense; and Thou shalt not kill, signified, thou shalt not kill an orthodox believer. The command did not protect the life of a heretic. St. Augustin, that renowned Catholic ora-

* Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches.

cle, had once himself been a professed Manichæan, and had he remained so he might have remained a stranger to the diabolical work of persecuting others for their religious opinions, and perhaps have been exempt from the just charge of his having insulted the reason and abused the rights of mankind. But when he returned from his errors, as Mosheim chooses to express it, and became a true orthodox Catholic, then, indeed, the whole force of his much admired genius and flowing eloquence was employed in stirring up persecution against the heretics; and he and other such saintly men endeavored to inflame the passions of those in power, to extirpate the root of this "horrible disease," which so much troubled their Catholic peace. Through the influence of Augustin and other orthodox saints severe laws were enacted by the Emperors against the Manichæans, who are said in the fourth century to have increased far above the other denominations of heretics in numbers and influence. Their assemblies were prohibited, heavy penalties were imposed upon their teachers, they were branded with infamy, and deprived of all rights and privileges, as citizens. The society of the Donatists also suffered immense cruelties; numbers ot them were banished, and many of them persecuted with brutal barbarity until they came to enjoy peace during the short reign of the Pagan Emperor Julian, who permitted the exiles to return to their homes, and restored them and all other persecuted sects to the enjoyment of their former liberty. But no sooner did the self-styled orthodox attain the exercise of power again after the death of Julian than the scene changed; and none among them appeared more fit to perform the cruel work of making the blood of heretics to flow than St. Augustin. "He," says Mosheim, "instigated against them, not only the Province of Africa, but also the whole Christian world and the Imperial court." The Mother of Abominations, of which we shall have occasion to speak more afterwards, could not at that age of apostacy have conceived and brought forth a more genuine offspring to help to fill up the cup of her inexpressible wickedness, than that "learned and ingenious prelate" St. Augustin, a divine oracle to her adulterous seed, but a most contemptible tool in the eyes of the virtuous.* The Donatists had expressly remonstrated against appeals to the civil power in cases of religion. "The implacable Austin," says Robinson, "had spent almost half a century in banishing, butchering and driving all dissenters into corners; and there he stood crowing to hail the return of day." † But the Donatists recovered for a time their former liberty and tranquillity, by the protection they received

* Vide "Christ's Second Appearing." † Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches.

from the Vandals who conquered Africa; but as the Vandal kingdom was brought to a close in 534, A. D., hence orthodoxy and persecution once more overwhelmed that ill-fated country, Africa. "Councils, canons, edicts, and all imaginable instruments of oppression came rolling in like a tide." The constitution of the Catholic Church from the period of the Nicene Council, inspired the priesthood with a growing ambition to rid the Empire of everyone that would not conform to their ideas. Heretics stood principally in their way; therefore the greatest champion in detecting and accusing heretics, however contrary to the Gospel the means he employed, stood highest on the list of Catholic heroes and canonized saints. It was easy to see that there could be no room either for truth or charity where the continued strife was who should be greatest. And the revenues which flowed from the government to those ghostly hierarchs prompted them to still higher degrees of ambition by which the common people were trampled under foot, or at best considered as necessary tools for promoting their opulence and grandeur, and supporting them in luxury and idleness. To show that this was the real genius of this imperious hierarchy the following particulars suffice: "Many of the privileges," says Mosheim, "which had formerly belonged to the presbyters and people were (after Constantine) usurped by the bishops. Their first step was an entire exclusion of the people from all part in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs." * "In episcopal order the bishop of Rome was the first in rank, and was distinguished by a sort of pre-eminence over all other prelates. Prejudices, arising from a great variety of causes, contributed to establish his superiority; but it was chiefly owing to certain circumstances of grandeur and opulence by which mortals for the most part form their ideas of pre-eminence and dignity." "The bishop of Rome surpassed all his brethren in the magnificence and splendour of the Church over which he presided; in the riches of his revenues and possessions, in the number and variety of his ministers; in his credit with the people, and in his sumptuous and splendid manner of living. These dazzling marks of human power had such a mighty influence upon the minds of the multitude, that the see of Rome became a most seducing object of sacerdotal ambition. Hence it happened that when a new Pontiff was to be elected by the suffrages of the people, the city of Rome was generally agitated with dissensions, tumults, and cabals, whose consequences were often deplorable and fatal. The intrigues and disturbances which prevailed in the city in the year 366, when, upon the death of Liberius, another Pontiff was to be chosen in his place, are some proof of what we

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History: Century IV.

have now advanced. Upon this occasion one party elected Damasus to that high dignity, while the opposite party chose Ursicinus, a deacon of the vacant church, to succeed Liberius. This double election gave rise to a dangerous schism, and to a sort of civil war within the city of Rome, which was carried on with the utmost barbarity and fury, and produced cruel massacres and desolations. This inhuman contest ended in the victory of Damasus." Such was the degree of lawless power to which these degenerate plants of the vine of Sodom had already attained, and which evidently proceeded in a great degree from the anti-Christian authority which they derived from the emperor, their head, and from the secular power. This appears from what follows from Mosheim : " The additions made by the Emperors and others to the wealth, honors and advantages of the clergy were followed by a proportionable augmentation of vices and luxury, particularly among those of that sacred order who lived in great and opulent cities ; and that many such additions were made to that order after the time of Constantine is a matter that admits of no dispute." Hence there was a principal cause of their ambition, a sordid thirst for temporal glory; and hence the historian observes ; " The bishops on the one hand contended with each other in the most scandalous manner concerning the extent of their respective jurisdictions; while on the other hand they trampled upon the rights of the people, violated the privileges of the inferior ministers, and imitated in their conduct and in their manner of living, the arrogance, voluptuousness, and luxury of magistrates and princes. This pernicious example was soon followed by the several ecclesiastical orders. The bishop by degrees divested the presbyters of their ancient privileges and their primitive authority, that they might have no importunate protesters to control their ambition or oppose their proceedings; and principally that they might engross to themselves or distribute as they thought proper the possessions and revenues of the Church. Hence it came to pass that at the end of this (fourth) century there remained no more than a mere shadow of the ancient government of the Church." Admitting that there did remain a mere shadow, there must be an essential difference between the shadow and the substance. But it appears evident there did not remain even a distinct resemblance of the primitive Christian Church, if we compare the arrogance, voluptuousness, luxury, and cruelty of the clergy, and the barbarity, fury and inhuman contests and cabals of their subjects with what the Gospel represents Jesus to have taught his disciples ; " But Jesus called them and saith unto them : Ye know that they who are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them ; and their great ones exercise authority upon

them. But so shall it not be among you; but whosoever shall be great among you shall be your deacon, and whosoever will be chiefest shall be servant of all," Mark X. 42–45. How diametrically opposite appear the whole proceedings of this Catholic hierarchy, even in the fourth century: The bishop lording it over the presbyters; the presbyters over inferior officers, and the lower class of hierarchy setting themselves up as great ones over the common people; and priests and people; and the civil power tyrannizing with relentless cruelty over reputed heretics, whose lives of virtue, and perhaps of ignorance, exposed them alone as common prey to this ravenous and beastly legal power of State and Church. This is the Church which had been denominated the blessed Mother of saints and of great saints, and even of Saint Constantine the Great, under whose reign President Edwards could affirm that that great building which had been erecting since the fall rose to so great a height! This is that great hierarchy, and these the effect of that Catholic Gospel for which he could affirm that no other cause could be devised but the power of God.* Doubtless that proverb is true: There is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death.

After his conquest of Magnentius, Constantius, the last surviving son of Constantine I, finding himself unequal to the cares of the empire, conferred the rank of Cæsar upon his cousin Julian, who until this time had been pursuing his studies among the Grecian philosophers, and appointed him to the government of the western provinces. The Sarmatians, whom he found in arms, he defeated and compelled to sue for peace. This Julian, called "the apostate," because of his inclining to polytheism, whose abilities for military life had been before despised on account of his devotion to study, now proved himself an able general in the conduct of a war against the Franks and Alemanni. But the fame of his military exploits, spreading through the empire awakened the jealousy of Constantius; who now issued an order commanding a large detachment of the veterans, who were under Julian to march to the assistance of the eastern legions. But these troops, whether or not with the connivance of Julian, refused obedience to Constantius and at once proclaimed their present general emperor. The proferred crown Julian with some artful hesitation accepted, and with secrecy and dispatch directed his march to the attack of Constantinople. Relinquishing the Persian wars Constantius advanced to meet him; but for some reason they do not appear to have come to any engagement in battle before Constantius died in 361.

* History of Redemption.

Julian, on coming to the sole possession of the *imperium*, did not prohibit the Christian worship nor revive the persecution characteristic of the ages before Constantine; but he removed Christians from offices of trust and from the care of youth and inconvenienced them in various ways.

Having settled the affairs of the west Julian led an army into Asia. He wintered his army at Antioch, and, on his way toward Persia, ravaged Syria. He is said with the assistance of the Jews to have attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem in order to disprove the prophecy of Christ; but as often as the foundation was laid it was destroyed. Says a pagan historian: "Horrible balls of fire, breaking out from the foundation, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen. The victorious element, continuing in this manner, seemed obstinately bent on driving them to a distance, and the hopeless attempt was abandoned." This, then, is what the account informs us Julian and his abettors, the Jews, got for their pains in essaying to disprove Christ's prophecy! Jerusalem, however, had not only strong foundations but high and massive walls in the ages of the crusades. It required two day's exercise of the most ingenious and valorous efforts, with movable towers and all the implements of assault, known to the warriors of the eleventh century, to gain the battlements of Jerusalem and plant thereon the standard of the cross in the year 1099. The walls, therefore, must have been built after the days of Julian, doubtless at some time when the earth was not energizing there its igneous forces.

As the Romans passed the Tigris on this expedition they won a victory over the Persians, but here their success ended. At the suggestion of a treacherous Persian, who, in the character of a deserter, entered his camp, Julian was induced to burn his fleet. As the Romans then advanced they found the country deserted of its inhabitants, who, by the order of the Persian king, had gone and taken with them their cattle leaving little to supply the wants of the Roman army. Julian now sought to retrace his steps; but a numerous army of Persian cavalry, hovering around, harassed his retreat. The emperor having received a mortal wound, spent his dying moments in philosophical discourse; and on his death the army elected in his place one named Jovian, who died before reaching Constantinople? Jovian being mentioned in connection with Julian makes the historical language somewhat poetical; and some have thought the historical romance here to

mean that Jovian is Julian as he converses Socratically in the hour of death? Jovian died in seven months after his elevation.

The Emperor had not been many days dead when Sapor, the Persian king, sent to the disheartened army proposals of peace, which, though humiliating, were accepted. The provinces east of the Tigris, which Diocletian had obtained of Narses, were given back to Persia; and the strongly fortified city of Nisibis, which had so often, while in possession of the Romans, resisted the Persian arms, together with some of the strongest fortresses in Mesopotamia, were surrendered, when the army was allowed to pursue its homeward way undisturbed.

Valentinian, who had been one of Julian's chief officers, was, after a deliberation of eight or ten days chosen emperor and conducted the army homewards. He made a dual division of the empire, appointing his brother Valens to the charge of the east, while he himself taking charge of the west made his residence at Milan. But every day henceforth the decline of the empire became more apparent. The civil wars of the sons of Constantine had destroyed vast numbers of the veterans and left the frontiers exposed to the depredations of the barbarians. For a short time the valor of Julian had availed to stop their incursions; but his unsuccessful Persian war had greatly reduced the military force of the empire. The Goths, who had repeatedly before invaded the empire, now again appeared upon the frontier, being pressed in this direction by the Hunns, a vast and terrible race from the north of Asia, now pursuing a course of conquest towards the southwest. They had subdued the nations of the Alani, which inhabited the regions between the Volga and the Tanais, and had advanced to the kingdom of the Goths as early as 375 A. D. The first appearance of the Hunns upon the Gothic frontier was in the declining years of the renowned chief Hermanric, whose dominion, it is said, extended from the Baltic to the Danube and Lake Maeotis; and who had united under his sway the two great portions of the Gothic race, the western or Visigoths, and the eastern or Ostrogoths: the former having been for some time governed by the house of Balti, the latter by that of Amali. Consequent upon the death of Hermanric and the lack of unity of action which ensued between the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths, the former branch soon submitted to the Hunns; and the latter, a million in number, who could bring into the field 200,000 fighting men, crossed the Danube and by the consent of the guardian, Valens, settled in Thrace, on certain conditions; but

the most important of which, the relinquishment of their arms, they afterwards evaded. They were also granted permission to engage in traffic; but the avarice of the Roman ministers not only rendered the permission useless but destructive to them. The property they had did not allow them sufficient for a subsistence and they were obliged, to some extent, to sell their children to obtain bread. Fritigern, a principal chief of theirs, having been treacherously dealt with by the governor of Marcianopolis, summoned his people to arms. They thereupon overran and desolated Maesia and then threatened Constantinople.

But, while Valens is now collecting his forces from the east and west to oppose the Visigoths, the latter form an alliance with a body of Ostrogoths, who had also procured settlements on the south side of the Danube and with some scattered hordes of the Alani and Hunns. The advantages of negotiating in the midst of war were known and practiced by the general of the Visigoths, who now sent an ecclesiastic as his ambassador to penetrate and perplex the plans of the enemy. The misfortunes, the provocations and the present augmented force of the Gothic nation were forcibly expatiated upon by the envoy; who protested that Fritigern was still disposed to lay down his arms or to employ them only in defense of the empire if he could secure for his people a tranquil settlement in the sparsely settled lands of Thrace with enough of corn and cattle for their use till they could raise these themselves. But, notwithstanding all this, the emperor Valens appears to have hastily attacked the combined army on the plains of Adrianople. In this battle two thirds of the Roman army were killed with the emperor Valens himself, and the Goths now ravaged to the suburbs of Constantinople, whose impregnable walls only saved it from being taken by them.

Theodosius, a native of Spain, whose father had held a high command in the army of Valentinian, and who appears to have been himself the Præfect of the Prætorians, now assumed the government, and for a time pursued a watchful and prudent policy. From Thessalonica, which for the time, he made his headquarters, he kept his eye intent upon the movements of the Goths and took every judicious opportunity of diminishing their numbers or of gaining over their leaders to his side.

Disunion among the Goths having ensued upon the death of Fritigern, the different tribes pursued different courses, each what it thought was for its own interest; and in four years after the

death of Valens the policy of Theodosius procured an advantageous peace. On this occasion Theodosius invited their aged chief Athanaric to visit the capital and partake of the hospitalities of the palace. At the grandeur and magnificence of the objects which met his eye the aged chieftain is said to have expressed his astonishment. "Truly," he exclaimed, "the emperor of the Romans is a god upon earth; and the presumptuous man who dares to lift his hand against him is guilty of his own blood." Athanaric having sickened and died Theodosius treated his remains with the most imposing honors; and the Goths, in gratitude for this, entered the Roman legions, declaring that while Theodosius lived they would acknowledge no other chief.

But while Theodosius was thus reducing things to a state of order in the east a new insurrection had arisen in the west. Maximus, a native of Britain, had entered Gaul, at the head of his legions, and had there been hailed as emperor. Theodosius thereupon going in search of him at the head of a numerous and well disciplined army, came up with the new emperor, on the banks of the Save in Pannonia, defeated his forces and executed him as a usurper.

Thus did Theodosius attain the sole sovereignty of the empire, now for the last time united under his sway, in the year 388. In his reign the ecclesiastical power manifested itself as already rising superior to the civil. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, was then an ecclesiastic of great influence. In a moment of passion Theodosius had given that cruel order, which forever indelibly stains his memory, of putting to the sword the inhabitants of Thessalonica, for an alleged crime of which they who suffered were not guilty. For this, Ambrose boldly reproached him, and exacted of him a penance to be publicly performed. In this, the emperor, in a mournful and suppliant posture, is said, with sighs and tears to have confessed and deplored his crime in the presence of the congregation.

As to the Division of the Empire into the East and West.

Before his death, which is entered for the year 395, Theodosius is said to have divided the empire between his two young sons, giving to the elder, Arcadius, the eastern division, with Constantinople as his capital; and to the younger, Honorius, the western, with his capital in Rome. It is also said that this division proving

permanent makes it an epoch in history. But the truth appears to be that there was no such division made of the empire at this time, the division, such as it was, being effected in some years afterwards and by foreign force. The Gothic nations, who had come into the empire before and during the reign of Theodosius, were like the Saxons, who came into Britain in the middle of the fifth century, prudent enough to take account of their own strength, and observant enough to perceive the weakness of the empire. The legions, too, of the regular army of the empire became now well filled with this kind of soldiers, and were not unfrequently commanded by men of that race: while the indolent and now become effeminate citizens of the old stock of the empire were slow to enlist in the military service of their country.

The Ostrogoths, under Alaric, in the year 402, spread devastation through Thrace, Macedonia and Attica. They then proceeded towards Italy; but were met by a Roman army commanded by Stilicho, at Pollentia, and, after a severe battle were compelled to retreat. Following them up, Stilicho again defeated Alaric at Verona, and procured from him a temporary peace.

In the year 406 an invasion of the Pagan Goths took place, which was found to be more difficult to contend with than that of the somewhat christianized Ostrogoths, who were possessed at least of the rudiments of civilization. These Pagan Goths are said to have consisted of a confederacy of the German nations, the Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, and part of the Alani, to the number of 200,000 armed men. Led by their king, Radagasius, they issued from the shores of the Baltic; and, having showed themselves upon the upper Danube, passed into Italy and invested Florence. But Stilicho, having collected a very numerous army, surrounded them as they lay in their camp, unapprehensive of danger, and reducing them to great distress compelled a good number of them to capitulate! Radagasius having lost his life, his army took up their retreat and leaving Italy, they proceeded to devastate Gaul, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees. Gibbon says: "This may be considered the fall of the Roman empire beyond the Alps."

In about two years later Alaric, advancing with a large army of his Ostrogoths on Rome, that ancient city was compelled to purchase with money his departure; but the conditions of the payment not being fulfilled he appeared again before the gates in the year 410 and compelled the Senate to receive, as the emperor of his choice, Attalus, the prefect of the city. The capital was yet

spared, but the Ostrogoths overran Italy. In the same year or that following, however, Alaric returned, degraded Attalus from his position as emperor, and sacked "the eternal city," leaving it as a prey to the soldiery for six successive days.

Passing forth triumphantly Alaric bent his course toward the south of Italy, intending to pass over to Africa and conquer the Roman provinces there; but on his way he died.

The grave of this celebrated foreign conqueror of Rome, the first of such kind now for the space of 795 years, or since Brenduf, chief of the Gauls, burned that city in 385 B. C., was made in the bed of a stream whose waters, diverted from their channel for that purpose, on resuming their wonted course, forever concealed it.

Adolphus, the brother-in-law and successor of Alaric, had at first in mind to make Rome the seat of a new Gothic empire; but finally concluded, it is said, after the Ostrogoths had enjoyed an undisputed sway for four years, to leave Italy to be governed by her own regulations. And now having concluded a peace with the eastern empire and married Placidia, who is entered in the history as a daughter of Theodosius, he retired from Italy into Gaul and thence into Spain, where he founded the kingdom of the Visigoths in about the year 412 A. D.

Adolphus, in a few years after, having fallen in war, his wife Placidia is said to have returned to Italy and to have become the wife of Constantius, a distinguished general. He is said to have been declared emperor, but that being assassinated soon after his son Valentinian, a boy of six years of age, was declared in his stead, his mother, Placidia, acting as regent in his minority. Such is in general how the narrative appears in the history, which in this connection may represent correctly the sequence of the events.

The armies of the west were, at the time we are now considering, or in the time of the minority of the son of Adolphus, commanded by Ætius and Boniface, between whom there existed a bitter enmity. By the misrepresentations of Ætius, Placidia is said to have so distrusted Boniface as to have recalled him from his command in Africa. Boniface, who has been called "the last of the Romans," was thoroughly roused by the suspicion of his integrity, and, revolting from the home government, invited to his aid a desolating scourge. This was Genseric, king of the Vandals, who had established his nation in Spain. He having transported his army over the strait of Gibraltar drew to his camp the wandering Moors

and then began the conquest of Africa. Before Boniface had learned his mistake and returned to his allegiance, the provinces from Tangiers to Tripoli had become a prey to the destructive fury of the Vandals. Boniface engaged them in battle, but was defeated and compelled to retreat. By reason of a treaty formed with the western empire the progress of the Vandals was for a time retarded; but in eight years Genseric had conquered Carthage and established a kingdom.

Atila, the king of the Hunns, was now the most powerful monarch in Europe. He claimed descent from the ancient Hunns, who had contended with the monarchs of China, and 700,000 warriors marched under his banners. He had conquered the various uncivilized nations of northern Europe. His devastations extended as far as Persia, and Theodosius II., now emperor of the East, was compelled to pay him tribute. With Genseric he made an alliance; and, preventing the eastern empire from giving assistance to the son of Adolphus he facilitated the progress of the Vandalic king.

Intending to invade Italy Atila endeavored to ally himself with Theodoric, the king of the Visigoths of Gaul; but in this he did not succeed: and when Ætius, the general of Valentinian had arrived in Gaul with an army for its defense Theodoric united his forces with his. There also came to the assistance of Ætius, on this occasion, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Sarmatians or Alani, the Franks and some other small tribes. This combined army encountered the formidable host of Atila at Chalons and after a most sanguinary conflict compelled him to retreat. On the side of Ætius in this battle the Visigoths were the strongest of any force, and in it Theodoric, their king, was slain. His son animated his people to avenge his death; but Atila, notwithstanding, secured a retreat. This battle was fought in 451 A. D., and the loss on both sides in the engagement is put down at 162,000 men.

The forces of Atila, were, however, by no means exhausted, and in the ensuing spring he passed the Alps and invaded Italy, besieging and taking Aquileia, Milan and Pavia. Valentinian committed the defense of the nation to Ætius, who, unaided by forces from without, found himself unable to withstand or retard the progress of the enemy. On this occasion, therefore, in 452 A. D., an embassy accompanied by Leo, bishop of Rome, in his sacred robes, was dispatched to the camp of the Hunns. Atila listened at-

tentively to their humble petition, and agreed to a treaty which purchased the temporary safety of Rome at an immense price.

The death of Atila, which is said to have occurred soon after his withdrawal at this time had the effect of disuniting the Hunns, and for the time of relieving Rome from fears of its once formidable enemy. Yet the destruction of the present order of things in Italy was only delayed but not entirely removed. There was no sufficient internal organized force to resist a powerful foreign foe. Placidia was now dead and her son, Valentinian, no longer under her government, gave way to petty jealousy, and brutally murdered his faithful servant, Ætius; thus as he was told by a Roman "cutting off his right hand with his left," He is said soon after to have fallen by the hand of Petronius Maximus, "an injured husband," who became emperor in his stead, and compelled his widow Eudoxia, to marry himself. But Eudoxia, in order to be revenged on her new lord is said to have secretly invited in Genseric; and the latter, having, since he had come into possession of Carthage, no lack of sea craft, soon responded to her call. He gladly accepted the invitation of Eudoxia to invade Italy, and having landed his troops at the mouth of the Tiber, in the year 455, he advanced to the now defenseless city. On learning of the approach of the Vandals Maximus is said to have tried to escape, but to have been slain in the streets. Pope Leo's entreaties again saved the city from conflagration; but fourteen days and nights it presented terrible scenes of pillage and rapine. Public and private wealth; as well that derived from churches as from palaces and public buildings, became the prey of the Vandals. The statues of the gods, which since the introduction of Christianity had not been removed, the ornaments of the capitol, and the sacred vessels of the temple at Jerusalem, which had been brought from thence by Titus, are all said to have been embarked for Carthage and to have been lost on the passage. The Empress Eudoxia and her three daughters, with many other Roman women and children, are said to have been brought to Carthage by Genseric.

On learning of the death of Petronius Maximus the vacant throne is said to have tempted the ambition of Avitus of Gaul, who was now on a visit to Theodoric II., at Toulouse. Theodoric favoring his suit Avitus hastened to Rome where he was received as emperor. Count Ricimer, a descendant of the kings of the Goths, had command of the Gothic troops, which now formed the defense of Italy;

and, considering that he should not have been consulted in the choice of an emperor, became indignant. He, therefore, compelled Avitus to abdicate and raised to the throne in his stead Majorian, a man of virtue and parts. This man attempted a reformation of existing abuses, but the various classes which were deriving advantage from these united against him. The shipping of Italy now suffered severely from the piracies of the Vandals, and Majorian built a fleet intending it for protection and conquest. Its failure in this object gave to Ricimer a pretext for dethroning Majorian. He next elevated Severus to the imperial title, while, in effect, exercising himself the sovereign power. Finding a navy absolutely necessary to counteract the depredations of the African Vandals, Ricimer solicited the aid of Leo, the emperor of the east; and he granted his assistance on the condition that he should have the nomination of an emperor. He accordingly named Athemius, who repaired to Italy, wherein to strengthen his power he gave his daughter in marriage to Ricimer. Notwithstanding the fleets of both the eastern and western empires were now employed against the Vandals they failed to deprive them of their naval supremacy; and Ricimer now becoming jealous of Athemius and espousing the cause of Olybrius, who had married the daughter of the empress Eudoxia, marched his army to Rome, took the city and delivered it up to pillage. Having murdered Athemius he elevated Olybrius to the imperial title. In forty days after Italy rejoiced in the death of this tyrant, who had made or unmade four emperors, and sacked the city of Rome. Seven months was the limit of the reign of Olybrius, upon whose death two competitors presented themselves for the vacant throne, Glycerius, a Roman, and Julius Nepos, the governor of Dalmatia. Glycerius contenting himself with a bishoprick, Julius Nepos became emperor and reigned one year. Orestes, a Pannonian, who commanded a motley army of foreigners, that had enlisted in the Roman service, now excited a rebellion among them. On their approach to Ravenna Julius Nepos retreated to Dalmatia, and Orestes proclaimed his son, Augustulus Romulus as emperor of the west. But Orestes found it difficult to support his son in power. The barbarians who caused his elevation, not content with the increase of their pay and privileges petitioned him to divide among them a third of the lands of Italy. To their capricious, and, as would seem, brutal demand, Orestes refused to accede and sacrifice one-third of the inhabitants of the soil.

Among those barbarian defenders was Odoacer, king of the Heruli, a savage people, who had emigrated from the shores of the Baltic to Pannonia and Noricum. These he led to Rome; took and pillaged the city; executed Orestes; and assumed the sovereignty of Italy under the eastern emperor in 476. Augustulus Romulus gave over the emblems of authority to Odoacer and took refuge in his camp: And thus passes from the historic vista, the last emperor, so-called, of Rome.

That the name of this last emperor should contain that of the first king and founder of Rome as well as that of its first emperor has been regarded as singular, in that it recalls to mind the infancy, the maturity, and the fall of Rome. From the first founding of the city by Romulus to this date there is reckoned 1229 years; and and from the date of the battle of Actium when Augustus became first emperor there had passed 507 years; while the eastern empire in a state of almost slightly gradual decline continued to exist nearly one thousand years longer.

The kingdom of the Heruli lasted over Italy for seventeen years; when in 493, it was supplanted by a kingdom of the Ostrogoths. These last, although of the same national stock as that people that conquered Italy under Alaric were yet only distant relations of theirs. This was of descent from a branch of the Ostrogoths which followed the standard of Atila, in his invasion of the empire. On his death, which is entered for the year 453, they revolted from the Huuns and established their independence by arms. To Zeno, the emperor of the east, Theodoric, the son of the Ostrogothic king, was given as an hostage, on an alliance having been formed between them and that emperor. He was a youth of talents, ambition and courage, and, after a residence of a few years at the Byzantine court, he returned to his nation accomplished above the degree common to the best of his people. To divert the Gothic arms from his own dominions the emperor Zeno gave Theodoric the kingdom of Italy, which Odoacer had wrested from the Gothic Romans. Odoacer was defeated by Theodoric and the kingdom was now of the Ostrogoths, established upon the ruins of that of the Heruli.

Theodoric reigned thirty-three years and under his government, Italy was in a state of comparative peace. One-third of the lands was divided among the Goths, the Italians being left in possession of two-thirds. The Italians also retained their own civil adminis-

tration, with their customs, dress and national freedom. Theodoric executed Boethius, "the last Roman orator," on the charge of treason against his government, for which act he has been accused not only of cruelty but injustice. Leaving no son, he, at his death, commended to the nobles his daughter Amalasontha, and her son, then ten years of age. The son soon died with disease and the mother after some years of able administration was killed. Theudat succeeded, who was soon displaced to make room for Vitiges. This monarch was conquered by Belisarius and carried in chains to Constantinople there to grace his triumph; but on the departure of Belisarius from Italy, the Goths rebelled and proclaimed Totila their king. Him Narses defeated and slew on the return of the army in 553, and Italy was annexed to the eastern empire.

After the destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom, Italy was ruled for the eastern empire by officers called exarchs, whose seat of government was at Ravenna. Their peace was disturbed by the Lombards, particularly by their king Alboin, who in the reign of Justin II, the immediate successor of Justinian (565–574), with little opposition possessed himself of that portion of northern Italy, afterwards called Lombardy. But, although the Lombards continued to possess that territory, Alboin's reign over it was short, his wife Rosamond, a princess of the Gepidæ, whom he had brutally made to drink out of her slain father's scull, having with her own hand rid herself and the world of an odious tyrant.

From the foregoing, therefore, it is seen that, from about the year 408, when Alaric first entered the country, until the year 553, Italy was in effect in the power of the Goths, which is a period of 145 years. The Goths for the period between 408 and 476, comprising 68 years, put up rulers and put them down at their pleasure; but pandering to the vanity of the Roman people, in calling these creatures of their own selecting, emperors. Italy may, therefore, be considered as lost to the empire at Constantinople, after the year 408, and thence to the year 553.

Coming back now to the eastern empire, I may say that the subsidies paid by the eastern emperors to the barbarians, after the death of Theodosius, with the stronger allurements which Italy presented to them, tended to leave that empire in comparative tranquility.

The history represents Arcadius and Honorious as sons of Theodosius and as minors at their father's death in 395; and one

named Rufinus, a Gaul, as conducting the administration for Arcadius, at Constantinople, while one named Stilicho, a Vandal, was doing the like thing for Honorius, his brother, at Rome.

Saying nothing now in relation to Honorius, the same history represents Arcadius, whom we see coming to the throne a minor in 395, as dying and being succeeded in his government of the eastern empire by his son, Theodosius II. in 408. This king is also represented as a minor at his accession, and as being during his whole reign subject to the influence of his sister, Pulcheria; who, on his death succeeded to the throne, "and was the first female who swayed the sceptre of the Roman empire. She was a princess of genius and virtue; and on her death the Theodosian family became extinct in the east." The empress Pulcheria appears to have departed this life in the east about the same time, or perhaps a year or two before the empress and regent Placidia demised in the west. It is not at all likely that these two appellations stand for the same person. Placidia is represented as being daughter to Theodosius I. by a second marriage, and Pulcheria as being his granddaughter through his son, Arcadius; but from what follows, you will see that there is no reason why they should not have been half sisters and daughters of Theodosius I. by different marriages, if perchance they were?

For speaking of Arcadius, who was a minor on coming to the throne in 395, and who died in 408, we reasonably conclude he must have been young when his daughter Pulcheria and his son Theodosius II. were born to him. And since we have fair reason to conclude that Theodosius I. made no division of the empire at the time he died, as is represented in the history; since also we find in the old language the name forms Arcadius and Honorius to be simply variations of the same name;* and since it is pretty evident the name form Theodosius was not the baptismal name of either Theodosius I. or Theodosius II., the form Theodosius being a Christian name, given afterwards and only in the histories;† we therefore reasonably conclude that the baptismal name of Theodosius II. was the same as that of his fater (who may have been Theodosius I.), that is, either the Greek form Arcadius or the Latin form Honorius, or more likely the Gaulic form Caethair

* Gr. Arcadius=Gaulic Chathair=Chathanair=Chonair=Latin Honorius.

† *θεος-Δίδωμι*, given of God, an honorary appellation given by the church since this emperor is about as distinguished a churchman as was Constantine I.

or Caethanair, all of which are, of course, the same name, as it appears in these different languages. You see, therefore, that in the way here explained, Theodosius I. and Theodosius II. are all the men that are to be reckoned as standing for those names; and how that historians and copyists, who did not understand the equivalence of these name forms as given in the original languages, might make the mistake of making the two or three different forms of name of the same man stand for as many different men. This making appear of different men, as represented by the variations of name of the same man, is what is often found to occur in the interweaving of the historical romance into the tissue of history proper.

By our explanation, therefore, Theodosius II would in the Latin language be called in his day Honorius; and hence in the Latin provinces of the west, in documents, etc., his name would be entered Honorius; while in the Greek provinces of the east the name would be entered Arcadius; or later, in the history written, by the churchmen, Theodosius II. The death of Honorius is put down for the year 423, and that of Theodosius II. for 450, when he dies as the consequence of a fall from his horse into the river Lycus in the neighborhood of Constantinople; his sister Pulcheria who had during his life acted as his principal adviser, now assuming the supreme government in his stead as empress. But a consideration of the whole subject leaves little doubt that these two names as well as the form Arcadius refer to the same person, who, if he were eighteen years of age as Gibbon says Arcadius was at the time of the death of his father in 395, would have been 73 years old in 450 if he had lived to that time; or, if he were eleven years old in 395, as is said by the same author Honorious was, and had lived to 450 he would be then 66 years old; or if he were born in the year 400, as the same author says Theodosius II was, then he lived to the even fifty years of age and died as a result of accident.*

* Under the year 408 Gibbon says: "At length Arcadius expired in the palace of Constantinople. It is impossible to delineate his character, since, in a period very copiously furnished with historical materials, it has not been possible to remark one action that properly belongs to the son of Theodosius." Vol. II, p. 295, Dec. and Fall.

Speaking of Honorius, p. 211-12 Id. he says: "The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with the nuptials of the emperor Honorius and of his cousin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho; and this equal and honorable alliance seemed to invest the powerful minister with the authority of a parent over his submissive pupil," — "the amorous impatience, which Claudian" (a sententious poet) "attributes to the young prince must excite the smiles of the court; and his beautous spouse (if she deserved the praise of beauty) had not much to fear or to hope from the passions of her lover. Honorius was only in the fourteenth year of his age; Serena, the mother of his bride, deferred by art or persuasion, the consummation of the royal nuptials; Maria died a virgin after she had been ten years a wife; and the chastity of the emperor was secured by the coldness, or perhaps the debility of his constitution. His subjects

The seat of this emperor, as of the Theodosian house, is also to be thought of as not in the west but at Constantinople. With the empress Pulcheria, the Theodosian dynasty ended. Her husband Marcian, continuing to reign with a vigorous and prudent policy, begun a new dynasty. This man, despising the artifices by which some of his predecessors had purchased immunity from the arms of the Hunns, stopped the payment of the subsidies. The Hunns thereupon threatened invasion; but the death of Atila about this time averted it. Leo, Zeno, Anastasius and Justin succeeded each other in this order, the last being succeeded by Justinian, whose deeds are more celebrated than those of any of the four who preceded him. He

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who attentively studied the character of their young sovereign discovered that Honorius was without passions and consequently without talents; and that his feeble and languid disposition was alike incapable of discharging the duties of his rank or of enjoying the pleasures of his age."— "The predecessors of Honorius were accustomed to animate, by their example or at least by their presence, the valor of the legions; and the dates of their laws attest the perpetual activity of their motions through the provinces of the Roman world. But the son of Theodosius passed the slumber of his life a captive in his palace, a stranger in his country, and the patient, almost the indifferent, spectator of the ruin of the western empire, which was repeatedly attacked and finally subverted by the arms of the Barbarians. In the eventful history of a reign of twenty years it will seldom be necessary to mention the name of the emperor Honorius."

On pgs. 295-6-7 the historian under the year 408 says: "Arcadius considered with anxious foresight the helpless condition of his son Theodosius who was no more than seven years of age, the dangerous faction of a minority and the aspiring spirit of Jezdegerd, the Persian monarch. Instead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious subject to the participation of supreme power he boldly appealed to the magnanimity of a king; and placed, by a solemn testament, the sceptre of the east in the hands of Jezdegerd himself. The royal guardian accepted and discharged his honorable trust with unexampled fidelity; and the infancy of Theodosius was protected by the arms and councils of Persia. Such is the singular narrative of Procopius and his veracity is not disputed by Agathias, while he presumes to dissent from his judgment, and to arraign the wisdom of a Christian Emperor, who so rashly though so fortunately, committed his son and dominions to the unknown faith of a stranger, a rival and a heathen. At the distance of 150 years this political question might be debated in the court of Justinian; but a prudent historian will refuse to examine the *propriety* till he has ascertained the *truth* of the testament of Arcadius. As it stands without a parallel in the history of the world we may justly require that it should be attested by the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporaries. The strange novelty of the event, which excites our distrust, must have attracted this notice; and their universal silence annihilates the vain tradition of the succeeding age. The maxims of Roman jurisprudence, if they could fairly be transferred from private property to public dominion, would have adjudged to the emperor Honorious the guardianship of his nephew, till he had attained, at least, the fourteenth year of his age. But the weakness of Honorius, and the calamities of his reign disqualified him from prosecuting this natural claim," etc. — "Under a prince, whose weakness is disguised by the external signs of manhood and discretion, the most worthless favorites may secretly dispute the empire of the palace; and dictate to submissive provinces the commands of a master, whom they direct and despise," etc. — "But the Romans had so long been accustomed to the authority of a monarch, that the first, even among the females, who displayed any courage or capacity, was permitted to ascend the vacant throne of (the minor) Theodosius. His sister Pulcheria, who was only two years older than himself, received at the age of sixteen the title of Augusta; and though her favor might be sometimes clouded by caprice or intrigue, she continued to govern the eastern empire near forty years; during the long minority of her brother and, after his death, in her own name, and in the name of Marcian her nominal husband." My own opinion is given above, namely, that Arcadius and Honorius are but other forms of the name of Theodosius II; and further, I may say, that he and his sister Pulcheria, were more likely to have been the children of a brother of Theodosius I than his own children.

ascended the throne in 527 A. D., and his reign may perhaps be thought to form an epoch. The kingdom of the Vandals in Africa had now long been established. Hilderic, grandson of Genseric, succeeded him, but was deposed by Gelimer. Justinian, desirous to recover the province, affected to favor Hilderic and sent Belisarius into Africa with an army. He reduced Carthage, conquered the Vandals, and carried Gelimer a prisoner to Constantinople. Hilderic having been executed the race of Genseric had become extinct and Africa again belonged to the eastern empire. Belisarius next marched into Italy where he defeated the Ostrogoths, subdued Italy and Sicily and returned to Constantinople with Vitiges, the Gothic king, in chains.

By these successes the jealousy of Chosroes, the now reigning king of Persia, was aroused, and he renewed the war which had been suspended by a truce. Belisarius having been sent against him the war was waged with alternate success, until the declining years of Chosroes and Justinian cooled their military ardor and procured a further truce for forty years.

Belisarius was next dispatched to Italy against the Goths who had rebelled; but being recalled through jealousy, which had arisen in the emperor's mind, Narses, another general, was substituted in his place, who effected their subjugation. That country was now governed by officers called Exarchs, whose seat was at Ravenna, as said above.

The empire was now invaded by the Bulgarians and Sclavonians, who crossed the Danube, ravaged Macedonia and Thrace, and carried their depredations to within a few miles of Constantinople. Belisarius having been sent against them defeated them; but this was the last of his victories; and he who might be said to have restored the empire was doomed, as is said, by the ingratitude of the emperor, to spend his old age in disgrace and penury.

While the empire had gloriously sustained itself abroad the capital was torn by designing factions. Earthquakes of unusual extent and duration had spread desolation in different parts. In the ruins of Antioch alone 250,000 persons were supposed to have been buried. A dreadful pestilence also spread its ravages through the empire, and for a time its virulence seemed unchanged by the change of the seasons. In Constantinople during three months five to ten thousand persons are said to have died daily. Many of the cities of the east were depopulated and "during the reign of Justinian there was a visible diminution of the human species."

With the assistance of Tribonian, an eminent lawyer, Justinian digested and simplified the mass of laws, which had been accumulating till his time; and formed these bodies of laws, called the Justinian code, the Pandects and the Institutes. This system of jurisprudence was the greatest work of the age, and from it Justinian derives his chief reputation.

Justin II, the nephew and successor of Justinian, associated with himself in the government Tiberius, the captain of the guards. The Lombards, under Alboin, now having conquered the northern part of Italy, established a kingdom which they called Lombardy: 568–570. By the nomination of Tiberius, Maurice succeeded him. He, taking part in a quarrel now existing in Persia between Hormouz, the son of Chosroes, and his general Bahram, sent an army into Persia, which placed Chosroes II, the son of Hormouz, on the throne of that kingdom.

The Avars, an Asiatic race, having fled from the victorious arms of the Turks or Turcomans, had, by their alliance with the Lombards, destroyed the Gepidæ. The Lombards then having carried their nation and their arms into Italy, the Avars settled in the country which they had vacated in Pannonia, and extended their dominion from the Euxine to the foot of the Alps. While the army of the empire was absent in Persia the Avars threatened the empire from the north; and as soon as it had returned home Maurice employed it against these barbarians. With the exception of Priscus, who obtained several victories, which, however, turned out to be unprofitable, Maurice was unfortunate in the selection of his generals.

The emperor having ordered the army to make the country of the Avars their winter quarters, that army declared him no longer worthy to reign and elected Phocas, a man of a brutal character in his place. The rebel army now hastened its return to Constantinople whence Maurice had fled for safety to Chalcedon. Hither the emissaries of Phocas having followed him, caused him to witness the murder of his five sons and then slew himself. Phocas, who soon after found himself exposed to a revolt of the province of Africa, and to the arms of Chosroes II., who made the death of his benefactor, Maurice, a cause of war, was compelled to sign an ignominious peace with the Avars. Chosroes wrested from the empire many of its eastern fortresses and carried devastation into Syria.

Heraclius, son of the governor of Africa, who had never ac-

knowledged the authority of Phocas, advanced at the head of the African forces, and, by a union with the disaffected, made himself master of Constantinople. Phocas, he executed forthwith. Chosroes meantime took possession of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria; and, while one division of his army extended his conquests to Tripoli, another marched to the Bosphorous and for ten years lay encamped in the vicinity of Constantinople. The Avars, renewing their hostilities, pitched their camps upon the plains of Thrace. Thus was the empire threatened on every side. In this extremity the church's funds were appropriated to the service of the empire; and a large army was levied, at the same time that a generous subsidy purchased while it did not secure the neutrality of the Avars. Heraclius, declining to engage the Persian army, which lay encamped opposite to the city, yet, having a sufficient number of vessels at his command, transported an army to the confines of Syria and Cilicia, and encamped near Issus, on the ground where Alexander vanquished Darius. Here he organized and disciplined his troops. The Persians having followed him to Cilicia he drew into an engagement and defeated.

Heraclius, in the next campaign, went north, passed the Euxine and traversed the mountains of Armenia. To compel Chosroes to recall his armies for the defense of his own kingdom he penetrated into the heart of Persia. But the Persian king still maintained an army near Constantinople to second the operations of the treacherous chief of the Avars, who, notwithstanding he had received a subsidy for his neutrality, had entered into an alliance with the Persians.

A numerous barbarian host of Avars, Gepidæ, Russians, Bulgarians and Sclavonians now invested Constantinople, but were repulsed with great slaughter, while the Persians, on the opposite side of the Bosphorus, beheld their discomfiture without being able to render them assistance.

Meantime Heraclius, having strengthened his army by an alliance with the Turks, fought and defeated the Persians in a battle at Nineveh. Chosroes shortly afterwards was assassinated by his son Siroes, who concluded a peace with the Romans by which he relinquished the conquests of his father. Heraclius, withdrawing his forces from Persia, returned to his own capital in triumph, in 628 A. D. He, however, lived to see the province of Syria severed from his empire and Jerusalem possessed by the Moslems.

Chapter IX.

V. 1: "And the fifth angel sounded and I saw a star fall from heaven to the earth and to him was given the key of the well of the abyss."

This is how this verse reads in my very excellent original. A star falling from heaven, as we have seen in the case of the third trumpet, is symbolic of a falsification or corruption of religion, in connection with a very destructive civil polity.

This star symbolizing Mohammedism and being represented to have fallen from heaven might be intended to show that at its beginning Mohammedism was better than it afterwards became. Mohammed had been preaching some years against idolatry before he undertook his predatory and destructively bellicose expeditions. Even a descent from the business of a preacher against idolatry in his day and country to that of a bandit and murderer may be called a descent, morally speaking, from heaven to hell. In the prophecy the star falls from heaven to earth and there he is given the key of the well of the abyss. In the mind of the Greeks and Romans the world, outside of their own empire, was an abyss, that is, a space stretching out far and wide without definite limits. The star having now fallen from heaven is given the key of the well of the abyss. Properly speaking Scythia, including Tartary (whence Tartarus) to the north of the Roman empire is what is called the abyss or bottomless pit. That was the region of the Turks as well as the Germans, all Scythian races in the Greek and Roman mind. But remark here that Arabia is not represented as the abyss or bottomless pit so called, but the well (Phrear) of the abyss (Abussus). Remember, therefore, in your progress that the Arabians are from the well of the abyss; the Germans and Turks from the abyss or bottomless pit proper, in the case of the conquest of the empire in its western and eastern divisions by those two peoples.

V. 2: "And he opened the well of the abyss, and there arose a smoke out of the well, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke from the well."

Such is a suitable symbol of the religion of Mohammed, "as the smoke of a great furnace," a smoke which darkened the light of the sun of the Gospel of Christ; and also the air or the political heaven of the Eastern empire. The religion of the Mohammed proved to be not like that of Christ, a light and a comfort

from on high, but like a smoke issuing out of a pit, say a Pennsylvanian gas well, darkening the air.

V. 3: "And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth and there was given to them power as the scorpions of the earth have power."

Speaking of the onward movements of the Mohammedans in the eleventh year of the Hegira or the next after the prophet's death Muir says: "Warrior after warrior, column after column, whole tribes in endless succession with their women and children, issued forth to fight. And ever at the marvelous tale of cities conquered; of rapine rich beyond compute; of maidens on the very field, to every man a damsel or two; and the sight of the royal fifth set forth in order as it reached Medina, — fresh tribes arose and went. Onward and still onward like swarms from the hive or flights of locusts darkening the land, tribe after tribe issued forth, and, hasting northward, spread in great masses to the east and to the west." The Caliphate, p. 44.

"And unto them was given power as the scorpions," etc. In speaking of the meaning of the word scorpion Webster says: The Arabic verb to which this word belongs signifies to wound, to strike. In Scripture it means a kind of whip armed with points like a scorpion's tail, as in 1 Kings, XIII. 14. Mohammedism came with the Koran or tribute; and although the scorpion symbolization might be thought to stand for the tribute collector, with his penalties for delinquency, yet this is only part of the meaning; it gives to understand that a system is here symbolized of which the Turk is the head and the caliphate or successorship of the prophet, the tail.

V. 4: "And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth; neither any green thing; neither any tree; but only those who have not the seal of God in their foreheads.

While the locusts have power as scorpions yet they cannot use those powers to the extent they please. In this fourth verse they are given their limits just as in chapter VI. 6, they were ordered not to touch the oil or the wine (producing countries of Europe). The language here implies the same, while it implies that their war is to be mostly against idolatry. A comparison of the language in the original with that in VI. 8, indicates to one that they are not allowed to go in conquest beyond the Save in one direction into Europe or beyond the Pyrenees in the other. That the

expression, "the grass of the earth or any green thing or any tree" are to be understood literally is not so; they are symbolical: In their actual warfare the Mohammedans took just all the advantage they could of their adversaries, even to the destruction of their food-producing trees, their cattle, cattle feed, etc. On the other hand I will not say that the Arabians did not, from the manner of their bringing up, feel a restraint as to the destruction of the food-producing trees, such as the date tree from which in those latitudes the people obtain so much of their food; but they destroyed these in their progress rather than allow their enemies to possess them, if they could not possess them themselves. That they should only "hurt those men who had not the seal of God in their foreheads." This belongs, also, to the limitation idea as to the Mohammedan conquests. They were restrained from the Franko-German empire, north of the Pyrenees; from the British isles; from Scandinavia, Hungary, Poland, etc.; in general from those countries where God intended to produce the spiritual phase called Protestantism. The word translated "green thing" here in verse 4 is the same translated "pale" in VI. 8, and of course, the grass of the earth and any tree, has precisely the same reference, so that the thought is brought directly to the same portion of the empire to which the fourth seal points. Frankism, then, which you can call synonymous with Germanism, God required in the west with its pure Trinitarianism, to counterbalance in the East Abarism (*i. e.* Debarcism) or Turkism with its pure unitarianism.

Vs. 5 and 6: "And to them it was given that they should not kill them but that they should be tormented five months; and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he striketh a man. And in those days shall men seek death and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them."

That they should not kill them but that they should be tormented (tried) five months. This implies that of the conditions which the Moslems offered, the Koran, sword or tribute, either the first or the last was mostly accepted. It implies also that when they accepted the Koran the Moslems often and meanly watched the people to see if they were sincere or hypocrites, and if they found them to be the latter of course they administered penalities. If the tribute conditions were accepted they had their collectors to take up the money when due; or they had their appointed places where these money should

be paid. If the money were not paid or if they judged their officers were abused or insulted or even treated disrespectfully, they, of course, administered penalties. They had their pashas of one, two, three or any number of tails, and they had their various officials to do collecting, administer penalties, etc. Here is where the scorpion or Koran doctrine comes in, and any one can see what an oppressive system that of Mohammedism has been and is. For long ages the millions were so afflicted with their tax-gatherers that they desired to die, but could not if they did not commit the crime of suicide. The so-called life of multitudes brought by force under Islamism was truly a living death. And still that oppressive system is tolerated even in Europe.

The five months referred to here ($5\times30=150$ years) must refer to some particular period within the Mohammedan domination, which we will come to in due order.

Verses 7–12: Are descriptive of the symbolic locust race and their armies and king. "The shapes of the locusts were like horses prepared for battle." The world over the Arabian horses are remarkable for swiftness and beauty: "and on the heads of these locust-horses were crowns (Stephanoi) like unto gold" (the yellow turbans); "and their faces were as the faces of men" (which is self-explanatory).

And hair as the hair of women, "The Arabs, unlike other men, had their hair as the hair of women, or uncut, as their practice is recorded by Pliny and others." As to the long hair of the Avars or Turks see Dec. and F. IV., 205. "And their teeth were as (the teeth) of lions:" Which denoted, first, the strength of the executive of the caliphate, the teeth being placed round and in guard of the mouth which makes known the will; and, second, the ability of the nation to devour after seizing the prey is symbolized by the teeth.

"They had breastplates, as it were of iron." The cuirass (breastplate) was in use among the Arabs even in Mohammed's day. In the battle of Ohod, the second battle which he fought with the Koreish of Mecca, "seven hundred of them were armed with cuirasses."

"The sound of their wings as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle." Wings, as in this case symbolize armies in quick motion. The symbolization otherwise denotes the masses of the swift-moving Arabian cavalry, which the Moslems so much used in their wars.

"Tails like unto scorpions and stings in their tails" refers to their oppressive legal system of the Koran with the caliph at its head. They had their tribute collectors and their penalties for delinquency in accordance with this law.

"And they had over them a king, the angel of the abyss." Notice that when their king comes to be described he is not said to be the angel of "the well of the abyss" but of "the abyss;" therefore, it is plain their king is not the same with "the angel of the well of the abyss," which refers to Mohammed and the Caliphate and, which pertainted to the well, in this case Arabia. Their "king" refers to the Turkish power which was the right arm of the Abassides from their assumption of the Caliphate.

We are, therefore, now in a position to explain the five months and also to what particular phase of this power they referred. Muir, in his work on the Caliphate, speaking of the changes which took place on the transition from the Omeyyad to the Abasside Caliphate and the general condition of things which brought this change about, says: "In passing from the Omeyyad to the Abasside Caliphate we reach in many respects a fresh departure which justifies a pause and some words in explanation of the change." "It being the author's sole object to trace the Caliphate proper, so called, to its close, the rest of this work will be restricted to a narrative of the dynasty of the Abassides, as they rose to the crest of glory and then sunk gradually under the sway of Sultans and grand Viziers till they ended a mere phantom, vanishing into the pageantry of attendants on the Mameluke kings of Egypt." "Another marred feature in the era on which we enter is the change which comes over the Arabs, and the attitude of the new dynasty towards them. To their hardy life and martial fire were mainly due the spread of Islam and the material prosperity of the Caliphate. But the nation had by this time lost much of its original hardihood and vigor. Enriched with the spoil of conquered peoples, the temptations to pride and luxury had gradually sapped their warlike virtue, and so they either settled down with well filled harems, living sumptuously at their ease; or if they still preferred the field, yielded there to petulance and insubordination, preferring too often, the interests of person, family and tribe to the interests of Islam. The fervor of religious enthusiasm had in a great measure passed away, and self-aggrandizement had taken the place of passion for national glory and extension of the faith.

"Added to this the Abassides had lost confidence in their own

people; indeed they had already done so for several years before. They were brought to the throne and supported there by levies from Persia and Khorasan; while of the Ommeyyads the Syrians were the last support, and the Arab tribes, whether Modhar or Yemen, were ranged upon their side. Ibrahim felt this so strongly that in the letter intercepted by Merwan (referred to on p. 423) in which he chided Abu Muslim for his delay in crushing Nasr and Kirmany, he added angrily, — See that there be not one left in Khorasan, whose tongue is the tongue of the Arabian, but he be slain! It was among the Arabs of Syria and Mesopotamia that dangerous revolt repeatedly took place against the new dynasty, and so they continued to be looked askance upon. Before long the Caliphs drew their body guards entirely from the Turks about the Oxus; and that barbarous race smelling from afar the delights of the south were not slow to follow. Before long these began to overshadow the noble Arab chieftains; and so we soon find the imperial forces officered almost entirely by Turkomans, freedmen or slaves of strange descent and uncouth name. In the end the Caliphs became the helpless tools of their protectors; and the Arabs, where not already denationalized by city life, retired to roam at will in their desert wilds." Caliphate, pp. 430–2.

Taking now the round number 600 A. D. for the date of the rise of Mohammed, and the date given for the ascent of the Abassides 750, we have a difference of 150 years, which would be the five prophetic months, during which those locusts from the well were to torment mankind (5 months of 30 days each equals 150 days, each day for a year making 150 years). But as Mohammed did not start on his predatory and warlike mission before, say 618 to 622, then the 150 years will require to end correspondingly later, say 750–800 or later, when the Turkomans in effectual and present power controlled the Caliphate. Willard (Univ. Hist., p. 223) in speaking of this juncture, says: "The Caliph Motassem (833–842), the successor of Al Mamon, established a guard of 50,000 Turks for the security of his throne; these soon, like the prætorians of Rome, assassinated and elevated sovereigns at pleasure. At length their chief was called Emir al Omrah, "Commander of Commanders," and ruled in the palace as the mayors had in France. The Caliph came to be considered as the chief ecclesiastical officer." In this respect therefore, we see, the Caliph stood in somewhat the same relation to the Emir al Omrah, as the pope of Rome to the Franco-German

emperor! If, where it says (v. 10) that, "their power was to hurt men five months," it refers to the "men" of the Roman empire as those who were to be hurt five months, yet it was not till 636 that the attack was made on Syria, and Damascus and Jerusalem reduced. Adding the 150 years to that it will take you to 786 A. D. The tormenting of men for five symbolic months, therefore, refers to the Arabians, the men from the well, not to the Turks, the men from the Abyss.

V. 11. "And they had a king over them (which is) the angel of the abyss, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon."

In the Vulgate the name is Exterminans, which has the same meaning as the Greek term given, and the Hebrew. The truth and propriety of this appellation stands out plain in the history of the Turks, and their predecessors, the Arabs, but here the Turk is indicated.

V. 12: "One woe is past: and, behold there come two woes more hereafter."

This is merely an announcement that the Arabs had set the ball a rolling in the real historical development symbolized under the fifth trumpet, which is called the first woe; a development which the Turks assisted to make; and that two more woes are coming.

Vs. 13–16: "And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before God, saying, to the sixth angel which had the trumpet: Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates. And the four angels were loosed which were prepared for an hour and a day and a month and a year for to slay the third part of men."

The golden altar spoken of here is that referred to in Ch. VIII. as that on which the prayers of *all* saints are offered before the throne of God. The reference to it at that time indicated nothing good for the then Roman empire and so now. In that case it admitted to the empire the Goths, in this case, about 970 years later, it admits the Turks; but meantime the empire had added much to its sins and its blasphemies.

"Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates:" Although the expression "in the river Euphrates" is in the original Epi with the dative, usually translated in, still it might here be more properly translated "in the regions of" or "by." In the explanation of this we have Gibbon as follows: "The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the per-

son of Malek Shah (1092). His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and his four sons; and after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates confirmed a lasting separation of the Persian dynasty, the oldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger branches were those of *Kerman*, of *Syria* and of *Roum*: the first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure dominion on the shores of the Indian ocean: the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus: and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor." "As the supreme head of his family and nation the great sultan of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren; the thrones of Kerman and Nice, of Aleppo and Damascus: the Atabeks and Emirs of Syria and Mesopotamia erected their standards under the shadow of his scepter; and the hordes of Turcomans overspread the plains of Western Asia."

"Since the first conquests of the Caliphs the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia or Asia Minor was the most deplorable loss which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith Soliman deserved the name of Gazi, a holy champion; and his new empire of the Romans, or of Roum, was added to the tables of oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople from the Black sea to the confines of Syria; pregnant with mines of silver and iron, of alum and copper, fruitful in corn and wine, and productive of cattle and excellent horses. The wealth of Lydia, the arts of the Greeks, the splendor of the Augustan age, existed only in books and ruins, which were equally obscure in the eyes of the Scythian conquerors. Yet in the present decay Anatolia still contains some wealthy and populous cities; and, under the Byzantine empire, they were far more flourishing, in number, size and opulence. By the choice of the Sultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bythinia, was preferred for his palace and fortress; the seat of the Seljukian dynasty of Roum was planted 100 miles from Constantinople; and the divinity of Christ was denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first general synod of the Catholics. The unity of God and the mission of Mohammed were preached in the moschs; the Arabian learning was taught in the schools, the Cadhis judged according to the law of the Koran; the Turkish manners and language prevailed in the cities; and Turkman camps were scattered over the plains and mountains of Anatolia." Dec. & Fall,

V. 523–4; 526–7. From this point the Turks conquered the province and city of Antioch, Palestine and Jerusalem, which in the age of the crusades was such a subject of contention between a branch of the Turks and the Christian powers; and after the great shaking up which the Turkish powers received from Zinghis Khan and Tamerlane (1206–1403) that branch of the race called Ottomans, from Thaman or, Othman, an ancestor of theirs, settled down to the business of capturing the Eastern empire; and operating from the capital at Nicea, finally took Constantinople, with its possessions in Europe.

It will be remembered, therefore, that if the Saracens or Arabians, did conquer Asia Minor, this was only in part, and its possession by them only transient: and that the Mohammedan conquest proper of Asia Minor belongs to the Turks, who named that country the kingdom of Roum. The four angels, therefore, symbolized the four Turkish powers mentioned, Persia, Kerman, Syria and Roum, the last of which being the heir of the Roman empire of the east Gibbon calls "our peculiar care."

V. 15: "And the four angels were loosed which were prepared for an hour and a day and a month and a year, for to slay the third part of men."

After the death of Constantine and the murder of his nephews the empire was divided between his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. The Turkish conquest in Europe was one of those divisions: which explains in this verse the slaying (a conquest) of the third part of men.

"An hour and a day and a month and a year" amounts, according to the prophetic reckoning of time, to 391 years and 15 days. Thus, a prophetic year is 360 years, a month 30 years, a day 1 year, and an hour the one twenty-four part of a prophetic day, being $15\frac{1}{10}$ days. This means a period of Turkish conquest, after which that power would wane, perhaps finally disappearing from Europe.

As to that power called the Ottoman, in whose history we are now concerned, we have first to learn about the date at which it got definite lodgment in Roum from which it operated to possess itself of the Roman empire in Europe. On this we have Gibbon as follows: "It was on the 27th of July in the year 1299 of the Christian era, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nicomedia, and the singular accuracy of the date *seems to disclose some foresight* of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster. The annals of the 27 years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the

same inroads; and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each compaign by the accession of captives and volunteers. Instead of retreating to the hills he maintained the most useful and defensive posts; fortified the towns and castles, which he had first pillaged; and renounced the pastoral life for the baths and palaces of his infant capital. But it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa, which had been surrendered by famine and treachery to the arms of his son Orchan. The glory of Othman is founded on that of his descendants; but the Turks have transcribed or composed a royal testament of his last counsels of justice and moderation. From the conquest of Prusa we may date the true era of the Ottoman empire." Dec. and Fall, VI. 226–7.

The conquest of Prusa was achieved by Orchan before the death of his father, which last mentioned event took place in 1326. Orchan then added Nice to his dominions in 1330 and Nicomedia in 1339. He transferred his first Turkish force into Europe somewhere in the interval 1341–1347, and he married the daughter of the Roman emporer Cantacuzene, in 1346. It appears that up to 1669, when they conquered Candia, the Turks may be said to have had a career of conquest; "and the story of most of their successive conquests is the same sickening recital of the pillage, slaughter and enslavement of the wretched inhabitants." But, "hardly had the unhappy Greeks begun to look forward to something of peace and prosperity under Turkish rule, when the empire entered upon its long decline, and the dark, disastrous age of the seventeenth century set in." Clark's Turkey, p. 158.

The great defeat of the Turkish forces by the Poles at Choczim in 1673 set the Turkish empire fairly on its downward way; but, nevertheless, up to its total defeat before Vienna in 1683 it is fair to say that the Porte had kept up a tone of contemptuous arrogance in its dealings with the Christian powers. Now, it found it necessary to use a more moderate tone and to come down to the level of the nations generally; and it is from the conquest of the Morea by the Venetians in 1688 that Mr. Clark dates the modern resuscitation of the Greek peoples. It seems, too, to be somewhere in the neighborhood of this time that the period given in the prophecy for the Turkish ascendancy reaches. If then to the date 1299 which is given so definitely by Gibbon, as that at which Othman began to fortify himself in Roum, we add 391 years, we shall have 1690 A. D.

It is with Peter the Great that the empire of modern Russia began and it is fair to say that as the index of power has pointed up for Russia it has inclined in the opposite direction for Turkey.

For 250 years after they came into possession of Thrace and Macedonia the Turks contended for parts of Hungary; but "by the Treaty of Passorawitz, July 21st, 1718, Temesvar, the last of the Turkish possessions, reverted to Hungary." Encyc. Brit. Edit. 1891. This would be about 391 years after the conquest of Prusa, from which Gibbon (VI. 227) says "we are to date the true era of the Ottoman empire:" (1327+391=1718); and the same period from the assumption by Orchan of the Sultanate.

V. 16: "And the number of the army of the horsemen (was) two hundred thousand thousands; and I heard the number of them."

This was a vast army of cavalry, two ten thousands of thousands, that is, 2,000,000. A person would think it would require all the cavalry brought by Zinghis and Tamerlane, as well as what they had under Othman, to make this number. But, as to the contemporary exhibit of cavalry by Togrul beg listen to Gibbon: "Twenty-five years after the death of Basil (about 1050) his successors were suddenly assaulted by an unknown race of Barbarians, who united the Scythian valor with the fanaticism of new proselytes, and the art and riches of a powerful monarchy (Persia). The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of 600 miles from Taurus to Erzeroum and the blood of 130,000 Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet." Dec. and Fall. V. 511.–12.

Some think the two hundred millions to mean all the Turkish cavalry during the 391 years of their ascendancy over the Greeks, but it may be meant to convey the idea of a prodigiously great number of cavalry, or of a nation whose forces consisted principally of cavalry.

V. 17: "And thus I saw the horses in the vision and them that sat on them, having breastplates of fire and jacinth and brimstone; and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions; and out of their mouth issued fire and smoke and brimstone.

V. 18: "By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire and by the smoke and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.

V. 19: "For their power is in their mouths; for their tails, like unto serpents have heads, and with them they do hurt."

Breastplates of fire of jacinth (hyacinth) and of brimstone, signify that they were of the color of fiery red, of blue or hyacinth,

and of yellow. These are colors which predominated in the Turkish uniforms.

The heads of the horses as the heads of lions, would denote courage and fierceness in the character of those Tartan breeds of horses; in this respect doubtless somewhat different from the gentle breeds of Arabia. The fire, smoke and brimstone issuing from their mouths might indicate fire-arms discharged from on horseback; which would be small arms; but it more surely indicates the operation of cannon or large guns. In the capture of Constantinople (1453) the Turks used a cannon which threw a ball weighing "over 600 pounds." This enormous gun was flanked with two more of almost equal magnitude. There were no less than fourteen Turkish batteries thundering at once upon the walls, and one of these batteries is (ambiguously) said to have mounted 130 guns, or discharged 130 bullets. At this time, however, Gibbon reckons the use of fire-arms among the Turks as only "in its infancy" (VI. 388–9); and hence the prophecy symbolizes the novelty in a very novel way. "By these three was the third part of men killed," which is as I have explained above; but fire-arms, now, became very effectual in the hands of the Turks for accomplishing their purposes.

"For their powers are in their mouths; for their tails like unto serpents have heads; and with them they hurt."

This is the reading with its punctuation from the original that I have; with respect to which, note first; it does not say here that their powers were in any other than their mouths: that is, it does say that "their powers were in their mouths."

And then it says, that they had tails, like unto serpents, and that these tails had heads, "and with them they hurt."

Note, second, you must distinguish between the tails like unto serpents, which tails have heads and which do hurt (v. 19); and the tails like unto scorpions which tails have stings, and which do hurt (v. 10). They are different representations in the original language, and symbolize different historic originals. That symbolization in v. 10, I have explained sufficiently. This last in v. 19 I will here speak upon.

And, in the first place, I have to say that the serpent as a sacred symbol is different from a scorpion. The scorpion has in every case the meaning of a hurtful animal, or an instrument that hurts (Ezek. II. 6: 2 Chron. X. 11). The serpent is a symbol of Christ (Jno. III. 14. Matt. X. 16). We require, therefore, to find

a Christian system, holding a like relation to the Sultan as the papacy to the emperor, viz., that of a delegated spiritual governorship, in order to find the historic original of this part of the symbolization. I have made it plain from the original that this tail like to a serpent with its head, is not one of the powers of the government, although the common reading says it is. That common reading is wrong, doubtless arising originally from a misfilling in to suit a mispunctuation in the manuscript. The great power of the government of Turkey is one of force, consisting mainly of cavalry and artillery: but this serpent-like tail, with its head, is an appendage to the government, and at the same time, in its way, a delegated part of the government though not a power thereof.

The following I extract from Clark (Hist. of Turkey): "The Turkish conquest reduced the whole Greek nation to a perfect legal equality, transformed it into a vast Democracy. As the result of this revolution there gradually grew up among the commonality of the Greek church a powerful and indestructible spirit of Democratic freedom. And as this spirit grew and strengthened there came with it an ever widening distinction between the great body of the people with their simple and lowly married pastors, on the one hand, and the vast ecclesiastical corporation of the monks and higher clergy on the other.

"The whole hierarchical system of the Greek church is based upon the monastic order; and of the Greek monastic order the twenty convents of Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain, are the central and in the eyes of all Christians of the Greek communion of whatever nation, the sacred seat.

"But the only virtue to which they (these monks) aspired was the rigid observance of the ritual of the church, and the fasts, austerities and penalties prescribed by their monastic rule. Their only passion was for the accumulation of money, and the pushing of their own personal interests." "From this order the bishops and all the higher clergy were taken and formed a hierarchy worthy of such a parentage. To make the matter worse the higher offices of the church were prizes eagerly coveted by the wealthy Greeks; and many of these, often among the most worthless of men, were continually entering the monasteries for the most selfish ends (Finlay, Hist o' Greece, etc., Clark Ch. III.): There were in the last four centuries many honorable exceptions, but the great majority of the Greek bishops from 1453 to 1821 were mere tools of the Porte, mere hangers on upon Turkish officials, always ready to

secure their personal ends by bribery and intrigue, the selfish and rapacious tyrants of their flocks.

"Under the Turks the four original Patriarchates of the Greek church were still represented, and Mohammed II. in reorganizing this church after the conquest, constituted a grand synod of the leading prelates under the presidency of the Patriarch of Constantinople, to stand as the responsible head of the church and nation, and to be the medium of all communications between the government and the Greek people.

"This synod took cognizance of all the affairs of the Greek people, secular as well as ecclesiastical; through it were forwarded all the firmans of the Porte, relating to them; it was empowered to confirm or annul all decrees of the minor prelates, in their respective sees." Clark Hist. Turkey, Ch. III.

This synod, then, headed by the patriarch of Constantinople, as a sub-government to the sultan since 1453, is the original of the serpentine-caudal symbolization; as the caliphate or vicegerency of the prophet, with its koran-interpreting and executive power, in its relation to the various dynasties of the Turks from 750 to 1520, A. D., was the original of the scorpio-caudal symbolization, which to some extent we have considered before.

Vs. 20, 21: "And the rest of the men which were not killed with these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils and idols of gold and silver and brass and stone and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear nor walk. Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts."

This language intimates that the whole Mohammedan movement which resulted in so much conquest, and suffering to mankind, was primarily for the suppression or eradication of idolatry. God hates idolatry; and how easy it is for people to glide imperceptibly into its practice! Of course people under the respectable name of Christians nowadays could not bear to have it intimated that they might be in some way idolaters. Witness the untold suffering and destruction the Mohammedan movement has caused to mankind, and all, as you see, on account of idolatry, which you may be disposed to speak lightly of or slightly to favor.

"That they should not worship devils:" literally demons; and should not worship saints or their relics, or their images; or the emperors dead or alive, with all of which idolatries the Roman empire was replete for about three centuries before Mohammed started: while of "murders, sorceries (miracles pretended to be

wrought through the agency of departed saints, etc.): "fornications and thefts," in that age and empire there was no lack. In regard to their fornications some lay stress upon what the monkish life must have been (I judge not as to that; nor do I say that the martyrs to the Christian faith should not be remembered with respect): but, in regard to their "thefts" mentioned, Baldwin said that this consisted in their stealing the livery of heaven to serve the devil in! See his "Armageddom."

I will here give the thread of the history from the death of Heraclias in 641 to the capture of Constantinople in 1453, adding to this an account of the suppression of paganism by Theodosius I.

The successors of Heraclias for a period present no name very worthy of note. Justinian II., being deposed and expelled from the empire in 685, retired to Bulgaria, "a new kingdom on the northwestern shore of the Euxine." He, being there furnished an army, returned and recovered his throne. Having again proceeded to his cruelties he was assassinated and with him ended the dynasty of Heraclius.

Leo III. commenced the Isaurian dynasty, which arose from an obscure origin. In his reign began the controversy respecting the the worship of images; the Roman church contending for the practice and the Greek church against it. This dispute separated the eastern and western churches and contributed to disengage Italy from all dependence upon the eastern empire. By the infamous Irene, however, image worship was restored, in about the year 781. She was the empress of Leo IV. and the mother of Constantine VI.; and her husband dying while her son was yet but ten years old, made her regent of the empire. Constantine arriving at maturity she still wished to retain the power and hence the most bitter enmity arose between her and her son. At length, ambition stifling every feeling of maternal affection, the brutal woman deprived her son of his sight and almost of his life. Basil, the Macedonian, was the founder of a new dynasty. In the reign of Michael VI., the last of his race, the Byzantines, awaking to a sense of their degradation conferred upon Isaac Comnenus the imperial dignity, which he possessed for only two years, his declining health causing him to abdicate. The Comneni were an illustrious family of Roman origin. Alexius Comnenus, his immediate successor, occupied the Byzantine throne at the time of the first crusade. He found himself in

circumstances of great difficulty. The eastern provinces of the empire had been conquered by the Turks while its possessions in southern Italy had been usurped by the Normans, who were advancing towards Constantinople. Alexius, without soldiers or money, found himself compelled to maintain a contest with powerful enemies. Yet making the best preparations he could in the circumstances, he marched into Epirus to meet the Normans, who, under Robert Guiscard, had laid siege to Durazzo. Alexius was defeated, yet, in all his calamities, he is represented in the history of those times written by his daughter, Anna Comnena, as sustaining himself with dignity. The progress of the Normans at this time was stayed by the return of Robert to Italy to quell disturbances which had arisen in his absence. These having been settled he resumed his eastern enterprise. Meantime Alexius had improved his naval force and now disputed with the Normans the dominion of the sea. Near the island of Corfu three engagements took place, the third resulting in a victory for the Normans. But the death of Robert relieved Alexius from the further attacks of that powerful enemy.

On the passage of the first crusade in 1097 Alexius is represented as having pursued rather a treacherous than an ambiguous course of policy towards the crusaders; for, firstly, while he urged on the western Christians to the holy war, he gave them no aid, but rather impeded their progress; and, secondly, when Nice surrendered to the crusaders a secret treaty was concluded between an agent of Alexius and the Turks by which that city was conceded as the rightful possession of the eastern emperor. Thus and besides while the crusaders went onward toward Jerusalem and occupied in full the Mahometan arms, Alexius recovered by his arms possession of many of the cities, territories and islands of Asia Minor, which had been conquered by the Turks. He thus left to his successor the empire with its boundaries enlarged and in a more prosperous condition generally than that in which he had found it.

His son and successor, John, held the reins of government for twenty-five years. He was both vigorous and clement in his administration, and in his reign, which ended in 1143, the penalty of death was abolished. The son and successor of John was named Manuel. He was a man of great physical strength and prowess and was occupied in wars against the Turks and barbarians north of the Danube. In the history of the eastern empire for fifty years after Manuel there appears no very prominent name or event.

In the year 1195, the throne of Constantinople was occupied by Isaac Angelus, who was then dethroned, deprived of his sight and imprisoned by his brother Alexius. This act introduced the crusaders into Constantinople, with the Latin dynasty, which I relate under the head of the crusades.

On the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, Michael Palaeologus, usurping the empire, blinded and banished John Lascaris, the heir to the throne. The Patriarch of Constantinople boldly excommunicated Michael for those his crimes and stirred up a large party in the state against him. In the reign of Andronicus, the son and successor of Michael, the Catalans, or Catalonians, from Spain, who had served in the Sicilian wars, at their close, swarmed into the eastern empire in quest of plunder. The wars, too, which the emperor Andronicus waged against his grandson, whose profligate life had induced him to seek out another successor, were quite disastrous to the state. The civil war was twice interrupted and again renewed, when at length, after seven years' contention, the younger Andronicus entered the capital in triumph. The aged emperor, in 1320, abdicated the crown, which the younger seized; but while he thus became the first of the millions he was himself the slave of intemperance and debauchery. Carrying war into Asia he found himself unable to contend with the Ottoman Turks. At the time of his death the empire was much disturbed by civil commotions.

During the thirty-six years' reign of John Palæologus the distress of the empire was constantly augmenting. He blinded and imprisoned Andronicus, his son, and John, his grandson, making Manuel, his second son, his heir, it is said, at the instigation of Amurath the Ottoman Sultan. But in this his subjects did not agree with him; for they removed the two blind princes from the prison to the throne. The emperor with Manuel making his escape from the city, civil war was again added to the other disasters of the state. On the basis of a partition of the remaining possessions of the empire a reconciliation was at length effected between the contending princes; Constantinople being assigned to Manuel and John Palæologus, the latter of whom died shortly after, and all without the walls to the blind princes. Bajazet, the Ottoman sultan, now threatened the city. Upon the basis of an annual tribute from the eastern empire and the toleration of the Mahometan religion a truce was concluded in 1399. This truce was, however, soon violated by

Bajazet, who again besieged Constantinople under pretense of vindicating the rights of John, the blind prince. Manuel sought refuge in flight and aid from France; and Bajazet, having placed John upon the throne, then claiming the city for himself, laid siege to it. It is said Constantinople must now have fallen had not a menacing power in the east attracted the attention of Bajazet. These were the Mongols led on by Tamerlane.

The Ottoman Turks.

On the destruction of the kingdom of the Seljoukian Turks in the western part of Asia Minor, by the descendants of Jenghis Khan many of the Turkish chiefs retired among the mountains and established small principalities. One of these was the Ottoman, founded by Othman, whose reign of twenty-seven years was one of war and conquest. Prusa, near the Propontis was made the capital of his kingdom. Othman was succeeded by his son Orchan, who continued his encroachments upon the eastern empire, conquered the province of Bythinia and obtained a victory over the younger Andronicus. Solyman, the son of Orchan, with an army, crossed the Hellespont in the civil wars of the princes of the eastern empire. They then seized upon the fortresses in Thrace thus obtaining a permanent footing in Europe.

Solyman and Orchan both having died Amurath, the son of Orchan, succeeded to his brother. The Turkish subjugation of the empire in Europe he continued making Adrianople his European capital. He then marched against the warlike tribes between the Danube and the Adriatic. Although victorious in a battle with these nations in Servia he yet fell by the hand of a Servian soldier, who starting up from among the heaps of slain upon the battle field stabbed to death the destroyer of his country's independence. It was Amurath, who originated the janizaries, the prætorians of the Ottoman empire. Selected from among his captives these were educated in the Musselman religion, consecrated by a dervish and trained to the exercise of arms. Amurath was succeeded by his son Bajazet the rapidity of whose marches and conquests procured for him among his people the name of ilderim or the lightning. In Asia he extended the Ottoman empire; and in Europe he subjugated the remaining parts of Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly. He marched into Hungary and defeated at Nicopolis a combined army of French and Germans.

I have mentioned above the interference of Bajazet in the affairs of the princes of the eastern empire, of his besieging Constantinople, and placing the blind John upon the throne. This siege he was necessitated to abandon in order to defend his Asiatic possessions from an irruption of the Moguls under Tamerlane in 1399. This last named chief was a descendant in the female line of Jenghiz Khan, who, from being governor of a province of Transoxiana, had raised himself to the sovereignty of the Mogul empire. In one year's campaign he had possessed himself of Delhi, had passed the Ganges and advanced to the Buhrampooter, when intelligence of the conquests of Bajazet led him to return. Having conquered the Christians in Georgia and one city in Anatolia Tamerlane left for a time the Ottoman dominions. He conquered the Turkish emirs at Aleppo, the capital of Syria; but met with a temporary check at Damascus from the Mamelukes of Egypt.

At Angora the forces of Tamerlane came up with the Turks, who imagined themselves well prepared to receive them; but in this they were mistaken; for there they were defeated and their Sultan, Bajazet, made prisoner. At first "Tamerlane affected to treat his distinguished prisoner with great consideration, and made to him moralizing speeches; but afterwards he put him in an iron cage in which he was carried about to grace his triumphal progresses. Tamerlane's intention of invading Europe being frustrated, it is said, by the want of a fleet to transport his Moguls over the Bosphorus, he next projected the conquest of China, where the dynasty of Jenghis had recently been overthrown; but the execution of this plan his death frustrated.

Though the Ottoman power in Asia was for a time suppressed, it was by no means eradicated; the sons of Bajazet were left in possession of the different provinces of the kingdom; discord and civil wars followed, which ceased only with the death of all save Mahomet I., under whose sway the empire was restored. To Mahomet succeeded Amurath II., who renewed the siege of Constantinople, but was recalled by a revolt in his Asiatic dominions.

The advance of the Turkish power in Europe caused pope Eugenius to endeavor to form a league among all the powers of Christendom against it. Ladislaus, who now united in his person the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, undertook the war. His army was augumented by soldiers from France and Germany, and buoyed up by the counsels and encouragement of the pope's legate, Cardinal Julian; as well as by the leadership of the brave

Hungarian general, John Hunniades. By two successful battles the Christians drew from Amurath an order of peace, by which he was to withdraw from their frontier. But contrary to the steady counsel of Hunniades, the intrigues and exhortations of the cardinal prevailed, and the Christians violated the treaty. The French and German volunteers had, on the first sound of peace, departed for their homes; yet with an army diminished by their departure, Ladislaus marched to again encounter Amurath. Incensed and irritated by the bad faith of his opponents, the Sultan prepared to defend himself. The contending armies encountered each other on the field of Varna, in 1444, and here a most sanguinary battle terminated in the triumph of the Mahometans. On that field Ladislaus, with 10,000 Christians, was slain; but so great was the loss of the Turks, that Amurath declared another such victory would prove his ruin. For many years afterwards the valiant Hunniades, who survived, defended his frontier from the Turkish arms.

Mahomet II., who succeeded his father on the Ottoman throne, practiced much the arts of deception. While making professions of friendship to Constantine, the last of the emperors of the east, he was secretly maturing plans for the conquest of his capital. On the European side of the Bosphorus he erected a fortress, which gave him command of the streets of the city. During the winter preceding the siege, the capital was filled with distress and dismay. Constantine XII., with a most manly spirit, endeavored continually to animate the fainting hearts of his people, to cause them to lay aside their divisions, and inspire them with heroic ardor in defense of their patrimony. To the Christian monarchs and brethren of the west, he conveyed intelligence of his distressful condition. But amid the petty contentions and the din of arms, which now occupied the western peoples, the petitions of Constantine passed unheeded, and their own danger from the Turks was disregarded. Constantine's next attempt to effect a reconciliation of the churches, which might enlist the pope in his cause, only brought upon him the wrath of the Greek churches, and involved the city in more confusion.

Mahomet, meanwhile, continued actively his preparations for the siege, which, early in the spring, he began by sea and land. But a small fleet of five ships, furnished by Sicily, the Morea and some

of the islands of the Archipelago, having triumphantly entered the harbor, after having gained a splendid victory over the Turkish fleet, which guarded the entrance to the Bosphorus, the spirits of those within the city revived. A plan was now devised by Mahomet, by which his fleet obtained possession of the harbor, the entrance to which was guarded by a chain and defended by the vessels of the empire. He caused a canal of nearly six miles in length to be dug over land, lined with planks and smeared with grease, and in the space of one night, by the help of engines and a prodigious number of men, he had a fleet of more than a hundred vessels drawn through this dry trench, and launched all in the harbor. After enduring a siege of fifty-three days, the city was taken by assault; Constantine XII., the last of the Cæsars, falling while bravely fighting at his post, with multitudes of his people slain around him. The city endured the horrors of sack and pillage, made doubly destructive by the animosity which the Mahometans felt towards the Christians. Mahomet II., now in 1453, made Constantinople the capital the empire, and the remainder of the eastern empire soon fell before the Moslem arms. Under a succession of able princes, who successively filled the throne, the Ottoman power became consolidated.

The destruction of Paganism in the days of Theodosius (378–395 A. D.) is the most notable example which history affords of the extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition. The Christians, more especially the clergy, had supported with impatience the prudent delays of Constantine, and the impartial toleration of the elder Valentinian, "nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure so long as their adversaries were suffered to exist." The influence which Ambrose, bishop of Milan, and his brethren had acquired over the youthful Emperor Gratian, and his successor, Theodosius the Younger, was employed to infuse the principles of persecution into the minds of their imperial proselytes. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established by the orthodox, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion against the subjects of the Empire who still adhered to their ancient religion, namely, that the magistrate is in some measure guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit or to punish; and that the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities and real demons is the most abominable crime against the Creator. The laws of Moses and the examples of Jewish history were commonly quoted and applied by the clergy to the reign of Christianity. They excited the zeal of the Emperors to vindicate their own honor and that of the Deity; and the Pagan temples

throughout the Empire were subverted about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine. In a full meeting of the senate at Rome the Emperor Theodosius, then visiting that city, proposed, according to the ancient forms of the Republic: Whether the worship of Jupiter or that of Christ should be the religion of the Romans? The liberty of suffrages which, through respect for the senate, he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears which the presence of this conqueror inspired; and his arbitrary exile of Symmachus, the ablest and most popular statesman of those times, was a sufficient admonition that it might be dangerous to oppose his wishes. On a division of the Senate Jupiter was degraded by a very large majority; and historians regard it as a matter of surprise that there should be any members courageous enough to declare by their speeches and votes that they were still attached to an abdicated deity. The hasty conversion of the senate must, however, be attributed to fear or to sordid motives; for many of their number betrayed afterwards on every favorable occasion their secret disposition to throw aside the odious mask of dissimulation. But they gradually became fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became hopeless. They yielded to the will of the Emperor, to the fashion of the times, and to the entreaties of their wives and children, who were instigated and influenced by the rest of the nobility. The Bassi, the Paullini, the Gracchi adopted the Christian religion; and the luminaries of the world, the venerable assembly of Catos (such are the high-flown expressions of Prudentius) were impatient to strip themselves of their pontifical garments; to cast the skin of the old serpent, to assume the snowy robes of baptismal innocence, and to humble the pride of the consular fasces before the tombs of the martyrs. The industrious citizens and the populace who were supported by the public liberality filled the churches of the Lateran and the Vatican with an increasing throng of devout proselytes. The decrees of the senate which proscribed the worship of idols were ratified by the general consent of the people of Rome; the splendor of the capitol was defaced, and the temples, 424 of which still remained in the city of Rome, and the statues of the gods in every quarter of the city, were abandoned to ruin and contempt. Thus Rome submitted to the new religion; and the dependent provinces had not yet lost their respect for the name and authority of Rome. The Pagan religion was abolished in the provinces as early as the year 420 A. D. The ruin of this ancient superstition is described by the Sophists of that and the succeeding age as a dreadful and amazing calamity which covered the earth with darkness and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night.

They relate in solemn and pathetic strains that the temples were converted into sepulchres, and that the holy places which had been adorned with the statues of the gods were basely polluted by the relics of the christian martyrs. "The monks, a race of filthy animals, to whom Eunapius is inclined to refuse the name of men, are the authors of the new worship which, in the place of those deities that are conceived by the understanding, has substituted the meanest and most contemptible slaves. The hands of those infamous malefactors who for the multitude of their crimes have suffered a just and ignominious death, their bodies still marked by the impression of the lash and the scars of those tortures which were inflicted by the sentence of the magistrates; such (continues Eunapius) are the gods which the earth produces in our days; such are the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators of our prayers and petitions to the Deity, whose tombs are now consecrated as the objects of the veneration of the people." We may conceive of the surprise of the sophist, who was a spectator of this revolution which raised those obscure victims of the laws to the rank of celestial deities. The respect which the Christians had had for the martyrs of their faith was exalted by time and victory into religious adoration; and they associated the most illustrious of the Scripture Saints and Prophets to the honors of the martyrs. In the age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the Emperors, the Consuls, and the Generals of armies were accustomed devoutly to visit the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul upon the Ostian road, and afterwards in the Vatican, where, as was supposed, the bones of these spiritual heroes were deposited. The new capital of the Roman world, unable to produce any ancient and domestic trophies, was enriched by the spoils of dependant provinces. The bodies of St. Luke, St. Andrew, and St. Timothy were torn from their obscure graves, where, if they had ever been buried, they had reposed for near three centuries, and transported in solemn pomp to the Church of the Apostles, which Constantine had founded in his new city. About fifty years after the same city was honored by the presence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden vase and covered with a silken veil, were delivered by the bishops into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people with the same joy and veneration which they would have shown the living prophet. The highways from Palestine to the gates of Constantinople were thronged with a procession, and the Emperor Arcadius, the son and successor of Theodosius, at the head of the most illustrious members of the senate and Church advanced to meet his extraordinary guest, who had always claimed the homage of kings. The example of Rome and Constantinople

confirmed the faith and discipline of the Catholic world. The honors of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual murmur of profane reason, were universally established, and in the days of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome something was still deemed wanting to the sanctity of a Christian Church till it had been consecrated by some portion of holy relics which attracted and influenced the devotion of the faithful.

In the long period of twelve centuries which passed between the age of Constantine and that of Luther, the worship of saints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the Christian model, and the symptoms of degeneracy are discernible in the first generation which adopted and cherished this pernicious and abominable innovation. The satisfactory experience that the relics of the saints and martyrs were more valuable than gold or precious stones stimulated the clergy to multiply the treasures of the Church. With little regard for truth or probability they invented names for skeletons, and actions for names; and the fame of men of Apostolic times was darkened by religious fictions.

To the genuine and primitive band of martyrs they added myriads of imaginary heroes, that had never existed except in the imagination of crafty and credulous legendaries; and there is every reason to suspect that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a malefactor were adored instead of those of a saint. This superstitious practice, which tended to increase the temptations to fraud and credulity, insensibly extinguished the light of history and of reason in the Christian world. But the progress of superstition and idolatry would have been much less rapid and victorious had not the faith of the people been assisted by the seasonable aid of visions and miracles, to ascertain the authenticity and virtue of the most suspicious relics.

In the reign of the younger Theodosius, Lucien, a presbyter of Jerusalem and the ecclesiastical minister of the village of Caphargamala, about twenty miles from the city, related a very singular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated to him on three successive Saturdays. A venerable figure stood before him in the silence of the night with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod, and announced himself by the name of Gamaliel, and revealed to the astonished presbyter, that his own corpse, with the bodies of his son Abbas, his friend Nicodemus, and Stephen the first martyr of the Christian faith, were secretly buried in the adjacent field. He added with some impatience that it was time to release himself and his companions from their obscure prison; that their appearance would be salutory to a distressed world; and that they had made

choice of Lucian to inform the bishop of Jerusalem of their situation and their wishes. The doubts and difficulties which still retarded the important discovery were successively removed by new visions, and the ground was opened by the bishop in the presence of an assembled multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel, of his son, and of his friend were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was shewn to the light, the earth trembled, and an odor such as that of Paradise was smelt, which instantly cured the various diseases of seventy-three of the bystanders. The companions of Stephen were left in their peaceful residence at Caphargamala, but the relics of the first martyr were transported to a church consecrated to their honor on Mount Zion; and the minute particles of these relics were acknowledged in almost every province of the Roman Empire to possess a divine and miraculous virtue. St. Augustine attested the numerous prodigies which were wrought in Africa by the relics of St. Stephen. The bishop of Hippo solemnly declares that he has selected those miracles only which were publicly certified by the persons who were either the objects or the spectators of the power of the martyr. Many prodigies were omitted or forgotten, and Hippo had been less favorably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet he enumerates seventy miracles, of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years, and within the limits of his own diocese. But, it is strange this great saint does not say he was the object or spectator of any of these miracles himself. Besides, notice that ominous number *seventy*, as well as *three*, in his enumeration. If we enlarge our view to all the dioceses and all the saints of the Christian world of that age, it will not be easy for us to calculate the fables and the deceptions that issued from this inexhaustible source. The innumerable miracles of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre revealed to the credulous believers the state and constitution of the visible world, and the religious speculations appeared to be founded on the firm basis of experience. Whatever might have been the condition of the souls of the vulgar in the long interval between the dissolution and resurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the superior souls of the martyrs and saints did not consume that portion of their existence in silent and inglorious sleep. The enlargement of their intellectual faculties must have surpassed the measure of the human imagination, since it was proved by experience that they were capable of hearing and understanding the various petitions of their almost innumerable votaries, who at the same moment of time, and in the most distant parts of the world, invoked their names and their assistance. The confidence of the petitioners appears to

have been founded on the persuasion that the saints that reigned with Christ, cast an eye of pity upon the earth; that they were warmly interested in the welfare of the Catholic Church, and that the individuals who imitated their pious and faithful examples, were the peculiar and favorite objects of their tender regard. Sometimes indeed their friendship might be influenced by considerations of a less exalted kind; they viewed with partial affection the places which had been consecrated by their birth, their residence, their death, their burial, or the possession of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, avarice and revenge might be deemed unworthy of a celestial breast, yet the celestial saints themselves condescended to testify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries: and the sharpest bolts of punishment were hurled against those impious wretches who violated their magnificent shrines, or discredited their supernatural power. Atrocious indeed would have been the guilt, and strange the scepticism of those men, if they had obstinately resisted the proof of a divine agency, while the elements, the whole range of animal creation, and even the secret and subtile operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey.

At Minorca, it was said, the relics of St. Stephen converted in eight days 545 Jews, with the help, indeed, of some seasonable severities, such as burning their synagogue, driving the obstinate infidels to stand amongst the rocks, &c. The immediate and almost instantaneous effects which were supposed to follow the prayer, or the offence, satisfied the Christians of the ample measure of favor and authority which the saints enjoyed in the presence of the Supreme Deity; and it seemed almost superfluous to enquire whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace; or whether they were not permitted to exercise, according to the dictates of their justice and benevolence, the delegated power of their subordinate deityship. The imagination, which was raised only by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship of the Infinite Deity, eagerly embraced such inferior objects of adoration as were more proportioned to its gross preception and imperfect faculties.

The sublime and simple doctrine of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted, and the hierarchy of heaven, already clouded with metaphysical subtilties, which put out of the question the consideration of the supreme and only God, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology which effectually restored the reign of Polytheism. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, those rites and ceremonies were introduced which seemed to most powerfully affect the senses of the vulgar. If in the beginning of the fifth century Origen or Cy-

prian had been raised from the dead to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle. which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a primitive Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open they must have been offended with the smoke of incense, the various perfumes of flowers, and the glimmer of lamps and tapers, which diffused at noonday a gaudy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. If they should approach the balustrade of the altar they must make their way through a prostrate crowd, consisting for the most part of strangers or pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast; and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, perhaps some of wine. They devoutly imprinted their kisses on the pavements and walls of the sacred edifices, and they directed their frequent prayers to the bones, the blood, or the ashes of the saint, which were usually concealed by a linen or silken veil from the eyes of the votaries.

The Christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs in the hope of obtaining from their effectual intercession every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal blessings. They implored the preservation of their health or the cure of their infirmities, the fruitfulness of their barren wives, or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they were about to undertake any distant or dangerous journey they implored the holy martyrs to be their guides and protectors on the road; and if they returned without having experienced any misfortune they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs to express with grateful thanksgivings their obligations to their celestial patrons.

The walls of the temples were hung around with symbols of the favors which they had received; eyes, and hands and feet of gold and silver, and edifying pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscreet and idolatrous devotion represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform spirit of superstition and idolatry might suggest in the most distant ages and countries the same methods of affecting the sense, and of deceiving the credulity of mankind; but it is clearly seen, and must be confessed, that the priesthood of the Catholic Church imitated the model of the superstition which they were impatient to destroy; and some may incline to believe that they substituted a worse system of superstition instead of Pagan Polytheism. In their destruction of Paganism the bishops persuaded themselves that the ignorant rustics would more readily renounce the superstitions of Paganism if they found some resemblance, some compensation in the

bosom of Christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved in less than a century the final conquest of the Roman Empire; but the victors themselves insensibly adopted the arts and practices of their vanquished rivals. Here we find, even in this transition state from Paganism to Christianity, how easily men glide into idolatry; how insensibly they are overcome by those arts and practices which they condemn in others; how that, engrossed with carnal ideas, the Christian priesthood allowed the worship of saints, relics, and images to corrupt the pure and simple primitive Christian model. The bishops of that day persuaded themselves that the Pagans would more willingly renounce Polytheism and embrace Christianity, if they found in it something compensatory for the old religious rites and ceremonies to which they had been accustomed, just as if one form of idolatry were any better than another; and the Reformers of eleven centuries after, possessed with the same idea, made the same mistake in retaining many of the man-made doctrines of the old Catholic Church.

Chapter X.

This chapter with the first fourteen verses of chapter XI, is a parallelism and belongs to the period of the sixth seal and the second woe, which we have been contemplating under the head of the Turkish ascendancy and dominancy.

V. 1: "And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun and his feet as pillars of fire."

The appearance of this mighty angel and all connected with him symbolizes another appearance, in some ways of Christ on earth; see Ch. I, 15, 16; and Matt. XVII, 2. He descends from heaven clothed "with a cloud" in the same manner as he ascended (Acts 1, 9-12); in which manner he was promised to come again. The rainbow on his head suggests that he has kept his promise, at the same time indicating his propitious character. His face as the sun suggests the glory of the approaching king of kings, at the same time that it indicates him to be about to appear somehow in royalty; and his feet as pillars of fire suggests (Isa. LII, 7) an impetus to be now given to the evangelization of the world, as in the case of his former appearance among men.

V. 2: "And he had in his hand a little book open; and he set his right foot upon the sea and his left (foot) upon the earth."

The little book open indicates this symbolization to pertain to a time at which, as according to Daniel's prophecy, the beginning of the time of the end was to be: That is it pertains to the epoch when the time, times and an half of the apostasy would have been just past over. His setting his right foot upon the sea shows that a change (a religious or politico religious change) is about to be effected in some of the continental countries of the Roman empire, where there were dwelling people of several nations and languages. His setting his left foot upon the land indicates this change to be effected also and simultaneously in a country where one general people and language mainly prevailed. His right foot on the land indicates that the change on the continent will be effected rather more in accordance with his good will than that, say in the insular country, wherein his left foot stood; and yet the word ευωνυμος, here used for the left, might indicate that the insular country would be far famed and renowed. His right foot upon the continent and his left foot upon the insular country leaves his back to Rome, whether this signifies him to be unfavorable to Rome, or that he proceeded from Rome, as Protestantism did, may be worthy of a thought. The general progress and result of the reformation would show the general mind of the reformation decidedly adverse to Rome.

V. 3: "And (he) cried with a loud voice as when a lion roareth: and when he had cried seven thunders uttered their voices."

"Cries with a loud voice," etc. God now speaks with authority in the agencies which he uses to effect the religious or religio-political changes, which he will effect in those continental and insular countries of the empire.

"Seven thunders uttered their voices," which means that the complete changes, all and particular intended, are provided for, in all the departments in which the changes are to take place. It is not to be supposed that those seven thunders were all uttered simultaneously: they were progressive and gradual and indicate the complete change, so far as that change took place in Church and State system, on the continent of Europe and in Britain in the movement called the Reformation. These changes, you perceive, happened contemporaneously with the Turkish ascendancy in that empire, and so come under the head of the sixth seal and the second woe though of a different character and in a different regime of the empire than the Turkish.

V. 4: "And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered and write them not."

In those seven thunders were indicated the changes to be made in the progress of the achievement of complete independence from the Roman Church and State system through the different grades of polity such as Church and State Protestantism, republicism, etc., with the different phases of the Christian religion, each and all having a much more evangelistic physiognomy than the old mother system, which God required them now to turn their back upon had. "Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered and write them not."

God knows just what he requires to have published and what not. His prophet knew this and at once complied with his command. It is sufficient for all wise men to know what those prophetic thunders contained in the gradual development of history: And they know already that symbolically thunder means change of government in some way. Since in these seven thunders was contemplated another system of religion in the empire and a reformation or revolution preparatory to this it would only cause confusion to the mind to have had them stated in John's book of Revelation or published at all, before the time, times and an half that intervened between John and the incoming of this new religion, should have been passed over. So the symbolization was to be sealed until this period had passed and interpreters would know from the historic development itself what was meant in the symbolization of this great angel and all that happened in connection with him. God, the author of the man Cosmos, is eminently the author of order, not of confusion.

Vs. 5–7: "And the angel which I saw stand upon the earth lifted up his hand to heaven and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that are therein, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer. But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets."

The principal thing to be remarked upon in these three verses is the oath of the angel that time should be no longer; which means that "the time, times and an half" had passed; this is the time the oath refers to; that is, the time which Daniel had sealed; that these are now passed as indicated, in the first place, by the little book which Daniel had sealed appearing open in the hands of the

angel, at the beginning of the time of the end; althougn the contents of the book so far as they were included in the seven thunders (v. 3) could not become known till the approach of the end of the time of the end. The angel's oath was literally correct as to the time referred to, that is, the time of the ending of the dominancy of the little horn in the insular and continental countries intended for the reformed systems.

"But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound the mystery of God shall be finished," etc. This, which we meet with in v. 15 of chapter XI., indicates the consummation of the time of the end, when the saints possess the kingdom as we shall explain in due order.

V. 8: Here the voice which commands John (v. 4) not to write the words of the seven thunders tells him to go and take the little book which is open in the hands of the angel, that is, that very book which Daniel had sealed and which was now open, excepting the part recording the expression of the seven thunders. V. 9: John goes to him as bidden and tells him to give him the little book. The angel tells him to take it and eat it up; that "it should make his belly bitter, though in his mouth it would be sweet as honey." That is, the experience of the time, times and an half to God's people would be a very bitter experience in fact, while subject to the persecution of the powers of the little horn, although God's word in the mouth of his servants and witnesses be sweet as honey. Daniel saw the little horn make war with the saints and prevail against them until the Ancient of Days came, etc., during this period of a time, times and an half which Daniel had sealed.

V. 10: John finds the angel's words to prove true in regard to the matter contained in the little book, which is the history of God's saints during the dominancy of the little horn as referred to.

V. 11: The angel tells John on his having eaten up the little book that he must prophesy again before many peoples and nations and kings; which means that John here stands for the saints, which God calls hereafter his witnesses, who stood in defense of his truth and never denied it in all the ages of the persecuting dominancy of the little horn.

Chapter XI.

This chapter to verse 15th is a continuation of the preceding and up to that verse might well have been left in connection.

V. 1: "And there was given unto me a reed like unto a rod; and the angel

stood, saying: Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein."

It is not said by whom the measuring reed was given to the prophet, but it is undoubtedly the great angel who had descended from heaven and had the little book open in his hand and told John to eat it who now bids him measure the temple, the altar and the worshipers, etc.. The temple, as here with the altar and worshipers, symbolizes the church of God as it would be for a time, times and an half; and this God has now measured and limited, taking all its worshipers in charge. An ordinary interpreter would think he had a very clear case here that the temple with its altar and worshipers symbolized the established church of the Roman empire system; but this is not necessarily so, but may be directly to the contrary. For that the temple here means the true worshipers of God, his living temples, is proved by the fact that the literal temple building at Jerusalem did not exist at the time of the giving of the prophesy, it having been destroyed 26 years before by Titus, nor was it intended that it should be restored. Christ's sacrifice of himself, offered 63 years before, having done away with its use, Christianity had in the providence of God taken the place of Judaism, and true Christians, true worshipers, are what are now in this measurement accounted his temple. However, as the old Jewish temple is here used as the idea of the measure of the true church, we shall have to accommodate ourselves to the subject itself, considering in connection the prophetic description of the spiritual temple given in Ezek. XL; and what Christ himself says to his Father's house having many mansions, Jno. XIV, 2.

V. 2: "But the court which is without the temple leave out and measure it not; for it is given unto the nations; and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty-two months."

The court on the outside of the temple which he was not to measure is that referred to in Ezek. XL. 17, which court you will find there characterized by a pavement and chambers. This outer court with its street or pavement for business was to be given to the nations to traffic in for forty-two months, which is the time, times and a half. This court with its pavement symbolizes the real active empire outside of the temple. The true Jews, here meaning the true Christians, are symbolized by the temple itself and its altar or sanctuary; all the rest, the holy city, its streets and its chambers, marts or business places, the nations have in their

power for forty-two months. The true worshipers being symbolized by the temple the nations are not in that class; they have set up a corrupted religion of their own in connection with the lordship of the empire, its laws and its business; For their treading the holy city under foot for forty-two months indicates that they will pay no sort of respect to the true temple or its worship. On the other hand God has taken no sort of account of those nations or their bustle in their treading down of the street and of all good and true principle; he in short has not measured them, does not know them as his sealed. But he has from the first taken account of those who would be his faithful and true ones and did always accompany them and support them in the afflictions they were called upon to endure while trying to live in that wicked city. The Roman empire in its State and Church polity you have, therefore, here symbolized by the city of Jerusalem; the temple with its sanctuary and its internal worshipers symbolizing the true Christians, the witnesses for Christ in the empire, against the idolatry and the wicked abominations of the empire's religion and polity. But, on the other hand, those true Christians, here symbolized by the temple and its altar, are called heretics by the empire's laws and outlaws to the empire. They are dead politically but live unto God. They are his witnesses.

V. 3: "And I will give power unto my two witnesses and they shall prophecy 1260 days clothed in sackcloth.

V. 4: "These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks, standing before the God of the earth.

V. 5: "And if any man hurt them fire proceedeth out of their mouth and devoureth their enemies; and, if any man hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.

V. 6: "These have power to shut heaven that it rain not in the days of their prophecy; and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will."

By the Mosaic law (Deut. XIX. 15) as well as by Christ himself (Matt. XVIII. 16) two or more witnesses were required to establish testimony. Here in this wicked city there will be two witnesses connected with God's temple, who will testify as to his truth and prophecy in the humble garb of sackcloth for 1260 years. But their humility will avail them as little as the idea of their preaching and prophesying the truth; for not conforming to the Church and State laws of the empire they will not be able to do business legally on the street or pavement of the empire, where business is wont to be done and so will be outlaws, dead men politically.

The olive trees symbolize all true preachers of Christ, who was himself the anointed one, as the name Christ or Messiah signifies. The two candlesticks symbolize all the true churches of Christ (Rev. I. 20). Two here signifies plurality, or, at least, sufficient in every age to establish testimony and prove the charge which God brings against the wicked or will bring against them at the day of judgment.

"Fire proceedeth out of their mouth" etc. That is, God will take their part and act for them sooner or later. Paul, in Hebr. XII. 29, says: "Our God is a consuming fire." And Moses in Deut. IV. 4, in speaking of the Israelites, says: "For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, a jealous God." Therefore, the very words they would utter coming from God against the wicked would be of a withering and consuming nature; for they would be exceedingly zealous for the cause of God, which they preached and defended against the spiritual abominations of the land and the legal statutes supporting them; and the predictions which they would utter against this wicked Babylon, indicating what God was sure to bring against it, in his own time and way, on account of its suppression of the truth, its spiritual fornications, sorceries, murders, thefts and hypocrisies would be uttered with zeal and force.

My explanation here need not be thought to imply that those witnesses for the truth would be of such an angry spirit as could be called vicious; far from it; the spirit they are of forbids that they be angry in that sense; for if their enemy were hungry they should feed him and if he were thirsty they should give him drink; "for in so doing they should be heaping *coals of fire* upon his head. For it is written, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." Rom. XII. 17–20.

"These (the witnesses) have power to shut heaven that it rain not," etc. In which there is, reference to the prophet Elijah, 1 Kings, XVII. 1: That is, God does this in answer to their prayers and in help of their work, as he did in the case of the old prophets, Elijah, Elishah, etc., before them; men who were instrumental in his hands in doing great things. God has worked by such human instrumentalities in all the ages, and I have no doubt that every good praying man in every community is a source of uneasiness and discomfort to every evil-doer. It is wonderful how much good or rectification of the evil God can effect by the instrumentality of even one good praying man, who will not hypocritically flinch from the performance of his duty in the midst of evil report.

Even the author of Armageddon who, if it had been the Lord's will that he had followed me instead of preceding me in the preparation of his book, might not have labored under such disadvantages as he evidently did with his strained interpretation wrongly based: Even he I say appears to have seen that our martyrs to Church and State Christianity were not only the originals for the symbolization of the two witnesses but for the portraiture given of Elijah and Elishah in the old Testament. And this should be quite sufficient to convince investigators that the two witnesses stand for the martyrs not of primitive Christianity (say up to 380 A. D.), but for the martyrs to Church and State Christianity for 1260 years later, coming down, in some of the nations, to a comparatively recent time. These martyrs stood in a like relation to the State and Church laws and authorities of the Christian Roman empire, during this period, as Elijah and Elisha did to Ahab and his idolatrous wife Jezebel, in the Israelitish regime. Notice how those old prophets, especially Elijah, were persecuted not so much by Ahab as by Jezebel: and so the church so-called, persecuted the martyrs, and, judging them according to its own code, handed them over to the state to punish them in the flames. But as the Lord cared for his old prophets and finally took Elijah in a chariot of flame to heaven, so we may believe he sustained his witnesses in the dark and middle and reformed Church and State ages and took them also in a chariot of flame to heaven. Many of those blessed martyrs, burning over slow fires, to which they were adjudged by the church (only think of this Jezebel!) died exulting in the flames, their spirits being borne aloft to reign with Christ forever. Notice that Ahab married to Jezebel is symbolical of the union of the Christian Church with the State.

(These witnesses) "have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will." There is a reference here to the blood plague of Egypt Ex. VII. 19; and then to the ten plagues with which God afflicted the Egyptians through the instrumentality of Moses and Aaron, his, then, two witnesses. The turning of waters (peoples) to blood (the effect of war) would refer to the power of God in behalf of his witnesses to stir up war as retributory punishment to the imperial State and Church regime. Of that there was more than a abundance to the Christian empire, much of it being in answer to the prayers of the saints, its own oppressed subjects, to be avenged of it for its unjust and merciless dealings with them.

V. 7: "And when they shall finish their testimony the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them."

This is the beast spoken of in Rev. XVII.; and what he will do against the witnesses is in accordance with Daniel VII. 21, of what the Little Horn would do against the saints. See what Turkism has done in the oppression of true Christianity, although, as we have seen, having legalized the regular Greek Church in its government. See what the Western empire has done, the church making the state,—the French kings and German emperors, as well as the English monarchs, etc.—its tools in the persecution and burning of heretics.

In the ordinary translation of this verse we have "When they shall have finished their testimony;" which must arise from the future passive of the verb; but in my authority the form is third person plural first aorist subjunctive active, which leaves the translation, which I give to be the correct one. Thus, at any time, when they should render their testimony against Church and State iniquity, they might, according to this, be attacked by the authorities and punished by killing or otherwise. The future passive, however, as given in the ordinary reading, and not justified by my authority, might imply that they had finished all the testimony they had been rendering for 1260 years, and were then killed and their dead bodies left to lie on the streets of the great city unburied for 1260 years more. The reading, as according to my authority, makes the sense easily understood, namely, that the witnesses might be taken up at any time and punished for contravening the established church laws by the meaning they gave to the Scriptures and their proclamation of the wickedness of the established church. As we have seen farther back the interpretation of the Scriptures was given to the church, the pope being the supreme authority as to the meaning to be given. It was, therefore, contrary to law for any one to give a meaning to the Scriptures contrary to or at variance with what the church gave or would give it: and so, any one contravening in any such way was legally amenable to the government. Now, what a dreadful condition of slavery was this for the millions to be in for such a long period of time! Not allowed, be there never so competent spiritually and educationally, to think or act out for themselves if they acted at variance with the church! The persecution of the Albigenses and Waldenses is often referred to as a specialty, but those persecutions although very considerable

are, as it were, a drop to the ocean, to the direful effects of the Inquisition, and other hypocritical and heartless means which they used to render life, which God designed to be a blessing, an undoubtable curse to humanity.

V. 8: "And their dead bodies (shall be) upon the street of the great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified."

"Their dead bodies:" that is, dead politically. The original does not say that these bodies shall lie upon the street, but the implication is that they are in some such condition from their having been slain in the preceding verse. The meaning is that they are proscribed as outlaws. It was outside the walls of Jerusalem that Christ was crucified; and so, his followers, the true Christians, suffer without the gate, in the thoroughfares of the empire. Nevertheless, though they do suffer without the gate they are of the true temple symbolized. Sodom and Egypt are geographically situated in the Mohammedan dominions; but, spiritually, as here meant, they are in the western empire.

V. 9: "And they of the people and tribes and tongues and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and an half and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves."

That is, they are living people, in the true sense, but politically dead through their non-conformity. Through the mercy and goodness of God there was always to be found quite a good sprinkling of those non-conformists among the masses of the empire, who made it their business to bear witness to the faith of Christ and the true meaning of the Scriptures; and who made it quite uncomfortable for the ordained and salaried officials, and for the wicked generally by their prayers, sermons and prophecies, in their houses, in their closets, in their conventicles, on the street corners, and on the cross-roads; for many of those witnesses, we may believe, were, as Elijah and Paul had been, diligent in season and out of season in expounding Christ's Gospel and in reproving the ungodly for their sins.

V. 10: "And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth."

"They that dwell upon the earth;" that is, they of the established church, especially the clergy whom they troubled most. These, from their salaried abundance, could afford to send presents

to each other in their glee over the misfortunes of the nonconformists, who, many of them, were paupers from principle. These witnesses, some of whom had been formerly priests in the established church, were not desirous to derive a living from the profession and teaching of the creeds of the church, but had decided, like Moses, rather to suffer with Christ than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season in such high clerical official life. They decided they did not wish to remain longer in the business of rich and varied blasphemy, and persecution of those they knew were innocent and godly.

"Because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth." They tormented them, as I have explained, by their prayers and their *viva voce* orations, in telling them in what an ungodly way they got their wealth, about their practice of idolatries and blasphemies, and their acting out the most heartless and insipid hypocrisy. Yes the witnesses tormented the Moabites variously, and, of course, the comfortable and wealthy Moabites, the best members of society, the most learned and dignified of the clergy, could not bear to be tormented by paupers, by men who were of no account in the community, who were nothing and had nothing in comparison with themselves. And so they had them hunted out of their cellars and dens and woods and mountains by Simon of Montfort and killed by millions and burnt in flames, dozens burnt together, women and men, and then they sent presents to each other and had a general jollification over the death of the miserable, pauper witnesses.

V. 11: "And after three days and an half the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and a great fear fell upon them which saw them."

After $3\frac{1}{2}$ days; that is, after the time, times and an half, as explained. "The spirit of life from God entered into them." Like Ezekiel's dry bones (Ezek. XXXVII. 5–14) they became revivified: "And they stood upon their feet" "upon the feet of themselves," as according to the original: They stood up self-poised upon their own limbs; which means that the nonconformists to Church and State system, Jews among the rest, had attained to republican citizenship, each one of them then being as independent as a king. Their party had attained to power in some way or place. "And great fear fell upon them which saw them." It was no wonder that the old enemies of the witnesses should fear them when they had at-

tained to power! But all the surrounding nations were struck with terror at the French revolutionists. The American republic afforded free and equal citizenship to all classes, Jews and Gentiles. And the French revolution, which meant to do away with monarchy and prelacy and all that kind of thing, gave complete political standing to the witnesses. It was the French nation, in its Church and State condition, that was principally the instrument of the Catholic church in murdering the two witnesses called Albigeois and Waldensiois. Now, this same nation, extricating itself from the bonds of Rome, and acting for itself, gives them a standing in liberty equal to princes.

V. 12: "And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud and their enemies beheld them."

This was a voice from the political heaven. The American republic gave equal rights at least to all white men in 1789; and the French nation did even more liberally, for "in September, 1791, all citizens of whatever color or religion received political rights;" while, "in February of the same year, political rights were conceded to Quakers." Chambers Encyclopedia.

V. 13: "And the same hour there was a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain names of men seven thousand; and the remnant were affrighted and gave glory to the God of heaven." This great earthquake refers particularly to France and the political changes made in the revolution. In the beginning of 1791 a committee of the Assemble National appointed to reform church matters made a complete overturning of the old ecclesiastical system. After a declaration that Catholicism had ceased to be the state religion, titles were abolished, and church property confiscated; church ornaments and valuables were appropriated as patriotic gifts to the state; the civil jurisdiction of the bishops was taken away and monks and nuns were freed from their vows. The clergy were put under the civil constitution. Each department was a See and the communes ruled and paid the bishop and cures. All the clergy were amenable to the civil courts without appeal to the pope, or the interference of any ecclesiastical authority whatever. Every clergyman had to take an oath, accepting this constitution, which led to the emigration of a number, and subsequently to enactments of excessive rigor against refractory priests.

On August 10, 1792, the National Assemble, in doing away with certain remnants of the royal authority, suspended the king from his functions; and, on the 25th of September of the same year, the Convention Nationale, which took the place of the Assemble declared France a republic. Upon this in the same year followed the trial and condemnation of the king, who was beheaded January 21, 1793. Chambers' Encyc.

We have seen farther back, when under the prophecies of Daniel, that the French conquest of Gaul was only partially completed by Clovis, the final conquest of Burgundy having remained for his sons. Now if we can find the correct date of the final conquest of Burgundy we shall know where to date the beginning of the 1260 years, or the time, times and a half of this phase of the Little Horn.

"Clothair and Childebert, in the year 532, made themselves masters of the kingdom of the Burgundians, which extended at this time to the Alps and the Mediterranean." Mitchelett Hist. France, II. 22. In this date I find Gibbon and the historians generally to coincide. If, now, to 532 A. D., you add 1260 years, you have 1792 which is the date, as you see, on August, 10th, that the Assemble Nationale suspended the king from his functions, and, on September 25th, the Convention Nationale declared France a republic. For France, therefore, 1792 was "the beginning of the time of the end."

"And in that hour a great earthquake:" the national changes effected by the revolution: "And the tenth part of the city fell:" France must be here considered a tenth of the Catholic church, for that is the city (Babylon) meant. In reference to this passage some interpreters have remarked that France was one of the ten horns. But the ten horns did not constitute the city as here understood; the Catholic church did. "And in the earthquake were slain names of men seven thousand:" These names refer to the Church and State official titles. "In June, 1790, all orders and titles of nobility were abolished," by the Assemble Nationale. Chambers' Encyc. According to the original it was seven thousand names of men that were slain. Of course in a republic there is no use for titles either in state or church, and we praise God for such simplicity! And, therefore, the French made a clean sweep of their national titles. "And the remnant were affrighted:" that is, the number within and without France to whom the titles remained after the final result of the revolution in

1815, and all without France in Europe to whom the titles remained after 1870.

V. 14: "The second woe is past and behold the third woe cometh quickly."

The second woe, therefore, embraced conspicuously the Turkish conquest of the eastern empire as well as the French revolution.

V. 15: "And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in the heaven saying, The kingdoms of this world are become (the kingdoms) of our Lord and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever."

As regards the political heaven this would appear to indicate the realization of the Republic in France, and perhaps the republics in other parts of Europe, with doubtless international arbitration in operation or soon to come. I notice here what has struck me as a peculiar construction in the original, viz.: "Of our Lord and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and ever." The expression might seem to direct the thought to a slight variety of Unitarianism: But it may indicate just the evangelical doctrine, which we have, which goes its way of Christ's practical Gospel doctrine, leaving not much stress on either Trinity or Unity, or explaining on the basis given by Christ himself without creed or catechism.

V. 16: "And the 24 elders who sat before God on their seats fell upon their faces and worshiped God."

This represents a state of the church yet existing wherein there are bishops or presiding elders. And in verses 17 and 18 these elders ascribe praises to God for having taken to himself his power and reigned in the midst of the anger of the nations against him and his government: Their praises are given also because the time has come for God to judge the dead and to give reward to his prophets and saints; and to render retributive justice to them that have corrupted the earth (the church). Yes, they praise God because he had taken all this power to himself in the midst of such a clash of nations as was experienced in the American and French revolutions; and because the time has come when God (through his saints who now possess the kingdom) shall judge the dead and the living and shall ascribe at least a suitable commemoration to his servants the prophets, who have witnessed to his truth while subjected to the most ignominious persecution during a time, times and an half.

V. 19: Which implies that the supreme government being now

republicanism it is seen clearly that God has given the power to the Son of Man, as according to the prophecy in Daniel, and so has abundantly, in due time, kept his word. The ark of the covenant as seen in his temple suggests, first, that God is now known to be a covenant keeping God; and, second, that his saints by whom he judges the world worship him in the inmost shrine, that is, give him a true and undivided heart worship.

The "lightnings, voices, thunderings and an earthquake" point to a change of government: and great hail shows that this was not effected without great war. This was largely in connection with the final establishment of the two great republics. In 1865 America, after a long war, became a free republic for all men, black as well as white; and the French republic became finally established in 1871, which was 79 years after it was declared a republic in 1792.

As to the "Two Witnesses," Who they Were?

And now as to the position I have taken as to who the "two witnesses" were, I may suppose that commentators of the Catholic thought would be disposed to apply those to their Catholic church. But to which branch or branches of the church would they apply them? Suppose, now, they would set upon the two particular churches of Rome and Constantinople, which are so very conspicuous in history, then what are they going to do with the great churches of Alexandria and Antioch, for example, or of Jerusalem and Carthage? What are they going to do with the churches of all the other cities of the empire, which are not so conspicuous in history, or are not at all known in it? What are they going to do with all the other Catholic churches of the whole empire, in rural districts, on side hills, in the edges of woods and bogs, which are not known at all in history? Would it not have been exceedingly invidious in the spirit to have made such a distinction? Would it not be such a thing as from what we know of God we would judge he would not be likely to do?

And now suppose the Catholic interpreters should make the great churches at Alexandria and Antioch to be the "two witnesses," the Roman empire of the East to be the particular scene of the prophecy, and Mohammedism to be the beast from the abyss; then what are they going to do with the great churches of Constantinople and Jerusalem, or with all the other great churches of the Eastern empire, which are besides so conspicuous in history? What are

they going to do with the innumerable country churches of the East and of Africa? Would it not have been invidious in the spirit to have made any such distinction? You perhaps say that it seems impertinent to speak of invidiousness in regard to the absolute God. I answer that God is just as reasonable at least as any man on earth can be found to be and when it comes to the identification of the "two witnesses," as to who they were during that period of 1260 years under consideration I say that it is very important that this question should be decided aright, and that an absolutely righteous God should be shown to be just in this matter. And in regard to such an invidious distinction as we have been contemplating, we must decide that a good man could not think of making such a distinction, much less, we believe, the spirit of all wisdom and justice.

When we have an experienced teacher in charge of a school, we find that such an one is disposed to encourage the hard plodders of the humblest grade rather than the more shining and conspicuous ones; and if there be any exhibition to give such humble plodders an honorable place, or if there be a procession of the scholars to give them the flags to carry. Even so it is with the infinitely wise judge of all. He does not invidiously distinguish between churches in the way such interpreters would make him do, but so arranges that in the end he is shown to be perfectly just in the course he has taken. To unnecessarily distinguish one person in a community, who is no more worthy of distinction than all the others are is an injustice to all the rest. God is not unjust, neither is he the author of injustice; it is the devil who is the author of all such nefarious business.

And now suppose our Catholic commentators are disposed to make the scene of the prophecy in chapter XI. to be the Roman empire of the west, or the Holy Roman empire so-called, and the church of Rome to be one of the witnesses, then which of the other western churches are they going to make the other witness? The chief primacy of France, of Spain, of Germany or of Britain? Such commentators interpreting in their way would, of course, select the Roman church first from its historical conspicuity; but would it not be an invidious business to select the other church to associate with the Roman, as the other of the two witnesses? But this is not the historic meaning of the symbolization. The expression "My two witnesses," is a symbolic one, and has no such

invidious meaning as such a selection as they should require to make would necessarily imply.

Neither is the Roman empire of the east the scene of this prophecy exclusive of the other parts of the empire; for although the Turkish empire is one of those derived from the abyss, so called, still we have seen a little farther back, that this empire, in establishing its power in Europe, gave a high legal standing in perfect organization to the Greek church, subject to the four patriarchs, under the presidency of the patriarch of Constantinople. But "the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss," mentioned in v. 7 of this chapter has for its original the Western empire, called the Holy Roman empire, set forth in chapter XVII. of Revelation. This beast, however, from the abyss was not, according to the prophecy, to give the two witnesses any honorable standing at all; but, on the contrary, was to "make war against them and overcome them, and kill them." Now, we do not find that the civil authorities of the Roman empire ever disfranchised or killed the churches of Constantinople and Rome, nor any other great Christian churches of the empire, that any one might reckon the two witnesses. In fact they could not have thought of doing so, for at their coronation the emperor took a strong oath to support the institution and doctrine of the Catholic church; nor, after Julian, was there one of them that ever abjured it.

Who were they then in the eastern empire that were persecuted and suppressed by the State and Church authorities? Why, they were conspicousuously the Paulicians, the Manicheans and the various classes of those religious people, which the church called heretics. These were they who were disfranchised, politically. These were they who in the Asiatic provinces especially were slain by hundreds and thousands by the legions of that hypocritical Jezebel, Theodora (845–880). And the laws of Theodosius which capitally condemned the Manicheans and their kindred sects were always in force (whether executed or not) in the empire, in the east and west.

There is no doubt from the clearness with which the subject has been investigated that the Paulicians of the east were the parents of the Albigensian, and Waldensian sects in the west, which are those that our present prophecy (v. 7) has reference to in its symbolization of those witnesses overcome and killed by the beast from the pit. Much like as a good father governs his own family the Lord governs his family of mankind, dealing with some of its members

as might be thought arbitrarily and despotically but with all justly and without invidious distinctions on his part.

But suppose now, for example, that the churches of Rome and of Constantinople were to be understood as God's two witnesses for the truth, then we should consider it an invidious distinction to have the two proudest and wealthiest churches in the empire put upon the stand on God's side and all the other churches and individual believers compelled to tacitly agree to their testimony, whether or not they agreed with it in reality. We should have indeed the empire testifying before God in its own behalf, as God's own witnesses; for the pope of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople were, as we have seen, the highest spiritual functionaries in the empire, next to the emperor himself.

But the two witnesses are in the original the "two martyrs," and this is just what God's witnesses were, viz.: his martyrs. Far different, however, than martyrs were the heads of church in their connection with the heads of state. Gibbon says: "Since the death of Priscillian (385) the rude attempts at persecution have been refined and methodized in the holy office, which assigns their distinctive parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. *The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate and by the magistrate to the executioner;* and the inexorable sentence of the church, which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession." Dec. & Fall, III. 96.

It is easily seen, therefore, who the witnesses (literally martyrs) were; and who those were that martyrized them, viz., the heads of Church and State. These were the Gentiles (nations) who had command of the symbolic city (the empire church) outside of the symbolic temple (the true witnesses of God).

Reader, do you not hear the groans of those dear martyrs, who stood for the principle of truth and liberty which you have within you, as they suffer the rack or torture or hunger or thirst or the inclemency of the weather, while they try to preserve their life for the support of their families, or as they burn over slow fires, sometimes made of green branches! Do you not see that it is very important for you truthfully to decide as to who those witnesses or martyrs were? Do you not see that it is very important to the cause of truth and Christian liberty that you should not decide the persecutors of the martyrs to have been the martyrs? But the Lord surely knows them that are his, his two witnesses, his sealed,

and he has left the matter so very plain to us in prophecy and history as that we should be not only culpable but criminal if we should make such a grievous mistake in the application as that the persecutors were the persecuted, that the Little Horn or persecuting power was the same, as to its original, with those it oppressed, overcame and killed.

Chapter XII.

Vs. 1 and 2: "And there appeared a great sign in the heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars: And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered."

"Clothed with the Sun" (see Psalm 84, 11: Mal. IV. 2): that is the Christian church clothed with empire: "And the moon under her feet;" that is, the Jewish church in subjection to her politically: "and upon her head a crown of twelve stars;" the twelve apostles of the Lamb in her firmament. Religious teachers are symbolized as stars; and this last is part of the reference in Dan. XII. 3. A crown (a stephanos) of twelve stars.

"And she being with child cried travailing in birth and pained to be delivered."

The symbolization is here of the empire when Constantine was engaged in his prolonged struggle with all his opponents, especially with Maximin, his father-in-law, and with Maxentius and Licinius, brothers-in-law of his.

V. 3: "And there appeared another sign in the heaven; and behold a great red dragon having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads."

"A great red dragon:" Symbolizing the Roman empire for all time, prior and subsequent to Constantine: "having seven heads and ten horns:" the heads symbolizing the successive governments in all its duration, and the horns the executive force of the empire in any age: — "and having seven diadems upon his heads:" being encircled with diadems shows that these heads symbolize supreme governments.

V. 4: "And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born."

In the symbolization of the heads and tail all the history of the Roman empire is embraced: the tail symbolizing, first, the Chris-

tian Roman empire more especially in the spiritual supremacy of its western or Holy Roman empire division; and, second, the Turkish empire, especially in its sub-government of the Greek church, as explained farther back:

"His tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth:" which refers more particularly to the spiritual supremacy of the Holy Roman empire division, which after the crusades begun had such an immense influence in Europe: that is, it effected the subjugation to itself of all the other religious teachers (stars of heaven) Arians, and all; and it subjugated the Eastern empire politically, to itself, taking possession of Constantinople in 1204, and holding it 57 years. Mohammedism in the Caliphate is the original of the Scorpio-Caudal symbolization of the Turkish civil supremacy; but Mohammedism subdued more than two-thirds of the empire, viz.: Asia, Africa, and part of Europe, and so cannot possibly of itself be the original of the caudal-symbolization, which swept from the heavens one-third of the stars and cast them to the earth. If Mohammedism were the original of this dragon, *i. e.*, caudal symbolization two-thirds of the stars would be spoken of as the trophy it brought to its feet, not one-third, as given.

"And did cast them to the earth:" That is on the change from paganism to Christianity the Christian civil officials and clerics took the place of the pagan civil officials and clerics; the latter having to step down (from the civil and religious heaven) and out into the earth, so giving place to their betters as the Latin saying is. The pagans now being on earth find it convenient to act the hypocrite in multitudes of cases and associate themselves with the Catholic church in order to be somewhat in the heavenly sphere again. "And the dragon stood before the woman to devour her child as soon as it should be born." This is the pagan opposition to Christianity and Constantine, which all he overcame.

V. 5. "And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron; and her child was caught up unto God and to his throne."

She through the care and goodness of God, notwithstanding the pagan opposition, brought forth a man child, that is, the Christian Roman government: "Who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron" (as according to Psalm II. 9), which indicates the Roman or iron empire (Dan. II. 33, 40).

"And her child was caught up to God and to his throne." That is the Roman empire adopted and legalized the Christian religion

so that this religion became the governing power, the power that occupied the throne.

V. 6: "And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there 1260 days."

God does not approve the union of the church with the state in government, and so, contemporaneously with the occupation of the throne by the man child (the Christian emperors), the woman (the true church, the witnesses), fled into the wilderness; that is, the humble and godly Christians went and dwelt and worshiped God in a private way wherever they could rather than conform to the rules and creeds and catechisms of the established church or comply with the laws of Church and State, which generally they decided to be repugnant to Christ and his word, and formed in the worldly interest of the governing classes. Paganism now, under the profession and guise of Christianity, comes in effect to fill the offices of State and Church again; and the true (or martyr) church has to go in hiding, "where she hath a place prepared of God." Christ prepared this wilderness place for his church. He tells his disciples that in his Father's house are many mansions, that he goes to prepare a place for them. But, although this wilderness reference is very general in regard to the Eastern hemisphere for a long period of time, still there seems here an intermediary but particular reference to the Swiss republic, which its early history shows to have been composed largely of a praying as well as liberty-loving people. Before their great battle of Morgarten, in 1315, the Swiss spent a day in fasting and prayer, and Morgarten proved to be the Thermopylæ of Switzerland. And so, seventy years later in 1386, before they engaged in the battle of Sempach, they, "first, dropping on their knees and offering prayer, advanced to the charge." Barnes Gen'l Hist., p, 389. In 1353, two years before the issuance of the Golden Bull, there were thirteen cantons in this republic, which correspond in number to the old 13 states of our American union. "That they should feed her there 1260 days." It might appear truly wonderful, in some states of the church, how that God provided food and clothing for his witnesses, and for the families of such who were cast homeless upon him! Truly God in his goodness provideth for the poor! At the time, therefore, of Church and State union, or within a century later, the witnesses for Christ began to go in hiding and so passed over the 1260 years.

Vs. 7 and 8: "And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven."

This war pertained to the political heaven of the Roman empire; it existed between Christianity and Paganism for over three-fourths of a century, the final result being that Christianity prevailed. "Michael" (Christ) "and his angels" (all the forces of Christianity) are arrayed against the dragon (the Pagan emperors) and his angels (all the forces of Paganism). And the dragon and his angels prevailed not. This is an historic fact for which I refer you to Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," Chapters XIV.; XVII.; XVIII.; XIX.; XX. and so on to the XXXth: "Neither was their place found any more in heaven:" that is, after about the years 400 or 420 Paganism had no perceptible place in the empire again under its old name. If it occupied offices or places now this must be under the Christian name and profession.

V. 9: "And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world, he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him."

Here paganism has four names given to it, the dragon, the devil, Satan, and the old serpent. This verse reiterates what we have had already, viz.: that all the pagan administration, civil and religious, had to relinquish the government. They were then given the option of starvation, or Christianity with a seat on the "woolsack:" they chose generally the latter alternative and acted out their old paganism under the Christian name.

Vs. 10–13: Now the Christians have it all in their way, in so far as having the government carried on under the name of Christianity; and they therefore ascribe great praises to God, the author of every good and perfect gift, who withholdeth not anything that is good from them that live uprightly. The prophet hears these praises uttered in the heaven, which refers to the political heaven, in this case, and indicates the Christians to now occupy the throne and command its patronage; and that they feel joyous at now being able to proceed without let or hinderance in the evangelization of the empire. Satan having accused them now for 300 years and caused them to suffer so much in the ten persecutions, they heartily rejoice over his discomfiture. The church people are now determined to enlarge their borders and evangelize the whole empire,

yea, and beyond it they are determined to send their missionaries among the Scythians and Germans.

In v. 11, the constancy of the primitive martyrs is recognized, who overcome the devil by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony and who sacrificed their lives for the principle of Christ.

In v. 12, Satan and his angels being cast out, all in the regions of the heavens are called upon to rejoice over the exit; but, mark, that in direct connection with this, it is said: "Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you having great wrath because he knoweth that he hath but a short time:" This voice announcing the woe to the earth (Italy), and the sea (other parts of the empire), comes from the heaven. It is prophetic of the inundations or deluges of the barbarian nations in the latter part of the fourth and in the fifth and sixth centuries, which left the empire but little power or choice. We have touched upon this before in speaking of the prophetic preliminaries to the opening of the first seal (Ch. VIII. 3–6), and then of the opening of the seals on to the woes (vs. 6–13). "Having great wrath because he knoweth that he hath but a short time:" That is, the pagans or semi-pagans who came into the empire in these barbaric invasions and made their home therein were soon converted to the religion of the empire; and the descendants of the various nations from the countries of the Baltic, who had invaded the empire under Radagasius and, some of whom may be supposed to have gone north again, were forcibly converted say from 800–1300 A. D., by the Franco-German emperors. So that paganism had, on the whole, but a short time to exist within the empire after it did come in with these peoples; and the Christians congratulated themselves on having won the victory once and for all time. But, on the other hand, though these barbaric nations came gradually under the name of Christianity they did not come so fully under its spirit as the Gospel requires; but they maintained more or less their old pagan customs and habits of life and of thought, so that the implication of the prophecy may be concluded to be that the empire became in effect pagan again though under the profession of Christianity. Amid all the changes from barbaric invasion, etc., the imperial laws of the Christian Church and State government against heretics were understood to be in force, though sometimes allowed to slumber.

V. 13: "And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man (child):"

That is paganism, under the name of Christianity, persecuted those it adjudged heretics, but whom the prophecy understands as the true church and the true witnesses of Jesus.

V. 14: "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished, for a time, and times and a half a time, from the face of the serpent."

As to the flight of the woman spoken of in verse 6, I have explained that the people accused of heresy went everywhere in trying to escape the arm of persecution. But the wilderness to which ultimate reference is both in verse 6 and 14, is the country now known as the United States of America, with Switzerland at least as an intermediary republic. As to the reference in the two wings of a great eagle, I may say that both the republics of America and France have the eagle as their national emblem, and I notice it on the Swiss standard. Protestant Prussia, which has been so liberal in receiving and providing for expatriated heretics, as the Huguenots in 1685, the Salzburg Protestants in 1731, etc., has the eagle as its national emblem. Russia, since 1462, has the double-headed eagle as its standard. This republic was largely settled originally by peoples, the Catholics, and even the Protestant established churches called heretics.

Both verse 6 and 14, as I say, refer ultimately to America as is indicated, first, in the fact that the latter part of the 1260 years (1607–1789) had to be spent here in the wilderness before this became the real home of the witnesses. And, secondly, the reading in the original — "that she might fly into the wilderness, into the place of herself," see Isai. XL. 31 — leaves this to be understood. While England had the sovereignty of this country, the sovereignty of the witnesses was excluded, they were only tenants to England. When the independence was achieved and acknowledged then they were sovereigns, they were in their "own place." The mountainous countries of Switzerland, of Taurus and of America are, a person would think, the natural home of the eagle; but in the heretics coming to this country from the eastern hemisphere they were coming to "their own place," the place they were to have as their peculiar kingdom. This was the land of promise of the pilgrim, the Huguenot, the Hebrew, etc. Here, after 1789, those bewildered witnesses did really possess a kingdom in their own right, God being the only king they acknowledged.

V. 15: "And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood."

"Water as a flood:" peoples in motion; armies, police. Consider what armies and various governmental forces there were on the track of the heretics, in various other ways besides the inquisition, for 1260 years! As for example in the persecution of the Paulicians 845–880; that of the Albigenses and Waldenses 1200–1226; that of the Swiss by Austria, 1291–1499; that of the Dutch by Spain, 1567–1609; etc.

V. 16: "And the earth helped the woman and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth."

This is easily explainable: The mountains of Armenia and the East, for example, protected or saved large numbers of the Paulicians so that they survived to a great extent in the East and West. The peculiar circumstances of their country helped the Swiss to maintain their independence. And the like was so in regard to America. Was it not Wm. Pitt who, in endeavoring to dissuade the English parliament from sending any more armaments to subjugate the Americans, said: "An English army in America will melt like snow."

V. 17: "And the dragon was wroth with the woman and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus Christ."

"The remnant" of the heretical seed are evidently here the Americans with whom the dragon waged his war in their efforts for independence, civil and religious, and in which they worsted him, finally setting up their own democracy. A remnant is a piece broken off from a large piece. The Americans were completely separated from their old religious association of the Roman empire.

These are they "which keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus Christ," for which let us thank God and take courage for the true education and evangelization of the world!

Chapter XIII.

This whole chapter appertains to one phase of the beast of Dan. VII. 7. The first ten verses symbolize the Christian Roman empire of the east and west, or the Christian Roman empire as a whole for about 1260 years. In its department of the Eastern Roman empire, which comes to be in process of time, it may include also in continuation of this the Turkish empire to the decline of this power.

Read, for example, Upham's History of the Ottoman empire, noticing, among the rest, the reign of Amurath IV., 1623–1639; in continuation of Finlay's History of the Byzantine empire.

V. 1: "And I saw a wild beast rising up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns; and upon his horns ten diadems, and upon his heads a name of blasphemy."

This is the whole of this verse in the original I have, the clause "And I stood upon the sand of the sea" appearing at the end of chapter XII.

This beast as well as the dragon of the preceding chapter has seven heads and ten horns; but in the case of the dragon it was the seven heads that were diademed; while in the case of this wild beast it is the ten horns that are so encircled. They both refer to the same Roman empire but I have explained farther back that there were ten contemporary Cæsars, as a matter of course all diademed, in the days of Constantine I; and so we may understand the seven heads of this beast as diademed and representing the complete number of different kinds of supreme heads for the empire for all time. These are as follows: 1 Kings: 2 Consuls: 3 Dictators: 4 Decemvirs: 5 Military-Consulars: 6 Triumvirs: 7 Emperors: 8 Christian Emperors, being a variation of the seventh.

This wild beast is seen by the prophet to rise up out of a sea, which means that the empire was composed of many nations and languages and that this empire arose out of great commotions in the way of war and disquietude. "And on his heads was a name of blasphemy." Those heads of Roman government seems to have assumed to themselves divine honors, which is blasphemy.

V. 2: "And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard and his feet were as (the feet) of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion and the dragon gave him his power and his throne and great authority."

This, after describing the beast's appearance, that he is like in general to a leopard; as to his feet like to a bear; as to his mouth like to a lion; says then that the dragon gave to him the power and the throne which he (the dragon) himself had formerly exercised and occupied. The author of Armageddon, who applied this prophecy to the papacy, says that the pronoun "his" refers to the beast and not to the dragon; but with all due respect to the memory of brother Baldwin I find the original to be different. The pronoun is *αὐτου* "of himself," which refers back to the subject of the verb, that is, in this case, *ὁ δρἀκων* and the reading in

English is: The dragon gave to him (the beast), the power of himself (the dragon), and the throne of himself (the dragon) and great authority." In Brother Baldwin's original the reading may have been *αὐτου*, which would have been a mismarking and might give a different reading and perhaps cause him to think that Pepin's gift to the pope in A. D. 754 of the exarchate of Ravenna was the original here symbolized in the gift of his power, his throne and great authority from the dragon to the beast. Now, this could not have been so; for Pepin or the kings of France did not have as a former possession the territory now presented to the pope and afterwards called the "States of the Church." Pepin had just then acquired them by conquest from the Lombards and thereupon presented them to the pope. But after Pepin had withdrawn with his army to Paris the Lombards conquered the territory back again and in this condition it remained until Charlemagne, son of Pepin, conquered it again from the Lombards and gave it to the pope 20 years later. The papacy, however, though not exclusively the original of is included in the general symbolization we are now considering.

For the benefit of the interpreters of this chapter who come after me I may say that the seven heads of this beast which appear uncrowned, but which we suppose to represent the same as the seven diademed heads of the dragon, do not refer primarily to the seven electorates of the holy Roman (German) empire (1355–1648), but do secondarily. Moreover, as to the ten diademed horns the original of these would primarily require to be contemporary with or near to the rise of the Christian Roman empire, beginning with Constantine rather than 1,000 years later.

V. 3: "And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed; and all the world wondered after the beast."

You have seen that all the seven supreme governments of Rome which we have enumerated were different from each other, the last being the Christian empire. This was the one existing and must have been the one the prophet saw wounded and healed so miraculously. This Christian head of empire was first affected by Julian; then by the pagan nations generally from the north, then by the Mohammedans, so that the empire might be said to have been almost slain to death. But the Christian empire revived after Julian; and the pagan peoples came over to Christianity; and the empire of the west, so long trampled under foot, and as it were

slain to death was restored by Charlemagne, the son of Pepin; and this whole process, covering over 400 years — that is, of destroying and recovering again as to the empire — is symbolized in one verse under the figure of a beast's head as it were slain and healed again. But, so far as our purpose of showing the fulfillment of this prophecy is concerned, we may say that the whole slaying, prophetically speaking, was done by Julian, for he disestablished Christianity in the empire, so that it was legally (or in the prophetic sense) dead during his reign. But, while this is so, yet inasmuch as the Christian empire was so often and so badly effected by the sword of the barbarians then it may be as well for you to have patience and say that it was completely revived from its death stroke in the west by Charlemagne and then subsisted for over 1000 years under the name of the Holy Roman (German) empire. This last idea seems favored by the original, for in the expression, "all the world wondered after the beast" the word ὀπισω, translated "after," implies a tracing backward in the mind, which in this case would be from Constantinople, the new seat of empire, to old Rome and the west.

In the western or holy Roman empire this wound was given not so much by the reformers of England and Germany, after an interval of 1260 years of the old church regime; for both the English and the Lutheran systems called themselves strictly of the Catholic church; but it was given by Calvinism, which did away with all Catholic marks, at least in external worship. This is in general a wound that has never been healed, as regards a restoration to catholicism: but you are to remember that in our first supposition the head to which we applied the prophecy was the last of seven or eight successive heads or governments, and that we are now about to apply it to one of seven contemporary governments or electorates of the German empire. Speaking of Frederic, the Elector Palatine, who became king of Bohemia on August 27th, 1619, Zimmerman (vol. IV., p. 1495) says: "A royal decree made a beginning to abolish the Lutheran worship. King Frederic determined to make everything in Bohemia strictly Calvinistic." He then goes on to speak about the iconoclasm practiced in carrying out this law and how that in the next year Frederic was defeated by the Catholic emperor Ferdinand, as a consequence of which the Bohemian status was again restored. This is another instance sufficiently marked of a head wounded and restored.

V. 4: "And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying: who is like unto the beast, who is able to make war with him."

For about fifty years after the establishment of the Christian religion in the empire by Constantine the pagan worship was practiced contemporaneously with it. It was, however, only tolerated, being in general known to be against the law of the state. Even Constantine, after he had conquered his last enemy and openly professed Christianity, in a letter he addressed to the followers of the old religion, invites and exhorts, in the most pressing terms, his subjects to follow his own example, "but he declares that those who still refuse to open their eyes to the celestial light may freely enjoy their temples and their fancied gods." Dec. and Fall, II. 365. There is no doubt, however, that Constantine, during his life, effected a widespread change in the religion of the empire.

His sons trod in his steps in regard to toleration, for although both Constans and Constantius published some very severe edicts against the pagan worship, still there is reason to think that their most severe edicts were not enforced during their lives. As for Julian, who succeeded Constantius, he, as I have said, legally changed the whole religion back to the pagan; but his successor, Jovian, who reigned only seven months, restored Christianity again. And during the reign of the brothers, Valentinian and Valens, who succeeded Jovian, toleration to the old religion was again in place, this toleration being continued until Gratian, the son and successor of Valentinian, refused to encourage paganism any more. "The title, the ensigns, the prerogatives of SOVEREIGN PONTIFF, which had been instituted by Numa and assumed by Augustus, were accepted without hesitation by seven Christian emperors; who were invested with a more absolute authority over the religion which they deserted than over that which they professed." *Id.* II. 367. These seven emperors were those I have named, Constantine and his three sons, with Julian, Valentinian and Valens.

V. 5: "And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty-two months."

This is the same mouth of the little horn referred to in Dan. VII. 8, 11, 25. It was the blasphemous oratorical powers of this beast that were so hateful to God, who favors not blasphemers, especially of the magnitude here predicted. In the Mohammedan phase of the horn he appears to have made more use

of his mouth for devouring than blaspheming. This phase, however, doubtless did too much of those crimes against God. This horn claimed to own the earth, and not content with that, he must blaspheme the Almighty God and gobble up his neighbor's property just as if he had a right to it any more than his neighbor had use for his Koran. What matters it whether he be called Mohammedism or State and Church Christianity; has not this spiritual oppressor the same physiogmony under all the names? It is in connection with the giving of the mouth that this beast is said to act forty-two months. This is the same period referred to in chapter X. 2, 3, XII. 6; and as the time, times and a part of Dan. VII, but they point to somewhat different beginnings and endings of systems as you have seen.

V. 6: This verse as in my original is literally as follows:—

"And he opened the mouth of himself into blasphemy against the God, to blaspheme his name and his tent and them that tent in the heaven."

"His tent," his true tabernacle, which is a moving or pilgrim church, "and those who tent or tabernacle in the heaven," shows you that the blasphemy (excommunication) and persecution are directed by the Church and State authorities against the witnesses for the truth, or heretics, which was the church now in hiding or tenting, or suppressed; which after a pilgrimage of about 1100 years in the woods and mountains and dens of Europe, Asia and Africa finally fetched up on Plymouth rock, among the Pequod Indians: In regard to the Huguenots in their connection with the old kingdom of France and their now connection with the republic the following is from a late edition of the Encyc. Britanica: "The old reproach that the Huguenots are all republicans has at last turned to their credit." The true temple of God is the human tabernacle itself, in the which he pleases to dwell: and this tent and tenting now spoken of indicates to you the nature of the temple of God and the altar and the worshipers spoken of or symbolized in chapter XI. 1. Were not those liberty-loving and truth-loving people, those people who could not bear hypocrisy or malfeasance in Church or State, those dear persecuted "heretics" the original of that symbolization? People who, according to the codes of that Church and State system were criminals and outlaws, worthy of the cruelest and vilest death that could be devised and inflicted! These dear wanderers tented in the heaven, while being despised and rejected of men! While being men of sorrows and acquainted

with grief they tented in the heaven! The kingdom of heaven is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and those kind of people were more in the heaven when enduring cold or hunger or even the rack or the fire than were their persecutors though on their throne, and having their head encircled with diadem, stephanos or turban. Will not every one henceforward, seeing the value which should be put upon civil and religious liberty, afford to deny themselves something for the promotion of these principles in every good and worthy way?

V. 7: "And it was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds and tongues and nations."

This is the same war waged against the saints by the Little Horn (Dan. VII. 21., and Rev. XI. 7): "And power was given him over all kindreds and tongues and nations," which all inclusive language shows that the whole Roman empire, geographically as in Constantine's days, with the additions which should be made to it, is intended. Of course the Franco-German Christian empire occupied the western division of the empire in the later ages, and Mohammedism the eastern division. As a specimen of what this latter semi-Christian religion could do in the way of persecution of those it deemed heretics, take the following from Muir as to the Caliph Mehdy (about 780 A. D.): "Hatred of the Zendics or Manichean heretics, indeed, and their cruel persecution, is one of the chief traits of Mehdy's life and of his son Hady's short reign. Suspicion whispered into the Caliph's ready ear led often without trial to a fatal end. Thus a blind poet, ninety years of age, was arraigned by enemies smarting under his satires on charge of heresy, and, notwithstanding his poems being free of the taint, put to death. At Aleppo, on his way to Syria, Mehdy had a gathering of Manichæns hunted out from all that neighborhood. They were all beheaded and their bodies cut in pieces. Thereafter he established a department of state with a minister, whose duty it was to put down the heresy a kind of inquisition: and, accordingly, we read in the following year of a great multitude being apprehended as heretics and put to death." Caliphate, 446-7.

But Mohammedism in its varied phases of Arabism and Turkism presents too many historical marks to leave any doubt as to its being an original of this symbolization of Rev. XIII. or of Rev. XVII. In the year 1193, according to Finlay (Appendix to Vol. II. Byzantine Empire), the Seljuk sultan of Roum or Iconium,

Kilidy Arslan II., divided his empire among his ten sons, who would thus be ten independent or in some way independent sultans.

1. Gaïaseddin Kaikhosrou I at Iconium.
2. Rokneddin at Tokat.
3. Mohieddin at Angora.
4. Moazeddin at Malatia.
5. Moghaiaseddin at Elbistan.
6. Noureddin at Kaisareia.
7. Kolbeddin at Sivas.
8. Barkiarok at Niksar.
9. Sandjarshah at Amasia.
10. Shadjeddin at Heracleia.

This division was about 208 years prior to the division of the empire of Bajazet, the Ottoman Sultan, between his five sons, after his defeat by Tamerlane at Angora, which I will speak of again.

7: "And it was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds and tongues and nations." This making war with the saints, and overcoming them, has reference to the great power of the Empire, which was always exercised in compelling conformity to the orthodox doctrines of the Catholic Church, which were universally established therein by law. The Emperor, the supreme head of the Church, The Catholic Church was established in every portion of the Empire from the Caledonian rampart to the frontiers of Persia, and from Mount Atlas in Africa to the frontiers of Scythia and Germany; so that heretics and nonconformists had no place to go if not beyond the frontiers of the Empire, from the arm of persecution and compulsion. And even Caledonia, Scythia, Germany, and other nations which lay outside of the Empire proper, were afterwards brought to a profession of the orthodox faith through the labors of the missionaries of the Catholic Church; missionaries who were often accompanied by an army of soldiers or dragoons, and enforced their tenets by the sword. A religious society sprung up in the Eastern Roman Empire in the latter part of the seventh century, called the Paulicians, which is thus described by Gibbon the historian: "The name of Paulicians is derived by their enemies from some unknown and domestic teacher; but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apostle of the Gentiles."—"The Paulician teachers were distinguished only by their Scriptural names, by the modest title of fellow-pilgrims, by the austerity of their lives, their zeal or knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. But they were incapable of desiring, or at least of obtaining the wealth and honors of the Catholic prelacy; such anti-Christian

pride they bitterly censured; and even the rank of elders or presbyters was condemned as an institution of the Jewish Synagogue."

In their persecution by the Roman Emperors the historian says: "After a mission of twenty-seven years Sylvanus (this was the principal founder of their society) who had retired from the tolerating government of the Arabs, fell a sacrifice to the Roman persecution. The laws of the pious Emperors, which seldom touched the lives of less odious heretics, proscribed without mercy or disguise the tenets, the books and the persons of the Motanists and the Manichæans: the books were delivered to the flames; and all who should presume to secrete such writings, or to profess such opinions, were devoted to an ignominious death. A Greek minister, armed with legal and military powers, appeared at Colonia to strike the shepherd, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty Simeon placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon and the proof of their repentance, to massacre their spiritual father. They turned aside from the impious office; the stones dropped from their filial hands; and of the whole number only one executioner could be found, a new David, as he is styled by the Catholics, who boldly overthrew the giant of heresy. This apostate, Justus was the name, again deceived and betrayed the unsuspecting brethren: and a new conformity to the acts of St. Paul may be found in the conversion of Simeon; like the apostles he embraced the doctrines he had been sent to persecute, renounced his honors and fortunes, and acquired among the Paulicians the fame of a missionary and a martyr. They were not ambitious of martyrdom, but in a calamitous period of one hundred and fifty years their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict; and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. From the blood and ashes of their first teachers a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose."—"The feeble Michael the first, the rigid Leo, the Armenian, were foremost in the race of persecution; but the prize must doubtless be adjudged to the sanguinary devotion of Theodora, who restored the images to the Oriental Church. Her inquisitors explored the cities and mountains of the lesser Asia, and the flatterers of the Empress have affirmed that in a short reign one hundred thousand Paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames."*

Great numbers of the Vandals, Suevi, Goths and Burgungians are said to have embraced Christianity of their own accord in the fifth century. But from what follows it is not difficult to see what

* Milman's Gibbon's Rome, Ch. LIV.

it was that they embraced. Mosheim says: "All these fierce and warlike nations judged a religion excellent in proportion to the success that crowned the arms of those who professed it, and esteemed consequently that doctrine the best whose professors had gained the greatest number of victories. When therefore they saw the Romans possessed of an Empire much more extensive than that of any other people, they concluded that Christ, their God, was of all others the most worthy of religious homage." * Clovis, king of the Franks, was at this period the most famous trophy of their Catholic grace. "His conversion to the Christian religion is dated from the battle he fought with the Alemans in the year 496, in which, when the Franks began to give ground, and their affairs seemed desperate, he implored the assistance of Christ, and solemnly engaged himself by a vow to worship him as his God if he rendered him victorious over his enemies." Victory ensued. Clovis was the same year baptized at Rheims with three thousand of his subjects who followed his example. It is said that Remigius, bishop of Rheims, having preached to Clovis, and those who had been baptized with him, a sermon on the sufferings and death of Jesus, the king on hearing him cried out: "If I had been there with my Franks that should not have happened." † This may serve as a specimen to show the spirit that animated these ignorant and barbarous converts, as well as their misunderstanding of Christ and his harmless religion. But this is not all; wonderful miracles are said to have been wrought at the baptism of this first Christian king of France, which lying tales, Mosheim observes, "are utterly unworthy of credit." He further adds that "*pious frauds* were very commonly practised in Gaul and Spain at this time in order to captivate the minds of a rude and barbarous people, who were scarcely susceptible of a rational conviction." "The impudence of imposters in contriving false miracles was artfully proportioned to the credulity of the vulgar; while the sagacious and the wise, who perceived these cheats, were obliged to silence, by the dangers which threatened their lives and fortunes if they detected the artifice. The prudent are silent, the multitude believe, and impostors triumph."

In the sixth century the conversion of several barbarous nations is dated; among whom were the Abasgi, the Heruli, the Alans, the Lazi, and Zani. "These conversions," says Mosheim, "however pompously they may sound, were extremely superficial. All that was required of these darkened nations amounted to an oral profession of their faith in Christ, to their abstaining from sacrifice to the gods, and their committing to memory certain forms of doctrine; so

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Century V

† Id. Cent. V.

that even after their conversion to Christianity they retained their primitive ferocity and savage manners, and continued to distinguish themselves by the most horrid acts of cruelty and rapine, and the practice of all sorts of wickedness." * It would appear that where such a religion as this is called Christianity, and such savage and cruel and rapacious wretches are called Christians, the meek, mild and self-denying followers of Jesus ought to have some other name; rather call them heretics, fanatics, wild enthusiasts, or persons disordered in their brains.

In the sixth century also, a vast multitude of Jews were converted to Christianity, and added to the Church. "Many," says Mosheim, "were brought over to the truth by the persuasion and influence of the Emperor Justinian." "It must, however, be acknowledged," says he, "that these conversions were owing to the liberality of the Christian princes or to the fear of punishment, rather than to the force of argument or the love of truth. In Gaul the Jews were compelled by Childeric to receive the ordinance of baptism, and the same despotic method of converting was practised in Spain." These Jews, therefore, must have found themselves in error still worse than the first.

About the same time the Catholic Gospel was propagated in Britain among the Anglo-Saxons, and the Caledonian tribes: and also in Germany among the Bohemians, Thuringians, and Boii. But it must be confessed, even by Mosheim, "that the converted nations now mentioned retained a great part of their former impiety, superstition, and licentiousness; and that, attached to Christ by a mere outward and nominal profession, they in effect renounced the purity of his doctrine, and the authority of his Gospel by their flagitious lives, and the superstitious and idolatrous rites and institutions which they continued to observe." Thus, these barbarous nations, through the despotic power of their more barbarous conquerors, are compelled to make a mere outward or nominal profession of Christianity, without amending their lives or quitting their former idolatrous practices.

Pope Gregory, called the Great, sent into Britain, in the year 596, A. D., forty Benedictine monks, with Augustin at their head. This monk Augustin, on account of his labors in propagating the Catholic Gospel in Britain, is styled the British Apostle, and was the first Archbishop of Canterbury. After his arrival in England he converted the heathen temples into places of Christian worship; and Gregory, in his epistle to the Anglo-Saxon converts, permits them

† Id. Cent. VI.

to sacrifice in honor of the saints on their respective holidays the victims which they had formerly offered to the gods.

The same account of the *celestial light* and the *divine Gospel* runs through the seventh century, and St. Columban, St. Gal, and St. Kilian, and other great saints are said to convert Franks, Frieslanders, and other nations to the religion of Jesus. But again Mosheim confesses with respect to these gospelizers that "many of them discovered in the course of their ministry the most turbulent passions, arrogance and ambition, avarice and cruelty. And instead of gaining souls to Christ they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious proselytes; and exercised a princely authority over the countries where their ministry had been successful." "The conversion of the Jews seemed at a stand in this century, though in many places they were barbarously compelled by the Christians (rather anti-Christians,) to make an outward and feigned profession of their faith in Christ." *

The Emperor Heraclius, incensed against that miserable people by the insinuations, as it is said, of the ecclesiastics, persecuted them in a cruel manner, and ordered multitudes of them to be inhumanly dragged into the Christian Churches in order to be baptized by compulsion. The same odious method of converting was practised in Spain and Gaul.

In the eighth century, Boniface, on account of his missionary labors and holy exploits, was distinguished by the honorable title of the Apostle of the Germans. But notwithstanding the eminent services he is said to have rendered to Christianity, Mosheim confesses that he "often employed violence and terror, and sometimes artifice and fraud, in order to multiply the number of Christians." It would be too tedious to pursue these Catholic gospelizers through all their tyrannical movements. Charlemagne in the same century commenced hostilities in behalf of the Church against those Saxons who inhabited Germany: "that valiant people," says Mosheim, "whose love of liberty was excessive and whose aversion to the restraints of sacerdotal authority was inexpressible." Yet this valiant people, who had hitherto stood their ground against the fraud and violence of monks and bishops, at last, overcome by the fear of punishment and the imperious language of victory, suffered themselves to be baptized, though with the greatest reluctance. For, according to the iniquitous law which these savage gospelizers had enacted, "every Saxon who contemptuously refused to receive the sacrament of baptism was to be punished with death." †

Such were the exploits of Charlemagne in the service of Chris-

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Cent. VII. † Id. Cent. VIII.

tianity, for which "succeeding generations," says Mosheim, "canonized his memory, and turned this bloody warrior into an eminent saint." But if Dr. Mosheim truly saw the absurdity of such an impious turn, how was it possible that he could canonize great numbers of such monstrous characters in his history under the name of Christians, and turn their *absurd and ridiculous doctrines*, with their pernicious effects, into the *Gospel of Christ* and *the benign religion of Jesus?* These that we have quoted are only a few example for illustration. We shall turn to them again by-and-bye, in illustrating chapter XVII. of Revelation.

Such warfare did the great Catholic Church wage with all to whom it came for twelve hundred and sixty years, until it overcame them; so that it could in a sense be said just before the outbreak of the Reformation that it had gotten dominion over all kindreds and tongues and nations; and that all who dwelt upon the earth, that is, in the now enlarged Roman world, worshipped or succumbed to it, all whose names were not written in the Book of Life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world: see verse 8. It is a comforting thought that in this universal dominion of spiritual despotism, superstition, and prostration there were a few who remained as witnesses for the truth, who amid persecutions, tribulations, affliction and death gave their testimony for the truth against error, superstition, and idolatry: always a few whose names were written in the Lamb's Book of Life. "My Father that gave them Me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand. "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will show them his covenant." The blood of all those who were slain in the countries of Europe and western Asia on account of their witness for the truth, or against the errors of the Catholic system, during the long reign of this Catholic Empire, attests the infallible truth of the prophecy which we are considering. If it was written in letters of ink it was recorded fulfilled by this all-prevailing Power in letters of blood.

Verse 9: "If any man have an ear, let him hear." The idea to be conveyed here is that what was said concerning this beast is especially worthy of our attention; but the proposition being in a conditional mood, and the ear symbolising the understanding, indicates that all would not be able to understand aright concerning it. Let men be ever so conversant with history, they will not understand true prophecy aright except they be imbued with the same spirit as originally suggested it to the mind of the prophet. Verse 10: "He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity; he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword. Here is the

patience and the faith of the saints." Literally: He that leadeth into captivity goeth into captivity; but, doubtless, this is a present tense with future meaning. No power that we know to have ever existed on the earth made so many captives as the Pagan and Christian Roman power. No power ever wielded more universal and effectual dominion over the bodies and minds of men than the latter power did. Captivity of reason and of conscience is the most debasing kind of servitude; and this is the very kind of captivity which this Catholic system effected during the long period of its ascendency, and which it affects to-day where its power and influence prevail. But the idea of strict and retributive justice is here contained, and it is meant that this captivating power should be taken captive as a recompense for its crimes, which was gradually and constantly fulfilled in the case of the Roman Empire whose seat was at Constantinople, which lost its provinces one after another, and on all sides, so that at the time of the capture of the city by the Turks in 1453, the city was all that remained in the jurisdiction of the Emperor. And we see it also gradually and eminently fulfilled in the decline of those powers which constituted and supported the bishop of Rome as a temporal prince. Austria, a Papal German Empire, becomes humbled gradually and loses her power and prestige among the nations. And France, which has always been a supporter of the bishops of Rome, is conquered successively, and has her noblest sons brought into captivity by the Anglo-Saxon and German powers, and is deprived of her territories, both colonial and national. The Pope also lost his temporal power as an indirect result of the late war between Germany and France; the influence of the Papacy is gradually diminishing, so that to-day there is not one country in Europe or in the world, which can be said, as it was said all were formerly, to be governed civilly and religiously by the influence of the Papacy.

As the Jewish religion has continued in the world, but in a declining way, since the introduction of Christianity, even so, doubtless, the influence of the Papacy will continue yet long in the world; but such an influence, being deprived of secular force, as can produce no effect if men will not voluntarily yield themselves to it; an influence gradually diminishing until it have become almost insensible among mankind and a new and better state have arisen in its place. The Greek branch of the Catholic Church, with its mediæval icon-worship, has to a large extent been supplanted long ago by Mahometanism. It still remains the established church of Russia, supported by the will and power of the emperor its head; and thus it will be likely to remain so long as the present system of government remain in Russia, and until some much needed change take place there which will cause many doctrines

and practices, to be set aside and discarded, to make place for another, a simpler, purer, and better religion. It should be a subject of desire, and of prayer by all true Christians that God would raise up a good man as Emperor of Russia, who, as the present Emperor in enfranchising the national serfs, may enfranchise Russia from that old and erroneous system of religion, and substitute and support a better, a truer religion in its stead. Many of the Emperors of Russia are commendable for the good sense they have displayed; and we hope that any of the Emperors into whose hands this book may come will give the attention to this subject which its importance deserves. "Here is the patience and the faith of the saints," that is, in all the evolutions and exercises of this beastly power the faith and patience of the true servants of God should be severely tried; tried even to persecution, deprivation, exile, and death. Faith and patience are the distinguishing characteristics of the saints in every age and country; and nowhere and in no age have their patience and faith been put to severer tests than in the Roman Empire during the long period of its Church and State domination.

Few remarkable changes were made in the constitution of the Court or Government established at Constantinople, from the days of Constantine the First to the capture of the city by the Turks. For over a thousand years, from Vespasian to Alexius Comnenus, the Cæsar was the second person, or at least the second degree, after the supreme title of Augustus, was more freely communicated to the sons of the reigning monarch. The Emperor Alexius now interposed, (about A. D., 1100) a new and supereminent dignity. This title was compounded of the names Augustus and Emperor, forming in the Greek the high-sounding title of Sebastocrator. He was exalted above the Cæsar upon the first step of the throne; the public acclamations repeated his name; and he was distinguished from the Emperor only by some peculiar ornaments of the head and feet. The Emperor alone could assume the purple buskins, and the close diadem or tiara which imitated the fashion of the Persian Kings. It was a high pyramidal cap of cloth or silk, almost concealed by a profusion of pearls and jewels; the crown was formed by a horizontal circle, and two arches of gold; at the summit or point of their intersection, was placed a globe or cross, and two strings or lappets of pearl depended on either cheek. Instead of red, the buskins of the Sebastocrator and Cæsar were green; and on their open coronets, or crowns, the precious gems were more sparingly distributed. Beside, and below the Cæsar, Alexius created the titles of Panhypersebastos, and the Protosebastos, titles which imply a priority and superiority above the simple name of Augustus; and this sacred and primitive

title of the Roman princes was degraded to the kinsmen and servants of the Emperor of Constantinople. To their favorite sons and brothers, the Emperors imparted the more lofty appellation of Lord, or Despot, which was illustrated with new ornaments and prerogatives, and placed immediately after the person of the Emperor himself. The five titles of Despot, Sebastocrator, Cæsar, Panhypersebastos, and Protosebastos, were usually confined to the Emperor's own kinsmen,—in modern language, the princes of the blood. Some few changes were also gradually introduced into the grade of officers pertaining to the palace, the treasury, the fleet and army; and the branches of the civil administration; old titles, as in the case of Augustus, descending in the scale, and newly invented ones being placed above them.

But the most lofty titles, and the most humble postures which have been applied to the Supreme Being were prostituted by flattery or fear, or compulsion to the Emperors, creatures of the same nature as those by whom they were given. The mode of adoration, of falling prostrate and kissing the feet of the Emperor, which was first borrowed by Diocletian from the court of Persia, was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Roman Empire of the East. Excepting only on Sundays, when it was waived from a motive of religious pride, this humiliating reverence was exacted from all who entered the Emperor's presence, from the princes invested with the diadem and purple, and from the ambassadors who represented their independent sovereigns, the Caliphs of Asia, Egypt, or Spain, the Kings of France and Italy, and the Latin Emperors of ancient Rome, after these kingdoms and states had been organized from the dismembered provinces of the Empire. It appears, however, that ambassadors occasionally refused to perform the required homage. In his transactions of business, Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, had the audacity to assert the free spirit of a Frank, and the dignity of his master Otho, the newly-created Emperor of the West, about A. D., 1000. Yet his sincerity cannot disguise the abasement of his first audience. When he approached the throne the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of two golden lions. With his two companions the ambassador was compelled to bow and to fall prostrate, and thrice to touch the ground with his forehead. He arose, but in the short interval the throne had been hoisted from the floor to the ceiling, the figure of the Emperor appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence. The bishop of Cremona, in his narrative, represents the ceremonies of the court of Constantinople. In the morning and evening of each day,

the civil and military officers attended their duty in the palace; their labors were repaid by the sight, perhaps by the smile, of their lord; his commands were signified by a nod or a sign; but all earthly greatness stood silent and submissive in his presence. In his regular or extraordinary processions through the capital, he unveiled his person to the public view; the rites of policy were connected with those of religion, and his visits to the principal churches were regulated by the calendar of the Greek Church. On the eve of these processions, the gracious or devout intention of the monarch was proclaimed by the heralds. The streets were cleared and purified; the pavement was strewed with flowers; the most precious furniture, gold and silver plate, and silken hangings were displayed from the windows and balconies; and a severe discipline restrained and silenced the tumult of the populace. The march was commenced by the military officers at the head of their troops; they were followed in long order by the magistrates and ministers of the civil government; the person of the Emperor was guarded by his eunuchs and domestics; and at the church door he was solemnly received by the patriarch and his clergy. The applause did not proceed alone from the rude and spontaneous voice of the crowd. The most convenient stations were occupied by the bands of the blue and green factions of the circus; and their furious contests, which, in preceding ages had shaken the capital, were, in the later ages of the Empire, insensibly sunk to an emulation of servitude. From either side they echoed in responsive melody the praises of the Emperor; their poets and musicians directed the choir; and long life and victory were the burden of every song. The same acclamations were performed at the hall of audience, the banquet and the church; and as an evidence of boundless sway, they were repeated in the Latin, Gothic, Persian, French, and even English languages by the mercenaries who sustained the real or fictitious characters of these nations.

In the palace the Emperor was the first slave of the ceremonies which he imposed; the rigid forms which regulated every word and gesture continually besieged him in the palace and in his rural solitude. But the lives and fortunes of millions depended on his arbitrary will; and the firmest minds, superior to the allurements of pleasure and luxury, may be allured by the active pleasures of commanding their equals. The legislative, ecclesiastical, and executive powers were centered in the person of the monarch, and the last vestiges of the authority of the senate had been finally eradicated by the Emperor Leo, surnamed the Philosopher, in the latter part of the ninth century.

In the church of St. Sophia, the Emperor was solemnly crowned

by the Patriarch; at the foot of the altar the representatives of the people pledged their passive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. On his side he engaged to abstain as much as possible from the capital punishments of death and mutilation; he subscribed with his own hand his Orthodox creed; and he promised to obey the decrees of the general Councils and the canons of the holy Catholic Church. But his assurance of mercy was vague and indefinite: he swore, not to his people, but to an invisible judge; and, except in the inexpiable guilt of heresy, the ministers of the Church were always prepared to preach the indefeasible right, and to absolve the transgressions of their sovereign. The ecclesiastics of the Greek Church were themselves the subjects of the civil magistrate; at the nod of a tyrant the bishops were created, or transferred, or deposed, or punished with mutilation or with an ignominious death. Whatever might be their wealth and influence they could never succeed, perhaps owing to their immediate proximity to their master, in the establishing of an independent republic as the Latin clergy; and the Patriarch of Constantinople condemned what he may have secretly envied, the temporal greatness of his Roman brother. In the lapse of centuries a lethargy of servitude had stultified the minds, and superstition had rivetted the chains of the Eastern Romans. In the wildest tumults of rebellion they never aspired to the idea of a free state; and the private character of the prince appears to have been the only source and measure of their public happiness.

The reigns of many of the Roman Emperors of Constantinople are remarkably distinguished by ferocious cruelty and the most diabolical crimes. We have already given some idea of the character and actions of Constantine the First, and his immediate successors. Our space prevents us from giving even the shortest accounts which might be given of the character and reign of each successive Emperor who reigned at Constantinople for eleven centuries from the death of Constantius, the last of the sons of Constantine the First, in 361, A.D., to the complete subversion of the Empire by the Turks, in 1453 in the reign of Constantine the Twelfth. In this long period there reigned a great many successive Emperors, about ninety in all, as the lives of many of them were cut short by the hand of violence and by various causes. But we think it requisite to give a few examples out of many, which might be adduced, which may help to display their character.

Theodosius, under whose reign and auspices the Council of Constantinople was convened, A.D., 381, in which Council it was decreed that the Holy Spirit is equal with the Father and the Son, thus, as Mosheim expresses it, giving the "finishing touch" to the Trinity, caused,

according to the most moderate accounts, seven, but according to other respectable authorities, fifteen thousand people to be butchered at Thessalonica, because his lieutenant and one or two of the officers of his staff had been killed by the rabble of that city. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited in the name of the Emperor to the games of the circus; and such was their desire for those amusements that every consideration of fear or suspicion was disregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiers, mostly barbarians, who had secretly been posted round the circus, received the signal, not for the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, innocence or guilt. A foreign merchant, who had himself no concern in the murder of the officers, offered his own life and all his wealth to supply the place of one of his two sons; but while the father hesitated with equal tenderness which he should choose, while he was unwilling to condemn either, the soldiers determined his suspense by plunging their daggers at the same moment into the breasts of the helpless youths. The apology of the executioners, that they were obliged to produce the prescribed number of heads, serves only to increase by an appearance of design and order the horrors of this massacre. The diabolical crime of the Emperor was aggravated by his long previous residence at Thessalonica; (he now resided at Milan, whence he transmitted his murderous orders.) The situation of the unfortunate city, the dress and faces of its inhabitants were familiar, and ever present to his imagination afterwards.

The emperor Phocas, A. D., 602, who had been formerly a centurion, on coming to the throne which he usurped, put to death the Emperor Maurice, his wife, five sons and three daughters. On the approach of Phocas with a large army to the city, Maurice, with his wife and family, escaped in a bark to the Asiatic shore, to Chalcedon. Thither the ministers of death were despatched by Phocas: they dragged the aged Maurice from his sanctuary; and his five sons were successively murdered before the eyes of their agonized parent. At each stroke which he felt in his heart, he found strength to repeat a pious ejaculation: "Thou are just, O Lord, and thy judgments are righteous;" thereby, it might appear, showing the miserable state of abject and servile superstition in which his mind was. In his last moments, such was the rigid attachment to truth of this man, that he exposed to the soldiers the pious falsehood of a nurse who presented her own child instead of a royal infant. The tragic scene thus far was closed by the execution of the Emperor himself. The bodies of him and his five sons were cast into the sea;

their heads were exposed at Constantinople to the insults or pity of the multitude ; and it was not till signs of putrefaction had appeared that Phocas connived at the interment of these remains.

The discovery or the suspicion by Phocas of a conspiracy which was entered into against his life by the instrumentality of the wife of Maurice, caused him to put her and her three daughters also to death. A matron who, for her virtue, commanded the respect and compassion of mankind, the daughter, wife, and mother of Emperors, was tortured like the vilest malefactor to extort a confession of her design and associates ; and she, with her three daughters, was beheaded at Chalcedon on the same ground which had been stained with the blood of her husband and five sons. After such examples, it appears superfluous to enumerate the meaner victims of the rage and fury of Phocas. Their condemnation was seldom preceded by the forms of trial, and their punishment was embittered by the refinements of cruelty ; their eyes were pierced, their tongues were torn from the roots ; their hands and feet were cut off ; some expired under the lash, others in the flames ; others again were transfixed with arrows ; and a simple, speedy death was a mercy they were rarely favored with. The hippodrome, the scene of the pleasures and liberties of the Romans, was polluted with heads, and limbs, and mangled bodies ; and even the companions of Phocas appeared sensible that they could not depend upon his favor or their services to protect them from his tyranny. He himself, finally, after suffering a variety of insult and torture, had his head severed from his body after a reign of ten years, by Heraclius, who came to the throne in much the same manner as he did.

The violence and danger which attended the reigns of the Eastern Roman Emperors may be noticed from the fact that in the space of six centuries, which intervened between the Emperors Heraclius, and the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, there reigned at least sixty Emperors, which would leave an average proportion of only ten years for the reign of each Emperor. This is far below the average length of the reign of monarchs, according to the chronological rule of Sir Isaac Newton, who from the experience of more recent and regular monarchies has defined about eighteen or twenty years as the term of an ordinary reign.

The practice of mutilation as a penalty for crime was very frequent in the Eastern Roman Empire ; the cutting out of the tongue, the pulling out of the teeth, the cutting off of the nose, of the feet, and hands ; the pricking and putting out of the eyes ; and tortures and pains of an astonishing variety were inflicted upon human beings. The whole history of this Empire and of the Emperors

presents generally such a uniformly horrible scene as to thoroughly disgust the reader and to send a thrill of horror through his whole being.

Constantine IV, 668–685, had bestowed on his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, the title of Augustus, but with no substantial power. At their secret instigation, the troops of the province of Anatolia approached the city on the Asiatic side, demanded for the royal brothers the partition or exercise of sovereignty, and supported their seditious claims by a theological argument. They were Christians, they said, and Orthodox Catholics, the sincere votaries of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Since there are three equal persons in heaven it is reasonable there should be three equal persons on earth. The Emperor invited these divines to a friendly conference, in which they might propose their arguments to the senate; they accepted the invitation, but the prospect of their bodies hanging on a gibbet, in the suburb of Galata, reconciled their companions to the unity of the reign of Constantine. He pardoned his brothers and their names were still pronounced in the public acclamations: but on the repetition or suspicion of a similar offence, these princes were deprived of their titles and noses in the presence of the Catholic bishops who were assembled at Constantinople in the sixth general council.

On the death of Constantine IV, the Empire devolved to Justinian the Second. His passions were strong, his understanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a foolish pride that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the smallest community would not have chosen him for their local magistrate. His favorite ministers were two beings belonging to two classes of men the least susceptible of human sympathy, a eunuch and a monk; to the one he gave the charge of the palace, to the other the finances: the former corrected the Emperor's mother with a scourge; the other suspended the insolvent tributaries with their heads downwards over a slow and smoky fire. Justinian enjoyed the sufferings and braved the revenge of his subjects for about ten years, till the measure of his crimes, and of their patience, was full. A successful revolution by Leontius deprived him of his nose, and banished him to Crim Tartary, now called the Crimea. He continued ten years in exile, and was again restored to his throne by the assistance of a Scythian king. In the mean time Leontius had been in his turn dethroned, and mutilated, and imprisoned by a usurper who called himself Tiberius. Justinian, on taking possession of the city, had these two usurpers dragged into the hippodrome, the one from his palace, the other from his prison. Before their execution, Leontius and Tiberius

were cast in chains before the throne of the Emperor; and Justinian planting a foot on each of their necks, contemplated about one hour the chariot race, while the fickle people shouted in the words of the Psalmist: "Thou shalt trample on the asp and the basilisk, and on the lion and the dragon shalt thou set thy foot!" His pleasures were inexhaustible in the infliction of tortures; neither private virtue nor public service could expiate the guilt of active or even passive obedience to a government established in his absence; and during the six years of his new reign he considered the axe, the cord and the rack as the only instruments of royalty. But his most implacable hatred was directed against the Chersonites, (the inhabitants of Crim Tartary,) who he believed had insulted him in his exile, and violated the laws of hospitality. He imposed a grievous tax on Constantinople in order to supply the preparation of a fleet and army to invade that distant country. "All are guilty, and all must perish," was the mandate of the cruel Justinian, and he entrusted the execution of his bloody project to his favorite, Stephen, who was known by the epithet of the "Savage." Yet even the savage Stephen imperfectly accomplished the intentions of his sovereign. By the time he was ready to attack, the greatest part of the inhabitants had withdrawn into the country, and the minister of vengeance contented himself with reducing the youth of both sexes to slavery, with roasting alive seven of the principal citizens, with drowning twenty in the sea, and reserving forty-two in chains to receive their doom from the mouth of the Emperor. On their return the fleet was wrecked upon the rocky shores of Anatolia, and Justinian applauded the obedience of the Euxine, which had involved in its watery bed so many thousands of his subjects and enemies; but the tyrant was still insatiate for blood; and despatched a second expedition to exterminate the remains of the proscribed colony. In the short interval the Chersonites had returned to their city. The imperial troops, unwilling and unable to execute the revenge of Justinian, escaped his displeasure by abjuring his allegiance; they invested Bardanes, under the name of Philippicus, with the purple; and, under the newly-created Emperor, steered back to the harbors of Sinope and Constantinople. On their arrival every tongue was ready to pronounce, and every hand to execute, the death of the tyrant. Destitute of friends and deserted by his guards, the stroke of an assassin ended his life. His son, Tiberius, had taken refuge in a church, his aged grandmother guarded the door; and the innocent youth, suspending round his neck the most formidable relics, embraced with one hand the altar, with the other the wood of the true cross. But the popular fury, deaf to his cries, and trampling on his

superstition, put an end to his life. And thus was extinguished the race of Heraclius, after a reign of one hundred years.

The new Emperor was after a very short reign, seized in his palace, bound, blinded, and deposed; another, Anastasius the Second, was elevated in his place, who also was soon deposed; and another Theodosius the Third, also, both of whom submitted to Leo, and were permitted to embrace the ecclesiastical profession. The restless Anastasius risked and lost his life in treasonable enterprise; but Theodosius died a natural death. The simple word HEALTH, which he inscribed on his tomb, attests his confidence of philosophy or religion; and the fame of his miracles was long preserved among the people of Ephesus. The ecclesiastical profession was sought and obtained by unsuccessful usurpers and deposed Emperors: but its acceptance could be considered as only a descent in the scale of honor, for the reigning Emperor was always the supreme head of the Catholic Church, and the high priest of the nation.

The reign of Constantine V., 741–775, of thirty-four years, is said to have been a long butchery of whatever was holy or innocent or noble in the Empire. He assisted in person at the execution of his victims, viewed their agonies, listened to their groans, and indulged without satiating his appetite for blood. A plate of noses was acceptable to him as a grateful offering, and his domestics were often scourged or mutilated by his own royal hand; his lust confounded the eternal distinction of sex and species, and he seemed to extract some unnatural delight from the objects most offensive to human sense. Although the annals of those times are considerably obscure, owing to the vices which so generally prevailed as almost to extinguish the light of history, yet the numbers of the bishops and monks, the generals and magistrates who are said to have suffered under his reign, are recorded; the names were conspicuous, the executions were public, the mutilation visible and permanent.

But with all his inexpressible vices, Constantine V. is represented as possessed of some merit. He appeared on horseback in the field at the head of the legions; and although the fortune of his arms was various, he triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and barbarian war; and he peopled some of the Thracian territories with new colonies.

Leo IV., 775–780, the son of the Fifth, and the father of the Sixth Constantine, was desirous to associate with himself his infant son. The royal infant, at the age of five years, was crowned, with his mother Irene, and the national consent was ratified by every circumstance of pomp and solemnity that could dazzle the eyes or blind the conscience of the people. An oath of fidelity was administered

in the palace, the church, and the hippodrome to the several orders of the state, who adjured the holy names of the Son and Mother of God: "Be witness, O Christ, that we will watch over Constantine, the son of Leo; expose our lives in his service, and bear true allegiance to his person and prosperity." They pledged their faith on the wood of the true cross, and the act of their agreement was deposited on the altar of St. Sophia. The first to swear, and the first to violate their oaths were the five sons of Constantine the Fifth by a second marriage; and the story of these princes is singular and tragic. The right of primogéniture excluded them from the throne; their elder brother had unjustly defrauded them out of a legacy of about ten millions of dollars; they did not deem some vain titles a sufficient compensation for their wealth and for power: and they repeatedly conspired against their nephew before and after the death of his father.

Their first attempt was passed over; for the second offense they were condemned to the ecclesiastical state: and for the third, Nicephorus, the eldest, was deprived of his eyes, and his four brothers were punished, as a milder sentence, by the amputation of their tongues. After five years confinement they escaped to the church of St. Sophia, and displayed a pathetic spectacle to the people. "Countrymen and Christians," cried Nicephorus, for himself and his tongueless brethren, "behold the sons of your Emperor, if you can still recognize our features in this miserable state. A life, an imperfect life, is all that the malice of our enemies has spared. It is now threatened; and we now throw ourselves on your compassion." The presence of a minister checked the rising murmur of the people. The princes were taken to the palace, and embarked for Athens, where they were finally plunged in darkness and oblivion. The young Emperor himself was afterwards blinded by the cruel ambition of his mother Irene. Her emissaries assaulted the sleeping prince, and stabbed their daggers with such precipitation and violence into his eyes as if they meant to execute a mortal sentence. Yet the blind son of Irene survived many years, oppressed by the court and forgotten by the world.

To the bloody deed of Irene superstition has attributed a subsequent darkness of seventeen days, during which many vessels in midday were driven from their course, as if the sun, a fiery globe, so vast and so remote, had sympathized with a few atoms of this revolving planet. But the Roman world for five years after bowed to the government of Irene; and as she moved through the streets of Constantinople the reins of her four milk white steeds were held by as many patricians, who marched on foot before the golden chariot of

their Empress. But these patricians were, for the most part, eunuchs; and their base ingratitude justified for them on this occasion the popular hatred and contempt. Raised, enriched, and entrusted with the first dignities of the Empire, they perfidiously conspired against their benefactress; the great treasurer, Nicephorus, was invested with the purple, introduced as her successor into the palace, and crowned at St. Sophia by the venal Patriarch. He banished Irene to the Isle of Lesbos, where she is said to have earned a scanty subsistence by her labors with the distaff. Irene was one of those sovereigns of Constantinople who sustained and favored the worship of the images.

The character of Nicephorus was stained with three odious vices, hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice; his want of virtue was not redeemed by any superior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleasing qualifications. Unskilful and unfortunate in war, he was slain by the Bulgarians; and the advantage of his death overbalanced in the public opinion the destruction of a Roman army.

The famous and unfortunate Bardanes, who was a rebel in the time of Nicephorus, had once consulted an Asiatic prophet, who, after prognosticating his fall, announced the fortunes of his three principal officers, Leo, the Armenian, Michael, the Phrygian, and Thomas, the Cappadocian—the successive reigns of the two former, the fruitless and fatal enterprise of the third. The prediction was verified or produced by the event. Ten years after the crown was offered to the same Leo in the Thracian camp, he being the first in military rank, and the secret author of the mutiny. As he hesitated accepting it, "With this sword," said his companion, Michael, "I will open the gates of Constantinople to your imperial sway, or instantly plunge it into your bosom, if you obstinately resist the just desires of your fellow-soldiers." The compliance of the Armenian was rewarded with the Empire, and he reigned seven and a half years under the name of Leo. V., 813–820. Educated in the camp, and ignorant both of laws and letters he introduced into his civil government the rigor and cruelty of military discipline; but if his severity was sometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. His religious inconstancy gained for him the epithet of Cameleon, but some Catholic writers have acknowledged that the life of Leo, the Iconoclast (image-breaker) was useful to the State. The zeal of his companion, Michael, he repaid with riches, honors, and military command; and his subordinate talents were beneficially employed in the public service. Yet the Phrygian was dissatisfied with receiving as a favor only a scanty portion of the prize which he had bestowed on his equal; and his discontent,

which sometimes evaporated in hasty words, at length assumed a more threatening and hostile aspect against a prince whom he represented as a cruel tyrant. The tyrant, however, repeatedly detected, admonished, and dismissed the old companion of his arms, till fear and resentment prevailed over gratitude; and Michael, after a scrutiny into his actions and designs, was convicted of treason and sentenced to be burned alive in the furnace of the private baths. The devotion of the Empress Theophano was fatal to her husband and family. The twenty-fifth of December had been fixed for the execution; she urged that the anniversary of the Saviour's birth would be profaned by this inhuman spectacle, and Leo reluctantly consented to a respite. But on the vigil of the feast his sleepless anxiety prompted him at the dead of night to visit the chamber in which his enemy was confined; he perceived him released from his chain and stretched on his jailor's bed in a profound slumber. Leo was alarmed at these signs of security and intelligence; but though he retired with silent steps, his entrance and exit were noticed by a slave who lay concealed in a corner of the prison. Under the pretence of requesting the aid of a spiritual confessor, Michael informed the conspirators that their lives depended on his discretion, and that a few hours were left to secure their own safety, and the deliverance of their friend and country. On the great festivals a chosen band of priests and chanters were accustomed to be admitted into the palace by a private gate to sing matins in the chapel: and Leo, who, as high priest, regulated with the same strictness the discipline of the choir and of the camp, was seldom absent from these early devotions. In the ecclesiastical habit, but with swords under their robes, the conspirators mingled with the profession, lurked in the angles of the chapel, and awaited, as the signal of their onslaught, the intonation of the first Psalm by the Emperor himself. The imperfect light and the uniformity of dress might possibly have favored his escape while they directed their assault against a harmless priest; but they soon discovered their mistake and encompassed upon all sides their royal victim. Without a weapon and without a friend, he grasped a weighty cross and stood at bay against the hunters for his life; but as he asked for mercy, "This is the hour, not of mercy, but of vengeance," was the inexorable reply. The stroke of a sword separated from his body the right arm with the cross, and Leo was slain at the foot of the altar.

A memorable reverse of fortune was exhibited in Michael the Second, who, from a defect in his speech, was surnamed the Stammerer. He was snatched from the furnace of fire to the sovereignty of the Empire; and, as at that early hour, and in the tumult a

smith could not readily be found, the fetters remained on his legs several hours after he was seated on the Imperial throne. The blood which had been the price of his elevation was unprofitably spent. On the throne he retained the ignoble vices of his origin, and Michael lost his provinces with as supine an indifference as if they had been the inheritance of his fathers. His title was disputed by Thomas, the last of the military triumvirate, who transported into Europe eighty thousand barbarians from the banks of the Tigris and the shores of the Caspian. He undertook the siege of Constantinople, but the city was defended by spiritual and carnal weapons. A Bulgarian king was induced to assault the camp of the Asiastics, and Thomas had the weakness, or the misfortune, to fall alive into the hands of the conquerors. His hands and feet were amputated; he was placed on an ass, and, amid the insults of the populace, was led through the streets of the capital, which he sprinkled with his blood. The depravity of manners, as savage as they were corrupt, is marked by the presence of the Emperor himself at this inhuman spectacle and procession. Deaf to the doleful lamentations of his suffering fellow-soldier, he incessantly pressed the discovery of more accomplices, till his curiosity was checked by the inquiry of an honest or guilty minister: "Would you give credit to an enemy against the most faithful of your friends?"

The character of Theophilus, the son and successor of Michael, was distinguished by the abuse of his arbitrary power. His justice was fashioned on the model of the Oriental despots, who, in personal and irregular acts of authority, consult the reason or passion of the moment, without measuring the sentence by the law, or the penalty by the offence. A poor woman threw herself at his feet to complain of a powerful neighbor, the brother of the Empress, who had raised his palace wall to such an inconvenient height as to exclude her humble dwelling from light and air. On the fact being proved, instead of granting, like any ordinary judge, sufficient for damages to the plaintiff, the Emperor adjudged to her use the palace and the ground. Nor was Theophilus content with giving this extraordinary satisfaction; in his zeal he converted a civil trespass into a criminal act, and the unfortunate patrician was whipped and scourged in the public place of Constantinople. For some slight offences, some defects of equity or vigilance, the principal ministers, a prefect, a quæstor, a captain of the guards, were banished or mutilated, or scalded with boiling pitch, or burned alive in the hippodrome. This extraordinary rigor may be thought to have been justified in some measure by the consequences; since, after a scrutiny of seventeen days, not a complaint or abuse could be found in the court or city,

intelligence which gratified the pride of the monarch; and it might be alleged that the people could be ruled only with a rod of iron, and that the public interest is the motive and law of the supreme judge. Yet, in the crime, or the suspicion of treason, that judge is, of all others, likely to be the most credulous and partial.

A Persian prince died at Constantinople, leaving an only son. At the age of twelve years, the royal birth of Theophobus was revealed, and he appeared not unworthy of his birth. He was educated in the Byzantine palace, advanced with rapid steps in the career of fortune and glory, received in marriage the Emperor's sister, and was promoted to the command of thirty thousand Persians, who, like his father, had fled from the Mahometan conquerors. These troops were desirous of deserting from the Emperor, and erecting the standard of their native king, but Theophobus rejected their offers, disconcerted their schemes, and escaped from them to the camp or palace of his brother-in-law. By a generous confidence, if not a sense of gratitude, Theophilus might have secured a faithful and able guardian for his wife and infant son, to whom, in the flower of his age, he was about to leave the inheritance of the Empire. But his jealousy was exasperated by envy and disease; he suspected and feared the virtues which might either supplant or oppress their weakness; and the dying Emperor demanded the head of the Persian prince. With savage delight, he gazed upon the familiar features of his brother-in-law and benefactor. "Thou art no longer Theophobus," he said, and sinking on his couch he added, with a faltering voice: "Soon, too soon, I shall be no more Theophilus." His last choice entrusted his wife Theodora with the guardianship of the Empire, and his son Michael, who was left an orphan in the fifth year of his age.

The restoration of image-worship, and final extirpation of the Iconoclasts, has endeared the name of Theodora to the Greek Church. After thirteen years of a frugal administration, 829–842, she perceived her influence declining; but the second Irene appears to have imitated only the virtues of her predecessor. Instead of conspiring against the life or government of her son, she retired from the throne without a struggle, though not without a murmur, to the solitude of private life, deploring the ingratitude, the vices, and the inevitable ruin of the worthless youth.

Among the successors of Nero and Elagabalus, Pagan Emperors, we have not yet, in the course of our illustrations of the characters of the Christian Emperors, found the imitation of their vices, the character of a Roman prince who considered pleasure as the object of life, and virtue as the enemy of pleasure. Whatever maternal

care Theodora might have bestowed upon the youthful education of Michael the Third, her unfortunate son considered himself an Emperor before he was a man. If the ambitious mother labored to check the progress of his reason, she could not restrain the outbreaks of his passion; and her selfish policy was amply recompensed by the contempt and ingratitude of the headstrong youth. At the age of eighteen, he rejected the authority of his mother, without feeling his own incapacity to govern the Empire himself. With Theodora, all gravity and prudence retired from the court. Their places were supplied by the alternate dominion of vice and folly, and it was impossible, without forfeiting the public esteem, to acquire or preserve the Emperor's favor. The millions of gold and silver which had been accumulated for the service of the state he lavished on the vilest of men who flattered his passions and shared his pleasures; and in a reign of thirteen years the richest of sovereigns was compelled to strip the churches and the palace of their precious furniture. Like Nero, he delighted in the amusements of the theatre, and sighed when surpassed in the accomplishments in which he should have been ashamed to excel.

Yet the studies of Nero in music and painting indicated some symptoms of a liberal taste; the more ignoble arts of Michael the Third were confined to the chariot-race of the hippodrome. The four factions, distinguished by their colors, which had long agitated the peace, still amused the idleness of the capital. For himself, the Emperor assumed the blue livery. The three rival colors were distributed to his favorites; and in the vile, though eager emulation, he forgot the dignity of his office and the safety of his dominions. He silenced the messenger who presumed to divert his attention by announcing to him an invasion in the most critical moment of the race; and by his command the importunate beacons were extinguished which too frequently spread the alarm from Tarsus to Constantinople. The most skilful characters in the performances of the circus obtained the first place in his confidence and esteem. Their merit he profusely rewarded. He feasted in their houses and presented their children at the baptismal font; and while he applauded his own popularity he affected to blame the cold and stately reserve of his predecessors. The strength of Michael was consumed by unnatural lusts, love and intemperance. In his midnight revels when his passions were inflamed by wine, he was provoked to issue the most sanguinary commands: and if any feelings of humanity were left, he was induced with the return of sense to approve the salutary disobedience of his servants. But a remarkable feature in the character of Michael is his profane mockery of the religion of his

country. The religion of the Eastern Romans might indeed excite the contemptuous smile of a philosopher; but his smile would have been rational and temperate; and he would have condemned the ignorance and folly of a youth who insulted the objects of public veneration, even though they were ridiculous. A buffoon of the court was invested in the robes of the Patriarch: his twelve metropolitans, among whom the Emperor ranked himself, assumed their ecclesiastical paraphernalia; they used or abused the sacred vessels of the altar; and in their bacchanalian feast the communion was administered in a nauseous compound of vinegar and mustard. Nor were these impious spectacles attempted to be concealed from the view of the citizens. On the day of a solemn festival the Emperor, with his bishops, or buffoons, rode on asses through the streets, encountered the real Patriarch at the head of his clergy; and by their licentious shouts and obscene gestures disordered the gravity of the Christian procession. The devotion of Michael appeared only in some offence to reason or piety; he received his theatrical crowns from the statue of the Virgin: and he violated an imperial tomb for the sake of burning the bones of Constantine the Iconoclast. By such extravagant conduct the Emperor became as contemptible as he was odious; every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even his favorites were continually apprehensive that a caprice might snatch away what a caprice had bestowed. In the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the hour of drunkenness and sleep, Michael the Third was murdered in his chamber by Basil the Macedonian, the founder of a new dynasty, whom the Emperor had raised to an equality of rank and power.

Among the warriors who promoted the elevation of Nicephorus, the seventh successor of Basil the Macedonian, and served under his standard, was an Armenian, named John Zimisces. The stature of Zimisces was below the ordinary standard; but though diminutive in size he was distinguished by strength and beauty as well as by great courage and success in war. By the jealousy of the Emperor's brother he was degraded from the office of general of the East to that of director of the posts, and murmuring, he was chastised with degradation and exile. But Zimisces was numbered among the many lovers of the Empress Theophano, the wife of Nicephorus. On her intercession he was permitted to reside at Chalcedon in the vicinity of the capital. Her generosity was repaid in his clandestine and amorous visits to the palace: and upon their consultation, Theophano consented with alacrity to the death of her unlovely and penurious husband. Some bold and trusty conspirators were concealed in her private apartments; in the darkness of a winter's night Zimisces,

with his principal companions, embarked in a small boat, crossed the Bosphorus, landed at the palace stairs, and silently ascended a ladder of ropes which was cast down by the female attendants. Neither his own suspicions, nor the warnings of his friends, nor the fortress which he had erected in the palace could protect Nicephorus from a domestic foe, his wife, at whose command every door was thrown open to the assassins. As he slept on a bear-skin on the floor he was roused by their noisy intrusion, and thirty daggers glittered before his eyes. The murder was protracted by insult and cruelty. Zimisces, after ordering the wounded Emperor to be dragged to his feet, and heaping insults upon him, to which the suffering man only replied by invoking the name of the "Mother of God," with his own hand plucked his beard, while his accomplices beat out his teeth with the hilts of their swords; and then trampling him on the floor he drove his sword into his skull. As soon as the head of Nicephorus was shown from the window, the people consented, and Zimisces was declared Emperor, 969–976. On the day of his coronation he was confronted by the Patriarch on the threshold of St. Sophia, who charged his conscience with the deed of treason and blood, and required as a sign of his repentance that he would separate himself from his more criminal associate. This sally of apostolic zeal was nowise offensive to the new Emperor, since he could neither love nor trust a woman who had repeatedly violated the most sacred obligations; and Theophano, instead of sharing the imperial fortune, was dismissed with ignominy from his bed and palace. In their last interview she displayed a frantic and impotent rage; accused the ingratitude of her lover; assaulted with words and cuffs her son Basil, as he stood silent and submissive in the presence of a superior colleague: and avowed her own prostitution in proclaiming the illegality of his birth. She was exiled; her meaner accomplices were punished; and the guilt of Zimisces was forgotten in the splendor of the virtues which he displayed. In this age of darkness and degeneracy he frequently exhibited his valor in conquest upon the banks of the Tigris and the Danube, the ancient boundaries of the Roman world. In his last return from Syria he observed that the most fruitful lands of the new provinces were possessed by the eunuchs. "And is it for them," he exclaimed, with honest indignation, "that we have fought and conquered?" This complaint was re-echoed to the palace; and the death of Zimisces is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison administered by the eunuchs.

Andronicus, one of the royal princes, had to go into exile on account of his crimes, in order to keep out of the power of the reigning Emperor, Manuel. The death of the latter, and the minority of

the Emperor, his son, who was now only twelve or fourteen years old, opened the way for the return of Andronicus, 1180–1185. Before his return he had held communication with the authorities of the city, in which he affected the greatest loyalty to the young Emperor and the Empire. His correspondence with the Patriarch and the patricians was aptly seasoned with quotations from the Psalms of David and the Epistles of St. Paul, and he patiently waited till he was called to her deliverance by the voice of his country. His professions of loyalty and religion were taken for the language of his heart; and all opposition giving way before him, he was admitted to the city as the saviour of the Empire. It was his first care to occupy the palace, to salute the Emperor, to confine his mother, to punish her minister, and to restore the public order and tranquillity. He then visited the tomb of Manuel; the spectators were ordered to stand aloof; but as he bowed in the attitude of prayer, they heard, or thought they heard, the following murmur of triumph or revenge: "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me, a vagabond, to every climate of the earth. Thou art safely deposited under a seven-fold dome, from whence thou canst never rise till the signal of the last trumpet. It is now my turn, and speedily will I trample on thy ashes and thy posterity." From his subsequent tyranny we may impute such feelings to the man at the moment; but we will not affirm positively that on this occasion he gave an articulate sound to his secret thoughts. In the first months of his reign his designs were veiled by a specious resemblance of hypocrisy: the coronation of Alexius, the young son of Manuel, was performed with the usual solemnity; and his perfidious guardian, holding in his hands the symbols of the body and blood of Christ, most fervently declared that he lived, and was ready to die, for the service of his beloved pupil. But his numerous attendants were instructed to maintain that the sinking Empire must perish in the hands of a child; that the Romans could only be saved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, skilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and of mankind; and that it was the duty of every citizen to prevail upon Andronicus to undertake the burden of the public care. The young Emperor was himself persuaded to join his voice to the public acclamations, and to solicit the association of a colleague, who, on his elevation, instantly degraded him from the supreme rank, secluded his person, and verified the rash declaration of the Patriarch that Alexius might be considered as dead, as soon as he was committed to the custody of his guardian. But his death was preceded by the imprisonment and execution of his mother. After blackening her reputation and inflaming against her

the passions of the multitude, the tyrant accused and tried the Empress for a treasonable correspondence with the King of Hungary. His own son, a youth of honor and humanity, expressed his abhorrence of this flagitious act, and three of the judges had the merit of preferring their conscience to their safety; but the obsequious tribunal, without requiring any proof, or hearing any defence, condemned the Empress; and her unfortunate son was prevailed on to subscribe the sentence of her death. The Empress was strangled: her corpse was buried in the sea; and her memory was wounded by the insult, most offensive to female vanity, a false and ugly representation of her handsome form. The fate of her son was not long deferred; he was strangled with a bow-string; and the tyrant, insensible to pity or remorse, after surveying the dead body of the youthful Emperor, struck it rudely with his foot, and exclaimed: "Thy father was a knave, thy mother a whore, and thyself a fool!" The Roman sceptre, the reward of his crimes, was held by Andronicus, for about three years and a half, as the guardian or sovereign of the Empire. His government displayed a singular contrast of vice and virtue. When he gave way to his passions, he was the scourge, when he consulted his reason, the father of his people. But the ancient proverb, that bloodthirsty is the man that returns from banishment to power, and which we have seen to be verified in the case of Justinian II. in such a remarkable degree, was now again verified in the life of Andronicus. His memory was stored with a black list of the enemies and rivals that had traduced his merit, opposed his greatness, or insulted his misfortune, and, as Justinian, the only comfort of his exile was the sacred hope and promise of revenge. The necessary extinction of the young Emperor and his mother imposed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends who hated and might punish him, the assassin; and the repetition of murder rendered him less willing and less able to forgive. A horrid narrative of the victims whom he sacrificed by poison and the sword would be less expressive of his cruelty than the appellation of the "halcyon days," which was applied to a rare and bloodless week of repose. The tyrant strove to transfer on the laws and the judges some portion of his guilt; but the mask had fallen, and his subjects could no longer mistake the true author of their calamities. The noblest of the citizens, more especially those who, by descent or alliance, might dispute the inheritance of the throne, escaped from the monster's den. Nice or Prusa, Sicily or Cyprus, were their places of refuge; and as their flight was already criminal, they aggravated their offence, began open revolt, and assumed the imperial title. Yet Andronicus resisted the dangers and swords of his most formidable enemies. Nice and Pusar

he reduced and chastised; the Sicilians were contented with the pillage of Thessalonica; and the distance of Cyprus rendered it no more propitious to the rebels than to the tyrant. His throne was subverted by a rival without merit, and a people without arms. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the Great Alexius, was marked as a victim by the prudence or suspicion of the Emperor. In a moment of despair, Angelus defended his life and liberty; slew the executioner, and flew to the Church of St. Sophia. The sanctuary was insensibly filled with a curious and mournful crowd, who in his fate prognosticated their own. But their lamentations were soon turned to curses, and their curses to threats; they dared to ask: "Why do we fear? Why do we obey. We are many, and he is one; our patience is the only bond of our slavery." With the dawn of the day the city burst into a general sedition; the prisons were thrown open; the coldest and most servile were roused to a defense of their country, and Isaac, the second of his name, was raised from the tomb, or the sanctuary, to the throne. Unconscious of his danger the tyrant was absent, withdrawn from the toils of state, in company with his wife and mistress, in one of the beautiful islands of the Propontis. On the first alarm, he hastened to Constantinople, impatient for the blood of the guilty: but he was astonished by the silence of the palace and the tumult of the city, and his general desertion by mankind. Andronicus proclaimed a free pardon to his subjects; but they neither desired, nor would grant forgiveness; he offered to resign the crown to his son Manuel, but his son's virtues could not expiate his crimes. The sea was still open for his retreat, but the news of the revolution had flown along the coast. When fear had ceased, obedience was no more, the imperial galley was pursued and taken by an armed brigantine; and the tyrant was dragged to the presence of Isaac Angelus, loaded with fetters, and a long chain round his neck. His eloquence, and the tears of his female companions pleaded in vain for his life; but instead of the process of a legal execution, the new monarch abandoned him to the fury of the numerous sufferers whom he had deprived of a father, a husband, or a friend. His teeth and hair, an eye and a hand, were torn from him as a poor compensation for the loss, and a short respite was allowed him, that he might feel the bitterness of death. Astride on a camel he was carried through the city, and the basest of the populace delighted to heap insults on their fallen Emperor. After a thousand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet between two pillars that supported the statues of a wolf and a sow; and every hand that could reach the public enemy, inflicted on his body some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty till two furious or friendly

Italians plunged their swords into his body, and released him from all punishment. In this long and painful agony, "Lord have mercy upon me," and, "Why will you bruise a broken reed," were the words which he kept continually repeating.

Isaac Angelus was afterwards dethroned in consequence of his own vices and the ambition of his brother; and their discord introduced the Franks to the conquest of Constantinople, 1204.

Such are only a few examples out of many which might be adduced to illustrate the character of the Eastern Roman Emperors, and of that monarchy established at Constantinople. In the intervals of the Byzantine dynasties the succession is rapid and broken, and the name of a successful candidate is speedily erased by a more fortunate competitor. Many were the paths that led to the summit of royalty: the fabric which was raised by a rebellion was soon overthrown by the stroke of a conspiracy, or undermined by the silent arts of intrigue. The favorites of the soldiers or people, of the senate or clergy, of the women and eunuchs were alternately clothed with the purple. The means of their elevation was base, and their end was often contemptible or tragic, some of them being poisoned by their wives; and such crimes as we have been reviewing were practised till a late age of the Eastern Empire. And what must have been the amount of crime committed, and suffering inflicted in the way of mutilation, and whipping, and torture, and all sorts and species of cruelties and death throughout the Empire for a period of over eleven hundred years? for we may certainly believe that the example of the capital was followed, at least to some extent, in all the provinces by the governors and local magistrates! Truly such a contemplation sends a thrill of horror to our heart, and brings a tear of sympathy and commiseration to our eye! Who of us will now dare speak of the Pagan cruelties of Nero and Domitian, of Decius and Diocletian, while we have ourselves among us such monsters calling themselves Christian; monsters who surpassed in wickedness even most of the examples of Paganism with which we are acquainted, and who had been the supreme heads of the Catholic church, the high priests of the Empire, for twelve hundred years.

An Explanation of Revelation XIII. from the 11th verse to the end of the Chapter, Showing its Fulfillment in the Papacy, in its Connection, first, with the Roman Empire, as Established at Constantinople; and, Secondly, as a Monarchy in itself over the Exarchate, especially in connection with the idea of Supremacy over the Franco-German and the Anglo-Saxon-Norman Monarchies.

The 11th verse of the XIIIth chapter of Revelation begins rather a different prophecy than a different phase of the prophecy which we have just considered. There, beginning with the 1st verse of the chapter we have represented a symbolic prefiguration, called a wild beast (*θηριον*), having seven heads and ten horns, etc., coming up out of the sea (as in Daniel VII.) which I have shown to have symbolized the whole Christian Roman Empire, whose seat of government was at Constantinople. But here, beginning with verse 11th, we have a symbolic prefiguration called likewise a wild beast (*θηρίον*), coming up out of the earth, having two horns, like as a lamb, and speaking as dragon. I may say here that each verse of this whole chapter is a prophecy in itself, embracing ages; I will give of the original Greek a fair equivalent in English, wherever I have to quote or translate. Rev. XIII., 11: "And I beheld another wild being coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns, like as a lamb, and he spoke as a dragon." Now, as to the horns and expression of face we are to understand that this symbol had somewhat of the appearance of a lamb; but that in other respects he did not resemble a lamb; for, firstly, he is a wild beast; and, secondly, he speaks as a dragon. We are, therefore, to conclude him to have been of the nature of the lamb only in appearance: and that he is really and acts contrary to the nature of the lamb. The first sight of this creature might not lead us to suppose that he would act harmfully, as the lamb is not accustomed to act harmfully or to use his horns in such way; but, a consideration of his general appearance would bring us to the proper conclusion concerning him; for, not considering his horns and lamb-like face, his other parts would be exponental of his voice, which was that of a dragon. There is implied in the general symbol the idea of deception; which, representing the head of a religio-political government, stands for Antichrist, that is, Christ to some

extent, as to his appearance, but thinking and acting in a contrary way and manner to Christ.

The symbolic prefiguration arising out of the sea means the Christian Roman Empire beginning with Constantine coming up out of an unsettled state or affairs, the sea (the masses of the people); but this symbolic prefiguration comes up out of the earth (the church); and to this Principal of the church we find attached in the symbolization two remarkable appendages as horns. And now, as to how the whole of this arose, I have shown under my last head how that the city of Rome with its dependent territory was subjugated and ruled over by the Goths and Vandals, at different times, for four or five generations in succession, between 410 and 553 A. D.: How that it was reconquered in 553 A. D., by the Eastern Roman empire, and then retained in possession of that empire for 201 years, that is, in the main to 754, A. D.; during which last period it was governed by deputies of the emperor at Constantinople, who were called exarchs, and, as the emperor himself, united in their persons the civil, military and ecclesiastical branches of power. But in order to trace satisfactorily the chain of events by which this power passed from the exarchs and the eastern Roman empire to the popes I shall have to go back a little.

With the emperor Leo III. commenced the Isaurian dynasty at Constantinople in the early part of the eight century. In his reign commenced the controversy respecting the worship of images, the Roman Church contending for the practice and the Greek church against it. This dispute separated the Greek and Latin churches, and contributed to disengage Italy from all dependence upon the eastern empire. Until this empire had proscribed image worship the authority of the court of Constantinople had been acknowledged at Rome. Gregory II., now pope, remonstrated; but finding his efforts for the removal of the interdict ineffectual, he excited the people to vindicate what they considered the cause of religion. Rome and Ravenna revolted and throughout Italy large bodies arose in arms. The statues of the emperors were broken and at Ravenna the exarch and many of the iconoclasts, or image breakers, were massacred; and thus the eastern and western churches became ultimately divided in the year 741 A. D.

Liutprand, the king of the Lombards, availing himself of those disorders, took Ravenna and subjugated to himself the cities of the exarchate. The emperors at Constantinople again recovered those possessions from him and continued their persecution of image

worship, while the popes, not less zealously, continued to favor it. Astolphus of Lombardy, the successor of Liutprand, again subdued Ravenna and threatened Rome. Stephen III., then pope, went in person to the court of Pepin, who had before been crowned king of France by the bishop of Mentz, in order to ask his assistance to deliver Rome and the exarchate from the Lombards. This Pepin undertook and accomplished, wresting from Astolphus the exarchate, the government whereof he gave to the pope, thus constituting him a temporal sovereign; while the kings of France were henceforth understood as patricians of Rome. And, now, in speaking of France, I deem it expedient to go back a little and trace briefly the origin of the French nation and its polity.

The Franks were a German tribe, who, in the third century, made in ancient Gaul, some conquests from the Romans, and were governed by chiefs or kings of the family of Meroveus the son of Clodion. A grandson of Meroveus, named Clovis, was chief of a tribe called the Salian and the recognized founder of the French monarchy in Gaul. It was he who defeated at Soissons, the old Roman general Syagrius, who, in the declining days of Rome, had established in Gaul an independent government of his own. This Roman province of Gaul was subjected to the Franks by Clovis.

On the death of this king his dominions were divided between his four sons, who spent much of their time in mutual contention. Clothair, the youngest of the four, eventually reunited the kingdom of his father under his sole rule. He is said to have been succeeded by his four sons, who spent their time in much the same way as did the former four; and, on their death, were succeeded by Clothair II., the grandson of the former monarch of that name.

In the disorders, consequent upon the imbecility or minority of those Merovingian monarchs the administration of the government was entrusted to that State official called mayor of the palace and steward of the household; and these mayors, like Joseph in the household of Pharaoh, soon attained to such a degree of power, that the authority of the monarch became little more than nominal. One of these mayors, Pepin D'Heristal, headed the nobles in a contest against the king and the people; and, after six years of war and tumult, was victorious in the battle of Testry, He herein established his authority over France, though he was not acknowledged as king; and he was, in like manner, succeeded in the government by his son Charles Martel. During the administration of this man the Saracens conquered France from the Garonn to the

Rhone. Charles, having collected his forces, fought with them the great battle of Tours, which lasted, at intervals, seven days. The invaders he defeated here with very great loss and recovered the provinces. This battle is, as to its results, considered one of the most important ever fought, influencing as it did, the destiny not only of France but of Europe, and putting a check to the advance of the Mahometan religion. Charles was succeeded in the administration by his son Pepin, who, performing the functions, aspired to the title of sovereign. The aid of Zachary, now pope of Rome, was sought by Pepin, who inquired of him, "Whether a prince incapable of governing, or a minister invested with royal authority and who supported it with dignity, ought to have the title of king?" The pope decided in favor of the latter; the people were dissolved from their allegiance; and Childeric III., the last of the Merovingian race, was deprived of his crown and confined in a monastry. At Soissons Pepin was crowned king of France by St. Boniface, bishop of Mentz. Of his obligation to the popes he was not unmindful, as seen above; for having conquered from Astolphus, king of the Lombards, the exarchate of Ravenna, which the latter had possessed for only a short time, he gave it in fee simple to the popes.

Pepin was succeeded by his sons Charles and Carloman; but the latter soon dying, left Charles sole monarch. This prince gave early indications of those qualities which gained him the title of Charles the great or Charlemagne. He found a pretext for invading Lombardy in the hostilities of the king of that country against the pope. He crossed the great St. Bernard from Geneva, reducing Pavia and Verona, and then Lombardy, taking its king captive. He next visited Rome, where he was welcomed with joy as deliverer of the church by pope Adrian I. He now was crowned king of Lombardy, and affected to confirm to the popes the gift of his father to them, namely the exarchate. Yet during his life he left no doubt that these dominions were dependent upon his power, both Ravenna and Rome being numbered in the list of the Metropolitan cities of his great Roman empire of the West revived.

In about 26 years after his conquest of Lombardy, when he had accomplished his conquest of his empire of the west, which, speaking territorially, included the whole of France, most of Germany, with northern and central Italy, and the northeastern districts of Spain; or a great part of what the Romans had in Europe (excepting Britain) together with most of Germany, Charlemagne was

crowned emperor at Rome by the Pope. The following is from the history of "The Decline and Fall:"

"On the festival of Christmas, in the last year of the eighth century, Charlemagne arrived in the Church of St. Peter, at Rome, having come thither from his camp at Paderborn in Germany, and to gratify the vanity of the Romans he appeared in the dress of a patrician, rather than in the simple habit of his native country. After the celebration of the Eucharist Pope Leo suddenly placed a precious crown upon his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people: "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans." The head and body of Charlemagne were then anointed with the consecrated oil; after the example of the Cæsars he was saluted or adored by the Pontiff; his coronation oath represents a promise to maintain the faith and privileges of the church; and in his rich offering to the shrine of St. Peter he paid to it the first-fruits. Thus was restored and revived the Western Empire by Charlemagne, which was held with so loose and feeble a hand by his ignoble successors that it was gradually lost but it was finally restored and appropriated by Otho, King, and afterwards Emperor of Germany, in the year 962, A. D. At the head of a victorious army, Otho passed the Alps, subdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the Pope from the remaining power of the unwarlike descendants of Charlemagne, and thus fixed the imperial crown of the Western Empire in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable epoch two maxims of public jurisprudence were introduced by force, and ratified by time. 1st: That the prince who was elected in the German Diet acquired from that moment the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. 2d: But that he might not legally assume the titles of Emperor and Augustus till he had received the crown from the hands of the Pope. This last maxim was recognized and acted upon by the Germans for nearly five centuries, until after the coronation, in 1452, of Frederick III. of Austria, from which time his successors have excused themselves from the superfluous honor of receiving the imperial crown from the hands of the Roman Pontiff; and rested their imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany." *

Charlemagne is said to have been highly esteemed by the monarchs of his day. Irene, the empress of Constantinople (781–786), sought his friendship; and Haroun Al Raschid, the renowned

* Gibbon Dec. and Fall.

Caliph of Bagdad, entered into a correspondence with him and sent him the keys of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem.

The whole of western Christian Europe, then, with the exception of Britain, was subject to Carlemagne, so that his whole empire in its Christian or Spiritual aspect would have stood for one of the two horns of this symbolic prefiguration. The other horn would not have been represented by any then utterly unchristian nation, such as the Danes and Scandinavians at that time were; but by some nation, which, in about the interval 800–900 A. D., began definitely to acknowledge the Pope of Rome as its spiritual father and his supremacy over the rulers of the earth in his capacity of successor of St. Peter and vicegerent of Jesus Christ. But for two centuries at least before Charlemagne Britain had been Christianized: for, not speaking of what the celebrated missionaries Sts. Alban, Patrick, Colum Cille, etc., did in the earlier centuries the history records that in 596, Pope Gregory the great sent into Britain forty Benedictine monks, with a superior of their institution, named Augustin at their head. This monk Augustin, on account of his labors in propagating the Catholic Gospel in Britain, is styled the British Apostle; and before the year 600 he was made, by the then King of Kent, whom, with great numbers of his subjects, he had been instrumental in converting from Paganism, the first archbishop of Canterbury. After this time the heathen places of worship among the Anglo-Saxons became gradually turned into Christian establishments; and Gregory, in his epistle to the Anglo-Saxon converts, permits them to offer in honor of the saints, on their respective holidays, the victims which they had formerly offered to their gods. Among the Saxons of Britain Christianity did not make remarkable progress before the year 600 any more than it did among the Saxons of the continent before the neighborhood of the year 800 when Charlemagne compelled that people, on the penalty of death, to receive Christian baptism. Indeed it was from the British Isles, principally from Ireland, that those Christian missionaries proceeded, who took the Gospel to Germany, before the age of Charlemagne. We read of St. Gall, St. Kilian and St. Columban, in the seventh century, converting Frieslanders, Franks and other Germanic nations to the Christian religion.

The successors of Charlemagne to the throne of his empire, so long as his dynasty lasted, I find to have been, as tabulated hereunder:

Louis I., "le Debonnaire," son of Charlemagne.
Lothaire, son of Louis I.
Louis II., son of Lothair.
Charles I., "the bald," son of Louis I., by a second marriage.
Louis III., "the stammerer," son of Charles "the bald"
Louis IV., and Carloman, sons of Louis III., "the stammerer."
Charles II., "the fat," son of "Louis the German."
Charles III., "the simple," son of Louis III., the "stammerer."

In the reigns of all these princes, even in that of Charlemagne, the Normans pressed more or less upon the empire from the seaboard of France; but in the reign of Charles the fat they had become so aggressive as to come inland as far as Paris and besiege that city for two years without succeeding in reducing it. This king, however, ceded to them, as a fief of the French crown, for which they should render homage to the kings of France, the province known as Normandy, whereof the capital city was Rouen, extending on the northeast side of France from the province of Brittany on the southwest to Flanders, and inland towards Paris on the Seine.

In the cession of this province to the Normans it is said to have been stipulated on the side of the French that in paying homage to the French king the Duke of Normandy should kiss the royal toe. This the duke who lived in the days of Charles the fat was unwilling to do and so it was arranged that one of his officers should perform the ceremony in his name. The deputy, as unwilling to stoop as his master, under pretense of carrying the royal foot to his mouth, overturned his majesty in the presence of his courtiers; and Charles, unable to revenge the insult, submitted to it in silence. By reason of the general inability and lack of energy which he displayed in the conduct of his national affairs, especially for his having purchased the departure of the Normans from the siege of Paris, by means of money, the French deposed King Charles the fat, and elevated in his place Charles the simple yet a minor, giving the regency or administration of affairs to Hugh or Eudes, "count of Paris," who, with his brother Robert had performed great feats in defense of the city against the Normans. It is said that "under Charles the fat the empire of Charlemagne was nearly re-united," and that on his deposition, when Eudes or Hugh was administering the government in the name of Charles the simple, the Germans, or that part of the empire beyond the Rhine, elected as their king Arnulf, an

illegitimate descendant of Charlemagne. Eudes is a Latin form of the old Gaelic genitive Edach or Ethach, which is the original of our name Hugh and of the forms Otho, Odo and Otto. Eudes, who, with his brother Robert, I have spoken of as having so bravely defended Paris from the Normans, is denominated "Count of Paris," and it is stated that "while Charles the Simple" (the grandson of the emperor Charles the Bald) "was yet a minor, the valiant Eudes held the sovereignty in trust." He was not, according to this, reckoned as in the line of the kings proper of France, but "king in trust."

Now, there is no doubt but that this Eudes is "Hugh the Great, who, in this age, put up kings and put them down at his pleasure." There is no doubt that he is the same person who in the German and Anglo-Saxon histories is called Arnulph, who was made king of the Franco-Germans in 887, as preliminary to the deposition of the emperor Charles the Fat, and was crowned emperor at Rome in 895, A. D. Charles the Fat they deposed on the accusation of pandering to the Normans: But the French history represents Edues as king in trust for Charles the Simple, a minor. But consequent upon the alleged inability of Charles the Fat and Charles the simple, I see it stated as follows in the history of this period: "Five nations, each governed by their own laws and their own dukes, the Franconians, the Saxons, the Swabians, the Bavarians and Lorrainers, composed at this time the *German Confederation*. Among their princes were able men, and they determined to choose, in a pressing emergency (the terrible Huns having invaded them), one of their own number as their emperor. Assembled in diet at Worms, the electors of these nations conferred upon Conrad, Duke of Franconia, the imperial dignity. The reign of Conrad was disquieted by the rebellion of some of the most powerful nobles of the empire and by the irruptions of the Hunns, who spread themselves over Pannonia, which from them received the name of Hungary. From thence they extended their ravages to the Baltic, passed the Rhine and desolated France and the northern parts of Italy. Germany was, however, the scene of their most destructive inroads. Conrad became weary of the cares of state and recommended a rival, who had sought to deprive him of power, as his successor, because he believed his talents fitted him to be an able

sovereign. This was Henry the Fowler, Duke of Saxony. He obtained a decided victory over the Hungarians, which though it did not effectually subdue their power yet freed the Germans from their depredations. He was succeeded by Otho the Great." In another connection of the history I find: "Otho the Great succeeded his distinguished father, Henry the Fowler." A comparison of the dates given in the histories makes that given for the Conrad here spoken of as elected emperor, to be that of Eudes or Hugh, count of Paris; and, besides, Conrad, which is an old form for the more modern Henry, is simply a variation of the name Hugh (Latin, Eudes).* Conrad is simply the hard form which the German idiom presents for the old Gaulic form, Chathanraidh. But a consideration of the sense of this quotation, taken in connection with the other historical collaterals, shows it, while having a historical foundation, when properly understood in the light of the equivalence of language forms, to be probably designed as a piece of nicely woven monkish fiction, to obscure this juncture of the German history in regard to the origin of the new dynasty. This makes Otho the Great, the founder of the new dynasty, to have been son of Henry the Fowler, duke of Saxony; whom it makes to have been King before Otho; which would leave Otho to be not the founder of the new dynasty, as the German and French histories all take for granted he was; but the second of that dynasty, which they name "Saxon." This name the monks give to the new dynasty is also a nice piece of policy for the conciliation of the Germans. Charlemagne compelled the whole nation of the Saxons, which included then most of the Germans, to receive Christianity under penalty of death; now, forsooth the Saxons get the upper hand and their dynasty replaces the old one of Charlemagne. But if the old dynasty of Charlemagne was so far German as to be Frankish so doubtless was the new dynasty, which was also doubtless descended from Charlemagne. The Gaelic professors from the British isles, who occupied positions in colleges and otherwise on the continent, from time to time, would be admirably fitted to make out such a piece of the historical romance as this we meet with here; and we know it was the business of the priesthood, who were the historians and custodians of history and all learning in the ages of Catholic Christianity, to reconcile the different sections of the races by every art

* Gaelic Ethach=Chaeth, genitive Chaethan, i.e., Conn, with the common ending raidh=Connraidh=Chaenry or Henry.

and means which they could use, and which they considered harmless, or in the use of which they considered the end justified the means. But in this quotation we see the meaning is beclouded. There was really no such confederation of five nations as this given at the time they put it; for Charles the Fat whose ascent to the throne is put by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 885, and his death in 887 had in his dominion "almost the united empire of Charlemagne;" and this must be near the date of the selection of Conrad, duke of Franconia, for emperor. There were, doubtless, at that time, sons, brothers, and near cousins of the immediately reigning monarchs located in Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, Lorraine, Bavaria and elsewhere; but, what was afterwards known as the German confederation, did not exist; and, besides, we are told elsewhere, that on the deposition of Charles the Fat, while Hugh was holding the reins of government for Charles the Simple, as "king in trust," the Germans elected as their king one Arnulf, "an illegitimate" descendant of Charlemagne.* Now, whether Arnulf was or was

* Under the date of 887 the A. S. Chronicle says: "This year the army (*i.e.*, the northmen) went up through the bridge at Paris, and thence up along the Seine as far as the Marne, and thence up the Marne to Chezy, and then sat down there, and on the Yonne, two winters in the two places. And that same year Charles (the Fat), king of the French, died; and six weeks before he died, Arnulf, his brother's son, bereaved him of the kingdom. And then was that kingdom divided into five, and five kings were consecrated thereto. This, however, was done by permission of Arnulf: and they said that they would hold it from his hand, because none of them on the father's side was born thereto except him alone." The divisions given here of the empire, which all were afterwards united under the power and name of Otho, are not those mentioned above. This speaks of the eastern, the middle and the western division, and then that of the Lombards and "the lands on that side of the mountain." The next we have in the Chronicle with reference to Continental matters is under date 890 as follows: "And that same year the army (the northmen) went from the Seine to St. Lo, which is between Britany and France; and the Bretons fought against them and had the victory and drove them out into a river and drowned many of them." — 891. "This year the army (northmen) went eastward: and King Arnulf, with the east Franks and Saxons and Bavarians, fought against that part which was mounted before the ships came up and put them to flight." — 893. "In this year the great army (northmen), about which we formerly spoke, came again from the eastern kingdom westward to Boulogne, and there was shipped; so that they came over in one passage (to England) horses and all; and they came to land at Limne-mouth with two hundred and fifty ships," etc. Here, having towed in their ships four miles they landed and fortified themselves and soon after the northman, Hasten, landed his force from eighty ships near the mouth of the Thames and there fortified his force. In about three years later all these northmen were in effect subdued by Alfred the Great.

Under the reign of Athelstan, grandson of Alfred, the great, who was flourishing in 934. Turner in his history of the Anglo-Saxons says: "When Charles the Simple, the king of France, was imprisoned and dethroned, his queen, Edgiva, fled into England to her father, Edward the Elder, carrying over her son Louis, but three years old. Athelstan treated his unfortunate sister with affection and respect."— "In 926 an intercourse was opened with Athelstan by Hugues, (Hugh, the great), the son of Robert. Hugues requested of Athelstan his sister Ethilda in marriage. This was a very delicate negotiation. Hugues had co-operated with the other chiefs that had dethroned and still kept imprisoned the king, who had married the sister of the lady he wooed. This

not "illegitimate," it is doubtless true that in those circumstances, the Germans admitted him as their king; and that the form of name Arnulf or Aedhulf afterwards mutated on the Monkish scrolls with the form of name Hugh, that is Otho the Great. Now Otho defeats the Hungarians at Augsburg. He then adds to his dominions the kingdom of Bohemia by conquest of that country, "compelling its inhabitants to receive Christianity." But, according to our quotation, as given above, the five confederate German nations in their emergency — the terrible Hunns threatening them — assembled in diet at Worms, choose Conrad, Duke of Franconia, as their defender; and he growing weary after a while of the cares of state, resigns his crown to Henry, duke of Saxony, a rival of his, who proceeds against the Hunns, or rather the Hungarians (for the Hunns had been in Europe since before the year 400), and defeats them. In

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sister was with Athelstan, with her infant child. Hugues, however, persevered in his suit and conducted it with dexterity. He obtained for his ambassador, Adulf, the son of the Count of Flanders and of Alfred's daughter, the aunt of Athelstan. The affinity of Adulf must have given interest to his negotiation." — After speaking of the splendid presents sent over by Hugues to the princess the record goes on to say: "Policy perhaps taught the importance to the dethroned Charles, or to his family, of making Hugues a friend. His wishes were, therefore, gratified and he became the brother-in-law of Athelstan." Would it, however, seem that the ambassador and Hugues may have been, in this case, the same person! For it goes on to relate that through the influence of Athelstan, the young Louis, the son of Charles the Simple, was restored to the French throne, but that "his reign was not attended with the friendship of Hugues." Louis thereupon, to secure himself against the aspiring nobles, procured the alliance of Athelstan, who promised to send a fleet to his succour. "This is the first example," says a modern French historian, "which we have in our history, not only of an offensive league between France and England, but it is also the first treaty by which these two kingdoms concerned themselves about each other's welfare." — It relates how that Hugues at this time augmented his importance by going into Germany and marrying a princess, named Hadwida; and then goes on to say: "Athelstan performed his engagements. When Otho (Hugues) passed the Rhine, in 939, Louis claimed of England the stipulated aid. The Anglo-Saxon fleet sailed immediately for his support. It appeared off the coast of Flanders and protected the maritime cities; it ravaged some territories of the enemy, but returned to England without having had the opportunity of any important achievement." But look at what follows in connection: So much was Athelstan considered abroad that Arnulf, the Count of Flanders, having taken the fortress of the Count Herluin in 939, sent his captive wife and children to Athelstan." Now if this has any meaning it is that Arnulf, Hugues and Otho, as mentioned here in the narrative, are all names referring to the same man. "The Anglo-Saxon fleet sails directly for Flanders." When a fleet sets sail with hostile intent it makes directly for the coast of its enemy. Hugues marries the German princess Hadwida, thereby increasing his importance. Otho, thereupon, crosses the Rhine into France and Flanders at the head of his army; but it is Arnulf, Count of Flanders, that sends the captive wife to Athelstan in that same year, 939. And who, pray, was the lady alluded to by the "captive wife?" Why, who should have been alluded to if not the wife of Hugues and sister of Athelstan, whom Hugues, in a pet, may have now sent home, although, if he did, he doubtless still regarded her as his beloved wife, her place having not been by any means filled by Hadwida, whose name in the narrative is, in very truth, a fiction.

Farther on, vol. I, 499, the same history says: "In 932 Otho sought a wife from the sisters of Athelstan. Editha was residing in her brother Athelstan's court, when ambassadors arrived to request her. Athelstan received them benignly, his sister assented, and a magnificent attendance, which his chancellor, Turketul, headed, conducted her to her royal lover. Her sister Adiva went with her that Otho might be more honored and might take his choice. Editha was preferred by the too highly honored Otho, and her sister was married to a prince near the Alps, who was one of the emperor's court." It, therefore, appears clear that Athelstan's sister, whatever her name may have been, was married to Hugh, otherwise called Otho, the great.

the circumstances we must consider the Emperor Conrad to have been very accommodating to his rival, Henry, duke of Saxony, in giving up to him his crown, scepter and throne, as well as the honor, which we may believe would be more highly prized by a German emperor than almost anything else, that of defeating in a pitched battle the worst enemy the empire then had. But must we not think both the Emperor Conrad and the Emperor Henry to have inestimably favored Otho the Great, in giving him the privilege of defeating the Hungarians at Augsburg; although we do not find this real man, who did the real business, spoken of at all in connection with the "Diet at Worms," which selected Conrad? It is, therefore, not only convenient but safe for us to call the conqueror of the Hungarians at Augsburg by the two forms of the name in German for this man, Henry and Otho (the great); or by the two Gaulic forms Ædhach (Latin Eudes) and Hugh the great; or we can call him "Arnulf or Adulf (i.e., Aedh-daebh, the black Hugh) son of Baldwin, "Count of Flanders;" or "duke of Carinthia," as according to Zimmerman.

The chronicle of St. Florent calls Charles the Simple *Karolus Stuttus vel Capet.* But Capet as applied to Hugh had not the meaning of Stultus, stupid or simple, but means the same as Gaelic Chathan or Chon, a term applied to a priest or monk, as, for example, the Caputchian monks, from the hood (Capet or Chaput) they used to wear; and so Hugh is called in some of the chronicles Hugo Caputius, in others Hugues Chapet, etc.

As according to the common histories, owing to the great amount of fiction they contain, it is almost impossible to get the proper series of the Franco-German emperors, say from Charlemagne, 800 A. D., to about the year 1000, I give hereunder the series for that period as I derive them from Chevallier de Montor's "Lives of the Popes," as well as from other authorities, by which you will find that the men put down as Louis III. (the stammerer), and Louis IV. and Carloman were but kings of France and not Franco-German Emperors; that is, surely, unless they were so under another name.

1. Charlemagne crowned emperor 24th Nov., 800 A. D.
2. Louis I. le Debonaire, his son, crowned emperor, Oct., 816.
3. Lothair, his son, and brother of "Louis the German," proclaimed by his father at Aix la Chapelle, 817.
4. Louis II., son of Lothair, crowned by the pope, 850.
5. Charles the Bald, son of Louis I. by a second marriage, crowned emperor by the pope, 876.

6. Charles the Fat, son of "Louis the German," crowned emperor, 880.
7. Arnulph, son of Louis duke of Saxony, son of "Louis the German," crowned king of the Germans in 887, and Franco-German emperor by the pope in 895.
   Louis, son of Arnulf, crowned king of Germany in 936.
8. Otho I. (i. e. Louis, son of Arnulf), crowned emperor in 962.
   Otho II., son of Otho I., "elected king when a child by the Germans, and crowned emperor when a boy by the pope!"
9. Otho III., "crowned by the Germans as king in 983; by the pope as emperor at Rome in 996."

His death is put down for 1002. The Franco-German empire would seem to me to be one for about a century after this, or say down to the man the French call their Louis VI., and to the man the Germans call Henry V., two names which I hardly think refer to the same person. It is with Louis VI. the French history proper appears to begin, what precedes this from and including Hugh Capet, etc., appearing to me to be fiction. Henry IV. of Germany and Philip I. of France have a reign which covers about the same period of 50 years and both of them have a hard experience with the pope. In connection with a fictitious royal name there must needs be a legendary filling up.

Line of France.	Line of Germany.
Robert I, son of Hugh Capet	Otho III
Henry I, son of Robert	Henry II
Philip I, son of Henry I	Conrad II
Louis VI, son of Philip I	Henry III
Louis VII, son of Louis VI	Henry IV
Philip Augustus, son of Louis VII	Henry V
Louis IX, son of	Lothair
Philip the Hardy, son of	Conrad III
Philip the Fair, son of	Frederick Barbarosa
Louis X, son of	Henry VI
Philip the Long, brother of	Frederick II (Ghibelines)
Charles the Fair, brother of	Rudolf of Hapsburg (Guelphs)
Philip of Valois, cousin of, 1328	Albert, son of, warred with Wm. Tell
John	Leopold
Charles V	Henry of Luxembourg
Charles VI	Louis of Bavaria
Charles VII	Charles of Luxembourg; "Golden Bull 1355–1378
Louis XI	Wirceslaus, son of
Charles VIII	Frederick "of Brunswick"
Louis XII, "of Orleans"	Rupert
Francis I, "his cousin;" time of Reformation	Sigismund
	Frederick III
	Maximilian
	Charles V, grandson of; time of Reformation

In the minority of Frederick II., Otho IV. of the rival family of the Guelphs held the government. After Frederick's death his son, called Conrad IV., and his grandson Conradin made some in-

significant figure, never, however, properly at the head of the imperium.

There is much of the historical romance interwoven into the German history of this period, and possibly much obscurity may have arisen from the errors of transcribers, who did not know the equivalence of certain Gaulic and German name forms, which appear to be different but are the same name. Of course, therefore, their Majesties Conrad I., and Henry the Fowler, *et al.*, will reign supreme forever by the grace of the Historical Romance, yea among the stars they will shine in the German historic firmament!

It should be remembered here that the name Louis is Ethach preceded by the article as Le-Edachach is Luodovic or Ludwig. The feminine forms of this are Luodovika or Louisa. Now, the name Otho, Odo or Otto is simply a shorter form of Ludwig or Luodovic, as we use Dick for Richard, Bob for Robert, etc. These equivalent name-forms have hardly if any resemblance to each other, but still they mean the same person. But there are very many names besides Louis in which the form Ethach is a component, understood if not expressed. Take, for example, Charlethach, masculine (Charles); Charlotta, feminine; which last we call Charlotte, Lotta or Lotty; Henriethach, masculine (Henry); feminine, Henrietta and Hariot, which last should be Hariota, the form Hariot being masculine (Harry).

Again, the name Hodge, which is Edhach, is an equivalent for Robert, so that you can see how that Robert I. of France might have been identical with Otho III. of the Franco-Germans, so far as the name is concerned. So also, Robert is not only called Bob but Dobe or Dabe, which last is the Gaelic Duff or Edab or Edach. You find, therefore, in fact, that amongst the Anglo-Saxons, Hodgeson and Dobson are simply other forms for Robertson. Another form given for Edach is Walter, which is also called Watt and Watty; i. e. Chaed or Edach. Who would think that Henry was Hal, i. e. Chal or Calle, which last two forms are also used for Carl or Charles?

Line of Germany.

Now, with all these explanations as to names, which pertain especially to our subject in hand, I may say that as Conrad and Henry are both dialectic forms of the same name, I understand Conrad I. and Henry the Fowler to be variations of the name of the emperor Arnulph (Arn-ald or Arn-oth i. e., Henri-Ethach; Scottish Arnot or Eacharn). This emperor I find from German

history to have been crowned king of the Franco-Germans in 887; and, from the History of the Popes, emperor of the Holy Roman empire in 895, and he, doubtless, died in 936, for his son Louis was crowned king of the Franco-Germans in that year. We have, therefore, three names in this case standing for the same person. Now Gibbon and the historians generally state that Otho I. was crowned king of Germany in 936, but from the Lives of the Popes I find the name of the man then crowned is Louis, son of the emperor Arnulph. Secondly, Gibbon and the historians generally say that this Otho, who was crowned king in 936, was crowned emperor in 962; and I finding, in "the Lives of the Popes," the name of the man crowned emperor in 962 to be entered Otho, conclude it was the same man who was crowned king in 936 and entered in the Lives of the Popes under the name Louis, who was crowned emperor in 962 and entered there under the name Otho I. Speaking of this Otho, Gibbon says (Dec. and Fall V., 55 and note): "Otho was of the noble race of the dukes of Saxony. He was the son of Otho, the son of Ludolph, in whose favor the duchy of Saxony had been instituted A. D. 858." This is plain: He was the son of Arnulph (of which Ethach or Otho was a well-known abbreviation); who was the son of Ludolph (i. e. Louis), who was the son of "Louis the German," son of Louis le Debonnaire, son of Charlemagne. This was the line of Otho the great on his father's side if he were not a Hungarian. A casuist might be disposed to account Gibbon culpable for pandering, for, while he here gives Otho the great the above pedigree, he elsewhere calls him "the son of Henry the Fowler," and apologizes that while he finds his authorities to ascribe only the title of king of Germany to Conrad I. and Henry the Fowler, he, for his part, is disposed to call them emperors. One of the legendary reasons given why Henry was called "the Fowler" is that when they came to offer him the crown they found him shooting finches.

As to Otho II., whom I conclude to be identical with Hugh Capet, I also detect the first name of this man to have been Louis (le Faineant): the appellative d'outre mer or "from beyond sea" having been given to his father Louis, whom the Germans have Otho I.

We see from Turner's Anglo-Saxon history that both Charles the Simple and Hugh, that is, in this case, Arnulf were married to sisters of King Athelstan. That Charles the simple sent over his wife with their son Louis, then three years old, to make their

home with her brother: And, afterwards, but in connection with this story, it says: So much was Athelstan considered abroad that Arnulf, the Count of Flanders, having taken the fortress of the Count Herulein in 939, sent his captive wife and children to Athelstan. Now, there is no doubt from the drift of the whole historico-romantic text, in this connection, that Charles the Simple is a name standing for the same man who is known as Arnulf, emperor of the Franco-Germans; and, therefore, the following tabulation must be reliable:

Charles the Simple i. e. Arnulf, emperor of the Franks.

Louis d'outre Mer i. e. Otho I. or the Great.

Louis le Faineant i. e. Otho II. and III.

We thus get rid of one man of straw, namely, Otho II., or III., for one man and his exploits will do for the two names.

Henry, duke of Bavaria, son of Henry, duke of Bavaria, son of Otho I., succeeded to Otho III., or, rather, II., as we have discovered, under the title of Henry II. (1002–1024). He was succeeded by Conrad, duke of Franconia, who is entered in the histories as Conrad II. (1024–1039). This man was succeeded by his son, Henry III. (1039–1056), about whom Zimmerman (Hist. of Germany, vol. III., p. 887) says: "His piety was not unmixed with enthusiastic asceticism. He gave his back to the scourge of his confessor till the blood flowed. He never placed the crown on his head except when a public ceremony bade him, and then only after confession and penance. Rome at this time was a scandal to Christendom; there were no less than three popes, each claiming himself the pope, and his See the holy See. One of the three had sold the papal See to the second for 1,000 pounds of silver; he received the money but continued to play the pope. The highest spiritual dignity in Christendom had become an article of trade: bought by one and sold by another, just as all other spiritual dignities had become articles of trade. As so much power and wealth was connected with spiritual offices, there was a rush for the position of bishop; for the bishops were now temporal lords, more magnificent than the lay princes. The bishop had before him not only a free, unrestricted life, like a temporal lord, but he had what the temporal lords had not: an inexhaustible money supply in the treasure and revenues of the church."

Henry IV. became involved with the popes in that war called "the war of investitures." Some of the preceding emperors, perhaps all, had exercised the right of nominating bishops and abbots and giving them investiture by the ring and crozier; but, during

the reign of Henry III. Pope Alexander II. had published a decree forbidding this investiture by the secular powers and the doctrine was now maintained by the clergy that as the spiritual is superior to the temporal the bishops and abbots received their investiture from God and not from the emperor; but, on the contrary, that the emperor was to hold his investiture of the pope and his authority under him.

Gregory VII., who is called Hildebrand was now pope; and, dispatching a legate to the German emperor, he forbade him to exercise the right of investiture. His envoy Henry treated with contempt; and, in an assembly of his princes and ecclesiastics, he had convoked, declared Gregory an usurper of the papacy. Before this time Henry had experienced a good deal of trouble with his nobles, and Gregory, aware of this disaffection, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Henry, absolving his subjects from their allegiance and depriving him of his imperial authority. Thus encouraged the German nobles revolted and the German clergy, who had just before declared Gregory an usurper now espoused his cause.

Surrounded with dangers Henry now imagined he saw no safety but in conciliating the pope and in having the excommunication removed. To this end he passed the Alps and visited, in company with only a few domestics, Canosa, where Gregory then was, and presented himself as a penitent at the gates of the fortress. But the monarch was only admitted within the outer court; there wrapped in sackcloth and in his bare feet he was detained three days in the month of January before the pope would permit him to his presence. The penance and the promise to obey in all things having been accomplished Henry obtained absolution.

This reconciliation was, however, but of short duration. The Italian princes observing the pope's haughtiness took part with Henry. He, with their help renewed the war; but, while engaged with the Italians against the pope, his German subjects revolted. A second time he was excommunicated by Gregory, who now also deposed him, and declared Rodolph, Duke of Swabia, emperor. Henry, however, augmenting his party among the Germans all he could, in a convention of the few bishops who adhered to him, he deposed Gregory and appointed another pope. Rodolf he defeated and slew when his followers dispersed. The emperor, then, returned to Italy and besieged Rome for two years, when at length the city was carried by assault. Gregory escaped, but did not long survive.

Henry caused Clement III. to be consecrated pope; but after his return to Germany his enemies deposed Clement and elected Victor, whose early death made way for Urban II. He renewed the war of the investitures and involved Henry in that war with his son Conrad, which I have mentioned. Events change now rapidly. Conrad and Urban, having both departed to the mansions beyond the skies, Pascal II., who took Urban's place, excommunicates the emperor and instigates his younger son Henry to revolt and assume the title of emperor. Henry was then, as a matter of course, deposed, and he who had fought the number of battles save forty of the celebrated Irish monarch, Conn Cead Cathach, was reduced to such distress that he applied for the place of underchanter in a church at Spires, and was refused where he had a right to expect gratitude! This history, as we have it, has doubtless been made to do much effectual service in teaching the church's authority and in setting forth conspicuous examples of humility thereto.

On the accession of Conrad III., the Duke of Bavaria of the family of the Guelphs, aided by the pope, disputed his title and embroiled the empire in a civil war. The emperor Conrad's brother Frederic, Duke of Swabia, commanded the imperial forces and his soldiers took the name of Ghibelines, from Ghibel, the place of Frederic's nativity. Hence while the party favored by the popes were called the Guelphs, that of the Emperor Conrad was called the Ghibelines, and the wars for supremacy, which had been called the wars of the investitures, were renewed under the party watchwords of Guelphs and Ghibelines.

During the wars of these two parties it is said that, the castle of Weinsberg having been taken, the women obtained leave to quit the premises with what they could carry, when behold they came forth, each with her husband upon her back!

Conrad III., having, for the time, effected the restoration of tranquility, resolved to lead forward an army in defense of the Christians in the Holy Land, they being now oppressed by the Mahometan powers, who, in 1144 took Edessa. Conrad, therefore, embarked zealously in the second crusade, in which his enterprise was a complete failure. On his return his brother Frederic Barbarossa assumed the empire in his stead. He continued the wars with the popes, and wreaked a signal vengeance upon the Italian cities, which attempted to revolt from his authority.

To Frederic Barbarossa succeeded his son, Henry VI. He undertook a war to acquire for himself the kingdom of Sicily, which

he claimed in right of his wife. In two expeditions he conquered, not only that kingdom, but southern Italy, including Naples.

To him succeeded his son Frederic II. He was several times excommunicated by as many popes; but he stoutly maintained his cause until death released them from an uncompromising foe. On his death great confusion ensued; several emperors were spoken of but none properly acknowledged, until Rodolph of Hapsburgh, of the family of the Guelphs, who also possessed considerable territory in Switzerland, was raised to the throne. From him sprung the well known house of Austria. To Rodolph succeeded Albert, his eldest son, who failed ignominiously in his wars against the Swiss. Leopold, his successor, going against them with 21,000 cavalry was defeated by 13,000 Swiss infantry at Morgarten, in the year 1315; a victory which established the independence of Switzerland. At this time there were only three cantons in the Swiss republic, but other cantons joining there were in 1353 thirteen. Henry, count of Luxembourgh, who succeeded Leopold, reigned but four years, 1318–1322; his reign, however, is full of events; intrigues at home; wars with the popes and with Italy. In the prosecution of one of these he died suddenly at Benevento. After an interregnum of fourteen months Louis of Bavaria having become firmly seated on the throne as a result of a contest with another claimant for it, carried his arms into Italy. Pope John XXII., who was then residing at Avignon in France, incited the German princes to revolt. Before the emperor's return to quell the domestic disturbances the pope, having recovered his power at Rome, the friends of the emperor were expelled the city. Louis finding a reconciliation with the Roman See impossible, convoked a diet, which decreed that the pope had no authority above the German emperor; and that his approval was not essential in the choosing of the emperor. The empire for a while remained peaceful; but the Papal intrigues again produced open hostilities to Louis; and Clement VI., who had succeeded to John XXII. procured the election of Charles of Luxembourg, son and heir of the king of Bohemia, a near heir to the empire of the house of Hapsburg. Charles becoming emperor, on the death of Louis, became a mere tool in the hands of the popes. It was during this reign that the constitution of the "Golden Bull" was established. This shows a German confederacy of States, before only vaguely understood as a confederacy, to be now established. In it the number and duties of the electors are settled; and the succession to each electorate

declared to belong to the oldest son. An apostrophe to Satan, Anger, Pride and Luxury begins this famous document, and it sets forth the necessity that the number of electors should be seven "in order to oppose the seven mortal sins." Before this time and even after it the German empire may be considered as an hereditary monarchy. The idea of the German emperor before this period having been chosen from so many candidates for that office presenting themselves for election is a false one. Still there was from the time of Otho I. more of the idea of the German empire being constituted of a confederation of States than of the French monarchy being so; but in point of fact, the German Empire from the time of Otho I. to the issuing of the Golden Bull was an hereditary monarchy. There has undoubtedly, in the after times, been an attempt made to make it appear in the history that the German empire, for that period, was an elective monarchy. If this were truly so in the case of Conrad the second and Conrad the third, I remember not of other cases in which it could have been so, if not in that of Arnulf in 887, which was an emergency arising from the presence of the Northmen; and that of the election of Rodolf of Hapburg in 1273, which resulted from the anarchy that had long prevailed, through their selfishness among the German barons themselves.

Charles of Luxembourg was succeeded on the throne by his son Winceslaus, whose shameful profligacy so disqualified him for the care of the empire that he was deposed by the electors and Frederic, duke of Brunswick, chosen in his place. He subsequently having been murdered Rupert count palatine of the Rhine was placed on the throne. In his reign John Huss began to teach in Bohemia the doctrines Wickliffe had just disseminated in England. Rupert was succeeded on the throne by Sigismund, king of Hungary, the brother of the deposed Winceslaus. In his reign was held the council of Constance which condemned to the flames John Huss and Jerome of Prague for the "crime of heresy." He was succeeded on the imperial throne by Frederic, duke of Austria, who was crowned by the pope as Frederic III; and he, in turn, after a reign of fifty-three years, was succeeded by his son Maximilian, who having married Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the bold, king of Burgundy, added, through her, to the empire the kingdoms of Burgundy and Flanders. Maximilian died in 1518 and was succeeded by his grandson, Charles V, by his son Philip the Handsome. Charles V. was the German emperor who figured so conspicuously in the Protestant reformation.

Line of France.

Hugh Capet, whose length of reign under this form of name is the same as that the German histories allow him under the form Otho II, was succeeded in France by his son Robert. As regards his foreign relations Robert was happy, but his domestic felicity was sadly blighted by the discipline which the Papacy then exercised over the kings and potentates of its faith. He had married Bertha, the sister of Rodolph, king of Burgundy, she being his cousin in the fourth degree, while the prohibition of the church extended to the seventh; and Gregory V ordered the dissolution of the marriage under pain of excommunication.

This terror, aimed not only at him but at all who abetted his offense, the king ventured to disregard. The bishops who had sanctioned the marriage were suspended; and Robert soon experienced how terrible the power of excommunication had become. His servants, courtiers and domestics abandoned him; even the two domestics who bravely remained with him purified by fire the vessels he had used and threw the remaining food to the dogs; whether they then kept any pigs about the French court being left unmentioned! Instead of manfully arousing himself to her defense and encouragement Robert at length divorced his wife.

His son and successor, Henry, being disturbed by domestic conspiracies, sought aid of Robert, duke of Normandy, who re-established and supported him on the throne and was rewarded therefor by the duchy of Chaumont, Pontoise and other territories, which greatly extended the Norman dominions in France. In the year 1060 he was succeeded by his son Philip I, when only eight years of age, who (Baldwin count of Flanders acting regent in his minority) may be said to have occupied the throne forty-eight years, 1060–1108, embracing the time of the first crusade. In the fourteenth year of his age occurred the Norman invasion of England, the ultimate result whereof made the Normans one of the great powers of Europe.

The rise of the Norman power in France was contemporaneous with that of the Franco-German monarchy. It is said that the contemplation of the invasion of the Norman pirates, whom he foresaw would distress his people, caused Charlemagne to shed tears. From the death of this emperor to the time of the Norman invasion of England in 1066, the Norman dominions in France had

been gradually extending. Of the dissensions which existed between the sons and descendants of the first Franco-German emperor the Normans took advantage and profited thereby. When in about the year 905 the Normans or Danes made a new incursion they spread devastation far and wide, plundering churches and carrying terror and dismay into the remotest part of the country. It is said that at this time the martial spirit almost wholly deserted the Franks, who suffered themselves to be plundered and even butchered by the barbarians. The Normans were, however, not long in the country before they became christianized and at the rise of the crusades they engaged in those expeditions with great ardor.

The highest title among the Normans was that of duke. This chief adopted the feudal system, dividing Normandy into large shares among his chief captains, on the condition of their furnishing him a stipulated number of armed men for active service when required and of their acknowledging their dependence on him by rendering him homage. These captains divided the remainder of the land thus assigned them, each among his own favorites, who were to furnish soldiers to those chiefs as they themselves were to the duke. If this system had its imperfections it was yet an improvement upon the former manner of life of the Normans, as it was better that they should settle down and cultivate the soil by their labor, deriving from it thus a subsistence, than that they should go about from place to place subsisting upon other people's property obtained by violence and murder. And in order that other freebooters should not destroy them, as they themselves had the people that preceded them, it was thought necessary to maintain a military organization. But in the progress of time the feudal system became exceedingly oppressive to the serfs or villains as the lowest class was denominated, whereof were always the former inhabitants of the conquered countries. Being liable to be sold with the land their condition was essentially that of slaves; but not being legally transferable unless with the soil families were not liable to be forcibly disunited, which may perhaps be thought an ameliorating condition of that state of bondage.

Philip I., king of France, above mentioned, was succeeded by his son Louis VI., who was succeeded by his son Louis VII. Henry II. of England, by marriage with his divorced queen Eleanor, acquired the French provinces of Guienne and Poictou, which were her dowry.

To Louis VII. succeeded his son Philip Augustus in 1180. At

the age of maturity he bore the character of a wily politician. With Richard, the son of Henry II. of England, he entered into an alliance and aided him in a rebellion against his father: and with him, after he had come to the throne of England, he engaged in the third crusade. Each of these monarchs were ardent military chieftains and it is thought they regarded Palestine less with the feeling of devotion than as a field whereon they should reap the laurels they so much coveted.

Philip Augustus was succeeded by his son Louis VIII. His reign is memorable for nothing save the finishing of a cruel war undertaken by his father against the Waldenses and Albigenses, religious orders in Dauphiny, Narbonne and Provence in southern France. Pope Innocent III. decreed their destruction, and Simon de Montfort, with 200,000 men, was employed in extirpating a million of people whose crime was their harmlessness, shall we say their godliness?

Louis IX., called St. Louis, succeeded his father in his minority, his mother, Blanche of Castile, acting as regent until he came of age. His two crusades I mention under a succeeding head.

He was succeeded on the throne by his son Philip, the Hardy, in whose reign the massacre of the French took place in the island of Sicily, called "the Sicilian Vespers;" in retaliation for which he never accomplished much. To him succeeded his son, Philip the Fair, 1288–1314. His finances being in a depleted condition he exacted money from the clergy of his kingdom by which he got into difficulty with the then pope, Boniface III., who had prohibited the clergy of any kingdom from giving money to princes without his special permission. The pope sent as a legate to remonstrate with the French king one of his own rebel subjects, who was immediately arrested and imprisoned. Enraged at this, Boniface issued a proclamation declaring that the "Vicar of Christ was vested with all authority over all the kings and princes of the earth," and at the same time ordering the French clergy to repair forthwith to Rome. A French priest carried this proclamation to the king. Philip throwing it into the fire convoked thereupon the representatives of the states of his kingdom and laid the case before them. They disavowed the pope's claim, deciding for the independent authority of Philip. "It was on this occasion that the representatives of cities were first regularly summoned to the national assembly. Philip IV. improved the civil policy of France, both in the legislative and judicial departments." To him suc-

ceeded his son Louis X., a man of a remarkably avaricious spirit. His prime minister, Marigny, he had executed on the pretense of his dealing in magic, but in reality that he might confiscate his extensive possessions. On his death without male heirs a contest arose about the right of female succession. The Salic law having declared that no female could inherit the crown of France the decision was unfavorable to the daughter of the king. The crown, therefore, passed first to Philip the Long, then to Charles the Fair, both brothers of the late king. The short reigns of these princes, who died without male heirs, were followed by the elevation of Philip of Valois, a cousin of the late kings, who was the first of the "house of Valois," so-called: 1328.

To Philip VI succeeded his son John, at the time that Edward III and the Black Prince were carrying on war in France. At the battle of Cressy, John was taken prisoner by the Black Prince and carried to England where he was treated with respectability. During a truce with England of two years the peasants rose against the nobility, burnt their castles and murdered their families. Charles, the dauphin, in the absence of his father, worked energetically to restore order in the state. The peasants' war called the war of "the Jaquerie" was quelled; the truce with England exchanged for a peace; and King John was liberated in consideration of a sum of money, and for ceding, even without reservation of right of homage, several French provinces to England.

John, dying soon after the peace, Charles V, his son, succeeded to the throne. After he made sufficient preparation he renewed the war with England, whose affairs on the continent, consequent upon the advanced age of Edward III, and the feeble health of the Black Prince, were now not prosperous. He conquered, during the remaining years of his reign, all the English possessions in France, excepting Bordeaux, Calais and Bayonne.

His son, Charles VI, yet in his minority, succeeded him; his uncles the dukes of Anjou, Berri and Burgundy being constituted regents, through the extravagance of the regal household and the dishonesty of administrative offices they overburdened the people with taxes, which led ultimately to a civil war. The hostile parties, called from their leaders Burgundians and Orleanists or Armagnacs each struggled to obtain the person of the young king, and as they obtained it, alternately seized the executive offices. The populace of Paris espoused the opposite sides with the most ferocious zeal and committed the most shocking crimes.

The young king became insane for life. Henry V, now on the English throne, took occasion, in these disturbances to renew the war. Having landed an army at the mouth of the Seine he took Harfleur. The French, in the face of a foreign invasion, for a moment suspended their quarrels and rallied in defense of the kingdom. An army of 50,000 men under the Constable D' Albert, having posted themselves at the village of Agincourt to intercept the English on their march inland, a bloody battle ensued wherein the English were victorious over an army much more numerous. Henry, having possessed himself of Normandy prepared to advance on Paris, and Philip, duke of Burgundy, consequent upon a treacherous deed done to his party to which he supposed the royal family was privy, hastened to offer him the crown of France. The Orleanists also intrigued with this foreign king. A treaty was was made at Troyes in which affairs were compromised, Henry espousing the princess Catherine, the daughter of the French king and being declared heir of the French monarchy. The two kings Henry V and Charles VI, dying the same year, Henry VI, the infant son of Henry V, was proclaimed king at both Paris and London. But the dauphin assuming the government under the title of Charles VII, took the field, and was crowned by his partisans at Poictiers, Rheims, the usual place of coronation being in the hands of the English. On the part of the English the regency of France was entrusted to the duke of Bedford, brother of the late king. It is in this connection the story of the "Maid of Orleans," comes in, which I relate elsewhere; and, whether by her assistance or otherwise, Charles VII is said ultimately to have obtained entire possession of his kingdom.

To him succeeded in 1461, his son Louis XI, who is characterized by the intriguing policy which he followed. His attempts to humble his great vassals and extend the prerogative of the crown produced the war "called the war of the Public Weal," which ended in a treaty favorable to his vassals, but which he soon infringed. On the death of the king of Burgundy Louis seized part of the dominions of that kingdom, which really belonged to the heiress of that kingdom who later married Maximilian of Austria. He is said to have been a great tyrant without permitting others in his kingdom to be such, so far as he knew. In his reign 4,000 are estimated to have been tortured without any kind of trial. He is also said to have been superstitious and in continual dread of punishment that might accrue to him after death. On his death, in

1483, his son, Charles VIII., succeeded. He married Anne, the duchess of Brittany, by which that province "the last of the great feudatories of France," was annexed to the crown. Dying without male heirs Charles VIII. was succeeded by the duke of Orleans, under the title of Louis XII. By various incitements having allured the Venetians, the Florentines and Pope Alexander VI. to his interest he sent an army into Italy and achieved the conquest of Milan, which he claimed in right of his grandmother. He then formed a league with Ferdinand of Spain, called the "league of partition" by which they agreed to divide the kingdom of Naples between them; but while the negotiations were proceeding the Spaniards had conquered for themselves the whole of that country, thus deceiving the French king. Louis then prepared to attack Spain; but the Spaniards, nevertheless, remained in possession of the Neapolitan kingdom.

But meantime, Pope Alexander VI. had died and was succeeded by Julius II. The object of this pontiff was to extend his temporal sovereignty over all Italy, so that the popedom might fairly rival in extent of territory the other temporal sovereignties of Europe. To effect this the pope entered into an alliance, called "the league of Cambray" with Louis of France and Maximilian of Germany. The Venetians could not, of course, withstand the force of this coalition, having lost a battle on the continent they retreated within their city. The only ground the confederates put forward for the war they now waged was that the people against whom they warred had no king. They, therefore, stirred up the envy of those who had.

Julius resolving to expel every foreign power from Italy now allured the Venetians into an alliance against France, and finally Spain and Switzerland joined the "holy league." Louis XII. on his part dispatched into Italy a powerful army under the command of his gallant nephew, Gaston de Foix. After several brilliant skirmishes the young hero penetrated to Ravenna, where he came up with the combined force of the confederates and completely defeated it; but he fell in this battle, and with him the fortunes of the French in this campaign. The French were driven out of Milan and the king of Spain conquered Navarre from that French nobleman John d'Albert, who obtained it in marriage with the heiress of that kingdom.

Pope Julius dying in 1513, changed the aspect of affairs. His successor, Leo X. of the house of Medici, showed himself friendly

to France Louis XII. dying soon after pope Julius, without male heirs, the crown of France descended to his cousin Francis I. This prince was distinguished rather for his comeliness, suavity of manners and personal accomplishments, than for the strength and soundness of his mind. Bent on the recovery of Milan he led a large army across the Alps. Encountering the Swiss, in the service of the Milanese, he defeated them in a hard fought battle at Marignan. The duchy of Milan submitted, and its duke, Maximilian Sforza, abandoning his claim to its sovereignty, received a pension from France. The accomplished pope, Leo X., now making peace with France Europe enjoyed tranquility for a season; 1515.

In the line of the German emperors we have given we find Frederic III. to have been the last who took the trouble to go to Rome to be crowned by the pope. In his reign, which is set down for the period, 1440–1493, Constantinople was captured by the Turks. Previous to 1453 it was felt throughout Europe that another crusade was necessary to resist their aggressions, and, although assemblies were summoned for the purpose of arming Europe against them nothing effectual was done. John Hunniades, general of the Hungarians, compelled them to raise the siege of Belgrade, which they had invested.

The date given for the crowning of Charlemagne as King of Lombardy by the Pope is given as 774 and that of the accession of Frederic III. as 1440 A. D., which leaves the interval, 1440–774, of years during which those Cæsars of the western empire revived, in effect acknowledged the superiority of the pope by receiving their crown or emblem of authority from him as his gift. I do not suppose that all the intervening emperors between Charlemagne and Frederic III. were crowned by the pope; but there were none before and none after, that I am aware of excepting Napoleon I., who was, indeed, a marked character in history if not in prophecy. The number, therefore, given in the last verse of Rev. XIII. may be thought to measure the time in years during which those emperors would acknowledge the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over all earthly potentates. Although the pope's superiority was in the case of many emperors in this interval disputed, yet the general principle of the pope's supremacy may be thought to have been granted for that period. This interval, you perceive, is also included within that given in the prophecy Rev. XIII., 1–11, to the Roman empire whose seat was at Constantinople; so that if this second prophecy, Rev. XIII., 11–18, refer to only a part of

the whole Roman empire geometrically, it referred also to only a part of it temporally, that is, it referred to part of the area and part of the time, which the whole Christian Roman empire covered; for we find the capital of the Christian Roman empire was taken by the Turks in the reign of the last of those German emperors who received their crown from the popes. From this time forward those western emperors, seeing all that remained of the Christian Roman empire now in the power of the Turks, doubtless concluded they should act more independently, in fully representing the Roman emperor proper, seeing they were naturally considered as their nearest representative now existing. Henceforth they seemed to have acknowledged the pope rather as a spiritual father than a supreme monarch, although the pope's own temporal sovereignty was very strong after 1500.

"The successors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond the Rhine, in a national diet; but these princes were content with the humble title of Kings of Germany and Italy till they had crossed the Alps to receive their imperial crown from the hands of their spiritual Father upon the banks of the Tiber. At some distance from the city their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and crosses; the royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice repeated, at the bridge, at the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican; and in their distribution of customary donative, the emperor feebly imitated the munificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter the coronation was performed by the Pope, and the public consent was declared in the acclamations: "Long life and victory to our Lord the Pope! Long life and victory to our Lord the Emperor! Long life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic armies!" The names of Cæsar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image was engraved on the papal coins, and their jurisdiction over Rome was marked by the sword of justice which they delivered to the prefect of the city. The order of the coronation was, however, often disturbed by the seditious clamors of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader; his departure was always speedy and often shameful; and in his absence, sometimes during a long reign, his authority was often insulted, and his name perhaps forgotten. As we have before remarked, Frederick III. was the last German Emperor who presented himself at Rome to receive the imperial crown, which he did in 1452, the

year before Constantinople was taken by the Turks. After this the civil authority of the Popes became more independently exercised, and the Romans were freed from the immediate presence of their German lords, though they frequently afterwards had need of their assistance to quell domestic disturbances, and protect them against foreign foes.

Of Rome's two sovereigns, the emperor reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the Vicar of Christ was founded on the soft though more solid basis of public opinion and habit; and he began to exercise over the Romans a similar influence to that which he did over the nations of Europe, when by his thunders from the Vatican he created, judged and desposed the rulers of the earth; nor did the proudest of Rome's sons feel themselves disgraced by submitting to the rule of a priest whose foot was kissed by kings." *

After the accession of the "House of Valois" to the throne of France in 1328 A. D., the French history is largely interwoven with that of Norman England; the kings of England from this time or later styling themselves 'Kings of England or of Great Britain, France and Ireland,' to which title they added, after Henry VIII., 'Defender of the Faith.'

We will, now, therefore, give attention to the rise of the ANGLO-SAXON-NORMAN MONARCHY.

England, so called, is one of the nations which arose on the ruins of the Roman empire. When Alaric with his Goths threatened Rome the emperor Honorius had Stiticho withdraw the legions from Britain which were left to guard the wall of Severus. On their departure the Scots and Picts from the north of the wall invaded and distressed the south Britons. In about 428 A. D. they applied to Honorius for means of protection and once or twice that emperor sent some aid: but at length he wrote them absolving them from their allegiance and exhorting them to defend themselves. The flower of their war-like youth had been accustomed to enlist in the legions and had fallen far from home in the battles of the empire; and the Britons, as a consequence, had sunk into effeminite dependence. In a convention brought together for the selection of a sovereign, who would take among them the place of the Roman authority they at length fixed upon Vortigern. Their enemies from the north were now at their doors and they agreed upon the dangerous experiment of asking in foreign aid. At their invitation 1,500 Saxons from the mouth of the Elbe appeared in three galleys at the island of Thanet, under the brothers, Hengist and Horsa in

* Gibbon: "Dec. and Fall."

449 A. D. These Vortigern took into his pay and they proceeded against the Caledonians whom they defeated at Stamford.

The Saxons now claimed they needed a stronger force; and next there arrived sixteen ships, containing besides Saxons and Danes, a portion of another tribe, the Angles, from whom England derives its name. In this fleet, which arrived in Britain in the year 450 A. D. came Rowena, the niece of Hengist, whom Vortigern married. Even after the Caledonians were driven out the Saxons continued to draw over large numbers of their countrymen. The Britons, becoming alarmed, compelled Vortigern to yield his place to his son Vortimer, and they perceiving the Saxons to appropriate the island too fast, endeavored to drive them out but without success. Hengist made himself king of Kent, which was the first of the seven or eight kingdoms which the Saxons founded in Britain.

Hengist, having killed many of the nobles of the island through treachery, was feared for his cruelty. The Britons then raised to their supreme command king Arthur, heretofore sovereign of Cornwall and Devon, who with his "Knights of the Round Table" performed prodigies of valor. The period of the establishment of the Saxon kingdoms in Britain, embracing one hundred and thirty-two years, (586—454=132) was a period of distressing warfare. At the end of this period the Saxons remained in possession of the most cultivable parts of South Britain, while the natives were driven to the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, to the north-eastern coast of the island, and elsewhere. During these distressing wars a part of the Britons passed over to the continent and settled in the Gaulic province of Armorica, to which they gave the name of Bretagne or Brittany.

The kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy in the order of their establishment are as follows: —

1. Kent: comprising Kent and part of Surrey; founded b Hengist: continued 454—823=369 years.
2. Sussex (South Saxons): comprising Sussex and a part o Surrey: continued 499—721=222 years.
3. Wessex (West Saxons): founded by Cerdic, a Saxon general King Arthur with his knights defeated this general at Baden Hill near Bath, killing, it is said, "four hundred with his own hand." Founded 509.
4. Essex (East Saxons): comprising Middlesex and London. Continued 530—823=293 years.

5. Bernisia: comprising Northumberland, Durham, and a portion of Scotland. This kingdom was founded by Ina in 547–559 A. D.
6. Deira: Lancashire and York, founded by Ella in 560 A. D.
7. East Anglia: A small portion of the eastern coast, called also Angle-land, from whence the name England.
8. Mercia: This, which was understood as an eighth kingdom, was formed from a part of Deira in 586 A. D.*

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* Speaking of the period 560 A. D., Turner, in his history of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. II, 215, says: "One Jute, three Saxon and three Angle Kingdoms were thus established in Britain by the year 560; in Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, Bernicia and Deira, Another Angle Kingdom was about twenty-six years after added in Mercia, which became in time more powerful and celebrated than any other, except that of the West Saxons which at last conquered it. This kingdom of Mercia made the eighth, which these bold adventurers succeeded in founding." — "Its foundation is dated in 586, but although Crida is named as its first sovereign, yet it was his grandson, Penda, who is represented as having first separated it from the dominion of the northern Angles."

The general understanding as derived from the records transmitted by the monkish historians of the Anglo-Saxons has been hitherto that Wessex, or the West Saxons, as given down here by Turner, conquered the Octarchy and united its sovereignties in the person of Egbert, its King. But in this whole account there is more of romance than real history. The truth appears clear enough to him who impartially studies and criticises these different accounts that the West Saxons, with the Kingdoms of Kent, East Anglia, etc., were conquered by Offa (i.e., Penred) King of Mercia; and that from the family of the Angles descended, in the male line, Alfred the great, who is to be reckoned the first king of the Anglo-Saxons. Mercia was distinctively an Anglic kingdom and hence the natural explanation why the country was ultimately called England (Angle-land) rather than Saxon-land, which it would have naturally been had any of the Saxon kingdoms triumphed over the whole. For, if the Saxons had triumphed, it is plain the country would have been the Saxons' land, not that of the Angles, who, on this supposition, would be subject to the Saxons. The following from Turner 1, 217–18, fairly indicates the locations of the several kingdoms of the Octarchy.

"The Jutes possessed Kent, the Isle of Wight and that part of the coast of Hampshire which fronts it.

The Saxons were distinguished from their situation, into South Saxons, who peopled Sussex. East Saxons, who were in Essex, Middlesex, and the south part of Hertfordshire. West Saxons in Surrey, Hampshire (the site of the Jutes excepted)Berks, Wilts, Dorset Somerset, Devon and that part of Cornwall which the Britons were unable to retain.

The Angles were divided into

East Angles in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, the Isle of Ely, and (it should seem) part of Bedfordshire.

Middle Angles in Leicestershire, which appertained to Mercia.

The Mercians divided by the Trent into

South Mercians in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland. Huntingdon, the north parts of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Bucks, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire; and into

North Mercians, in the counties of Chester, Derby and Nottingham.

The Northumbrians who were

The Deiri in Lancaster, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham.

The Bernicians in Northumberland and the south of Scotland, between the Tweed and the Firth of Forth."

The map shows the kingdom of Mercia to have occupied the centre of the Octarchy and to have had quite an extensive area.

To terminate the incursions of the Welsh into his territories "Offa annexed the eastern regions of Wales, as far as the Wye, to Mercia, planted them with Anglo-Saxons, and separated them from the Britons by a large trench and rampart, extending from the aestuary of the Dee to the mouth of the Wye. It was carried through marshes and over mountains and rivers for one hundred miles, and was long celebrated under the name of Claudh Offa or Offa's Dyke. Its remains and direction are yet visible. It was used for ages afterwards as the boundary which determined the confines of England and Wales; a boundary jealously guarded

The monarchies of the Octarchy were elective rather than hereditary; the king's power consisted in his carrying out the wishes of his nobles and people, who expressed their will in assemblies called Witall or Wittegemot. Ina, king of the West Saxons, was the first to assemble this body, which is considered the original of the British Parliament. These kingdoms also appear to have held themselves together by a kind of confederation, one of their sovereigns presiding over the whole, whose office was called Bretwalda, i.e., ruler of Britain. So complete became the sway of the Saxons in the island that their language became also prevalent; about three-fourths of the words in common use in the English language being of Anglo-Saxon origin.

It was in the time of the Heptarchy that Augustin, with his forty missionaries, came from Rome to preach Christianity in Britain; but that Christianity was not unknown in the island long before it is sufficient to say that St. Alban, England's first martyr, suffered in the persecutions of Diocletian, a century and an half before the Saxons came into the island under Hengist. The eight Anglo-Saxon kingdoms became united into one kingdom of England under Alfred the great in about 890–900 A. D., their consolidation under Egbert i.e. Kenwulf in 827 being only nominal.

The council of the Wittagemot was composed of about thirty persons, considered the most powerful in the kingdom, whether laymen or ecclesiastics; and doubtless rather hereditary than elective. To all laws their consent was necessary; and that their laws indicate the barbarity of their times and manners may be seen in what follows: For murder, offenders were fined in proportion to the rank of the person murdered. For a king the sum was very large; for an earl or bishop about one-fifth as much; for a serf, less than a hundreth.

The reign of Egbert, i.e. Kenwulf, successor of Offa was much disturbed by attacks from the Norman sea rovers. He gained two

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with the most rigorous penalties." — "Offa was distinguished beyond the other Anglo-Saxon kings who had preceded him in the Octarchy by commencing an intercourse with the continent. He had correspondence with Charlemagne, which does credit to the Frankish sovereign and to himself. In one letter Charlemagne communicates to him with perceptible exultation his success in procuring the continental Saxons to adopt Christianity. In another the Frankish emperor promises security to all pilgrims, and his especial protection and legal interference in behalf of all commercial adventurers, on their paying the requisite duties. He greets Offa with expressions of friendship and sends him a belt, an Hungarian sword and two silken cloaks.

A discord of some moment interrupted this amity. All intercourse between the two countries was reciprocally interdicted; but the quarrel is not stated to have lasted long. Offa had also a quarrel with the pope." Id. Vol. I, 272-3.

Now whether or not there be any truth in these accounts of Offa's correspondence with Charlemagne they may doubtless be taken as fairly indicating the time when Offa flourished.

successive victories over them in battle, but their ships brought new swarms.

The nation experienced their ravages still more in the reigns of his successors Ceolwolf and Ethelwolf. Ragnor Ladbrog, a famous sea king, had been killed in England by Ella, one of the Saxon princes; and to avenge his death as well as for the purposes of plunder, these people, commanded by the sons of Ladbrog, again united their forces to ravage England. Landing in great force they plundered and desolated the country, making prisoners of the inhabitants, and, when attacked by the English, retreating with their booty to their ships. Æthelwolf was succeeded by his son Æthelbert, and he by his younger brother Æthelfred, a name variously written Ethelred and Alfred. The latter in his youth, by assiduous application, attained to considerable learning. After he became king, the Danes becoming more formidable than ever, he attacked and gained some advantages over them. They stipulated to retire, but receiving reinforcements they violated their treaty. In one year the young king fought with them eight battles; but they swarmed on the coast in still greater numbers.

After passing through much dangerous experience with the Danes, experience which some have called romantic, Alfred granted the Danes permission to settle in Northumberland and east Anglia, on condition of their being governed by his laws and embracing Christianity. They accepted the conditions and were baptized, the king himself standing godfather for Guthrun, their chief. Alfred's civil and military institutions have acquired for him the admiration of posterity. His love of literature manifested in youth continued through life, and though burdened and harassed with the cares of government and with vexatious wars he yet found leisure at the age of thirty-eight to write several reputable works in the Latin language.

To him the University of Oxford owes its foundation; and he compiled and perhaps partially originated a system of jurisprudence, which is the foundation of English common law. He originated a navy, which is considered as the beginning of the greatest naval power the world has ever known. It was, in short, Alfred who laid the foundation of that remarkable institution called the British monarchy. If he had fought fifty-six battles his wars were mainly those of defense and usually unmarked by acts of cruelty; and if he were guilty of some such cruel acts as made him be compared to Charlemagne in the conduct of that monarch towards the

Saxons, it is remarkable that not many historians have thought fit to dwell on them.*

History maintains the three immediate successors of Alfred to have been able men and to have held the government with a firm hand. Edward the elder, the son and successor of Alfred, built many fortresses and subjugated the Danes. Athelstan, natural son and successor of Edward, "who is much renowned in history for the victories he obtained over these and other barbarians by whom the kingdom was assailed; and Edmund the elder, who conquered Northumberland from the Britons and bestowed it on Malcolm (III) king of Scotland, on condition that he should do homage to him and defend the northern frontier from the Danes."

The reign of Edred, brother and successor of Edmund the elder, who were both sons of Athelstan, is memorable for the establishment of monasteries in England; and for the influence which Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, exercised on this superstitious monarch.

To Edred succeeded his son Edwy at the age of seventeen. Elegant in person and ardent in his affections the beautiful Elgiva, his second cousin, captivated his youthful heart; and he married her contrary to the church's decree, which prohibited marriage between persons of this degree of affinity. Dunstan having denounced his act and insulted him he banished him from the realm; but the spirit of fanaticism, the prevailing spirit of that age, was

* Alfred's character has been highly spoken of even by foreigners. Voltaire in his Essai les Moeurs speaks of him in the highest terms; as does Herder in his "Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man," pgs. 547-8. The celebrated Mirabeau, in a "Discourse Preliminaire," published under his name to a translation of Mrs. Macauley's History, draws, with a creditable liberality, a parallel between Alfred and Charlemagne, and gives the superiority to the Anglo-Saxon.

Speaking of Athelstan, the son of Edward the Elder, and grandson of Alfred, who conquered the Danes, Northumbrians, &c., Turner I, 493-4, says: "Northumbria and Wales fell into the power of Athelstan by this victory. It effectually secured to him the throne of his ancestors, and the subjugation of the Anglo-Danes was so decisive that he received the fame of being the founder of the English monarchy. The claims of Egbert to this honor are unquestionably surreptitious. The competition can only be between Alfred and Athelstan. The truth seems to be that Alfred was the first monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, but Athelstan was the first monarch of England." The account given of Egbert, king of Wessex, conquering the whole country is not so much "surreptitious," as here according to Turner, as it is fictitious. It may, however, possibly be thought of as a kind of adumbration of the substantial conquest of the country by Offa and his house of Mercia. For Ingulph who lived at the time of the Norman conquest in his Chronicle of the monastery of Croyland in Mercia says that Offa, dying in 794, was succeeded by his son Egbert, who died the same year, and was succeeded by Kenwulph. But the Egbert and Cenwulph referred to here are names safely referable to the same man, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle spelling the first name Egfert and Turner, Ecgfrid. Of course the Egbert or Cenwulph referred to here might now be called King of Wessex as well as King of Mercia; for I can see that as early as 787 Wessex had become subject to Mercia. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has also Egfert to immediately succeed Offa in Mercia; and about the time of his accession the historians have Egbert, King of Wessex, to depart for the continent, not from Wessex, but from the palace of Offa in Mercia where he had spent some time previously? It then has him to spend 13 years with Charlemagne in a very romantic way, after which he returns to Anglo-Saxon-land in the year 800, and has a remarkable career as King of Wessex.

on the side of the monk. Odo, then archbishop of Canterbury, tore Elgiva from her husband, and caused her face to be scarred with a red hot iron, in order to destroy the beauty which had ensnared the king.

The unhappy wife escaping from her cruel persecutors and returning to her husband, they overtook and murdered. The wretched Edwy they dethroned; who, finding himself forsaken by his people, and excommunicated by the relentless clergy, soon rested from his miseries in death.

To Edwy succeeded his brother Edgar, a boy of thirteen years of age; and Dunstan, who had now returned to the kingdom, managed the affairs of government in his name. This monk actively opposed the marriage of the secular clergy and obliged great numbers of them to separate from their families. He was also active in endowing monasteries, and in thus consigning to inactivity many men who were better adapted to an active life and whose services the country needed. As Edgar grew up to manhood he perceived the difficulties of his situation and became in time a very able mind; but his character presents us greatness without virtue. The favor of the monks he preserved by flattery, at the same time that he violated, in the pursuit of the coarser pleasures, the laws human and divine. In other respects, however, he evinced very creditable energy. Following the example of the great Alfred he maintained a powerful navy, which he divided into three squadrons, commanding each to make by turns the circuit of his dominions, thus keeping the seamen in practice and able to cope with the northmen.* For his second wife Edgar married Elfrida, a lady of rare beauty, the daughter of a nobleman. The story of how he came by her is as follows: He had heard of her beauty and sent Ethelwold, his favorite, to see if her charms deserved the praise bestowed upon them. Ethelwold himself having become enamored of her, deceptively told the king that report had exaggerated her beauty, but that she was a rich heiress and would be a desirable match for himself. Edgar heartily undertook to promote the union, but, after the marriage took place, beginning to suspect treachery, he determined to visit the castle of Ethelwold. The husband, fearing what might happen, confessed to his wife the fault his passion had led him to commit, and besought her to conceal her beauty as much as possible. But Elfrida, on the contrary, took care to attire herself

* With Dunstan Edgar cordially co-operated, and in 964, boasted he had founded 47 monasteries. In 972, according to historians, he had 8 subject kings row him in a vessel on the river Dee, he himself holding the helm.

in the most becoming manner. With her appearance the monarch was charmed; he slew her husband with his own hand and married her. She who had thus connived at the destruction of her husband carried dissension and disaster into the royal family, for as it afterwards proved, she was more distinguished for her beauty than for her virtue.

On the death of Edgar, Edward II., his son by his first marriage, was raised to the throne by Dunstan, in opposition to the wishes of Elfrida, who desired that her own son, Ethelred, should receive the crown. To this end she afterwards compassed his death, thus procuring for her son the crown of Angleland and for Edward II. everlasting honor in the surname of "the martyr," which then attached to his name.

In the reign of Ethelred, the son of Edgar, the Danes with fresh hopes and recruited strength again entered England, and the pusillanimous monarch purchased their departure with money. To the Danes this was, of course, a lure, and, on the part of the king, an acknowledgment of weakness. But as if to add a most effective inducement to the myriads of the northern horde to invade his dominions the shortsighted and cruel monarch gave orders for a general massacre of all the Danes in his dominions, which order was executed with remarkable barbarity. Among the number slain was Gunhilda, sister of Sweyn, king of Denmark, a Christian princess married to an English nobleman. This lady was compelled to witness the dying agonies of her children as they were put to death before her face; after which she was herself inhumanly slain. Sweyn having heard of this massacre could with difficulty control his wrath. Having sailed with a powerful armament from Denmark, he landed in the west of England and carried fire and sword throughout the land. The monarch of England fled to Robert, now Duke of Normandy, whose sister Emma he had married for his second wife. This Emma, I may now anticipate, was aunt to William the Conqueror, and through her was his only claim to the crown of England. Sweyn did, in effect, conquer England; but died before he had time to establish himself therein. It was, however, found to be for the new possessors not a bed of roses; the friends of the Saxon dynasty were yet powerful; Ethelred returned to England and managed to cope pretty respectably with Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn. His death left his eldest son, Edmund Ironside, to prosecute the war. Edmund, however, soon found himself much weakened and impeded in his operations

against the enemy by the machinations of his own subjects. Defeated in battle, he was compelled to relinquish part of his territories; Canute received the northern territories while he was left in possession of the south. But this virtuous monarch, who was worthy of a better fate, was assassinated by two of his rebellious subjects in the interest of Canute, who now seizing on the dominions of Edmund, *became sovereign of the entire kingdom.* To strengthen his title he married Emma, the widow of Ethelred, and sister of Robert of Normandy as before mentioned.

On his establishment as sovereign of the kingdom Canute sent back part of his forces into Denmark and restored the Saxon law and customs. Soon after he returned to Denmark, when he under took an expedition to Sweden and Norway and conquered these countries. He then came to reside in England.

Canute in his mature years, becoming weary of the adulation of his flatterers, who, in their poems and otherwise, pronounced him omnipotent, wanted to prove them, and to this end proceeded as follows: He ordered his chair placed by the sea-shore, and sitting therein, he commanded the advancing tide to stop: but, not at all heeding his orders, it moved onward and wet his robe, when turning to his flatterers he sternly rebuked them.

After Canute's death his sons Harold and Hardicanute successively obtained the crown. On the death of the latter the English threw off the Danish yoke, and recalled Edward surnamed, by reason of his piety, "the Confessor." He was son of Ethelred and Emma and had been under the protection of his maternal uncle during the twenty-five or thirty years of the rule of the Danes. Edward's reign was disturbed by rebellions among his nobility, some of whom had themselves aspirations for the crown.

The death of Edward, the Confessor, who was the last of the Saxon kings, descended of Cerdic, left the succession to the English throne open to dispute. A claimant presented himself in the person of Edgar, surnamed Atheling, (illustrious) a son of Edmund Ironside; and another was William, duke of Normandy, a son of duke Robert, the brother of Emma. While the decision of the question was yet in suspense, Harold, the son of the powerful earl Godwin, assumed the crown and obtained the nation's allegiance. William of Normandy, becoming apprised of this, applied to pope Alexander for permission to conquer England. This the pope granted and sent him besides his blessing with a ring containing one of St. Peter's hairs. William, distinguished for courage, magnan-

mity and military skill; his court thronged with the youth of different countries eager for military enterprise, now, on the arrival of the pope's permission and blessing, no longer hesitates, but embarks his army and lands at Pevesney. In the north was at this time Harold where he had just defeated a force of Norwegians, when he learned that the duke of Normandy had landed with a powerful army. Borne as it were on eagle's wings by thoughts of their recent victory both he and his army hastened to the south. Although dissuaded from the undertaking by experienced military skill; although depending upon an inferior military force, he ventured at Hastings, upon the issue of a single battle, his kingdom; the battle he lost and with it his crown and his life. The battle of Hastings, which decided the fate of the old Saxon dynasty in England was fought in 1066 A. D., six hundred and sixteen years after the Saxons may be said to have got a footing in large numbers in the island in 452 A. D., two hundred and thirty-nine years after the union of the Heptarchic kingdom into one under the king of Mercia in 827, A. D.; and four hundred and sixty-eight years after the foundation of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury in the person of the monk Augustin. For the date given for the incoming of the Saxons and Angles to South Britain we have the highest authority. From my "Critical Review of the History of the Scotts or Gaels" pp. 43–4, I extract as follows: "According to Beda" (vol. II., complete wks.) "from 385 to 416 the Picts and Scotts ravage South Britain when the Romans, who had already evacuated the island, upon earnest request of the Britons, sent thither to their assistance a legion, who, having worsted the Picts and Scotts in battle return to Rome," — "On this," i. e., on the advice of the Romans, the Britons built a sod-wall across the island (A. D. 416), which, however, did not avail to keep out the northern hordes." "Upon the invitation of the Britons the Angles and Saxons came into the island, commencing 447 to 449, A. D." For this long period, therefore, did the Saxons hold dominion in South Britain, unless perhaps for the intervals of thirty years during which Sweyn, and his son and two grandsons held it; and they may, on the whole, be said to have been a race of strong, brave men, somewhat as the Scotch, presenting to the Norman armed hordes, who infected their coast in those ages, at least as bold a front and as effectual a resistance as did the race of Charlemagne in old Gaul.

On the conclusion of the battle of Hastings William proceeded to London, but while on his way he was met by a deputation, which

offered him the crown. This deputation was accompanied by Edgar Atheling, with the two noblemen, Edwin and Morcar, who had proclaimed as king this scion of the Saxon line. In six months after William visited Normandy, but the rapacity of the army he left in Britain produced a revolt, which induced him to hasten his return, when he found that the insurrection was headed by the most powerful nobles in the kingdom, aided by the kings of Scotland and Denmark. In the rebellion, which he soon effectually crushed, he found pretenses to enrich his Norman followers, bestowing on them the estates of the now vanquished rebels.

After the manner of the tenure long established in ›rmandy, William now introduced the feudal system into England, dividing the kingdom into large landed estates, or baronies, which were distributed among the Norman chiefs, none of the English being permitted to hold those of the first rank. After this time, therefore, a nobleman was known to be of Norman descent, and the serfs or villains to be the descendants of the old inhabitants of the country.

William caused a survey of all the lands in the kingdom to be made and recorded in that tome called "the Doomsday Book." He established a certain martial law throughout the island by obliging the people to extinguish their lights at the ringing of the curfew or evening bell.

On William's death his dominions were divided between his three sons. England he gave to William Rufus: between Robert and Henry he divided his continental possessions, Robert receiving the larger share. Discontents between the brothers resulted in wars; but Robert, at length, resolving to depart in the first crusade and to devote himself to the holy enterprise of freeing the Holy Land from the power of the Mahometans, mortgaged his dukedom of Normandy to his brother William, for a sum of money sufficient to equip, transport and maintain his army for the enterprise: 1096–1097 A. D. The first crusade, as is known, was signally successful in wresting Jerusalem from the Moslems and in establishing a Christian kingdom there.

On the death of William II, king of England, which occurred during the absence of his brother Robert in the Holy Land (1100) his younger brother, Henry, usurped the sovereignty, both in England and France. To render his government secure he courted the favor of his subjects. To the English he promised, though he failed to fulfill, to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor; and

whether through state policy or a higher motive he married Matilda, called the good queen Maud, a daughter of Margaret, queen of Malcolm III, of Scotland, who was a descendant of the Saxon kings.

On Robert's return from the Holy Land he hastened to England to claim his inheritance; but was induced by Henry to agree to a treaty, by which he received the dukedom of Normandy, leaving Henry in possession of the kingdom of England. The brother who outlived the other was to inherit the dominion of the deceased. But the jealousy and ambition of the brothers did not permit them to remain at peace, and Henry soon possessed himself by force of Robert's dominions, made his brother a prisoner for life, and inhumanly deprived him of his eyes.

Prince William, the only son of Henry I, who through his mother Maud was descended from the Saxon kings, was shipwrecked and lost on his passage from Normandy to England, and with him perished his half sister and one hundred and forty young nobles who bore him company. It is said that after this Henry never smiled. He then convoked a council of the prelates and nobles whom he had take an oath of fealty to his daughter Matilda, whom he married to Geoffry Plantagenet, the Earl of Anjou. On the birth to her of a son and heir, afterwards Henry II, the king procured from the nobles and prelates the renewal of the oath, extending it to her son. In 1135, after a reign of 35 years disturbed by wars and disorders, Henry died, and was succeeded on the throne of England by Stephen, earl of Boulogne, a grandson of the conqueror in the maternal line. He had been the first to take the oath of fealty to Matilda and her son; but before she could arrive in England had himself crowned king by the archbishop of Canterbury. Civil war now began to rage between the parties of the adverse claimants. After many years of alternate success, when the son of Matilda had arrived at age, in a council of nobles and prelates, called together for the purpose, it was determined that Stephen should retain the crown during his life and be succeeded by Henry. On Stephen's death in 1154 Henry Plantagenet, the son of Matilda, was crowned king of England under the title of Henry II. He is said to have been the most powerful monarch of his age; for besides the sovereignty of England and Normandy he inherited from his father Anjou and Maine; and as the dower of Eleanor, the divorced queen of Louis VII of France, whom he married, he received Guienne and Poictou: in 1172 he invaded and conquered Ireland, which before his time had been governed by its native kings.

When Henry II. came to the throne the English clergy were exempt from trial before the common courts of justice, and it was noticed that the ecclesiastical courts, to which their cases were amenable, sometimes passed over their crimes with impunity. Henry resolving to effect a change in this quarter to such a degree as to bring the ecclesiastical into subordination to the civil, to this end elevated to the See of Canterbury Thomas a' Becket, who from the intimacy which had existed between them, and from his previous knowledge of his character he thought would prove subservient to his will. But, having been elevated to the office of the second person in the kingdom, Becket insensibly appeared in the eyes of Henry to assume a remarkable self-importance. This, however, did not appear so to all observers; for the habits of abstemiousness practiced by Becket, in regard to the use of food, drink and clothing, as well as his practice of self-laceration and of washing the feet of thirteen beggars every day gave to him in the judgment of the people a character for extraordinary sanctity. This character, established at large, Becket opposed the authority of the king.

Henry in 1164 convoked a council "at Clarendon, wherein laws were passed declaring that priests should be amenable to the civil tribunals, without appeal to the pope, and that no edict of the pope shall be binding in England without the sanction of the king." Becket having resisted these laws was arrested. Henry arraigned him for the rents and profits he had received while he was chancellor. Becket appealed to Rome and obtained the support of Alexander III. Meantime the king obliged him to leave England and for a time he was entertained by the king of France. Further to oppose the practices of the church Henry suspended the payment of certain church revenues and concluded an alliance with Frederic Barbarossa, who was at war with the pope.

An agreement was at length in some way effected between Henry and Becket and the latter was restored to his bishoprick. He entered England after the manner of a conqueror, in a kind of semi-regal style. But, soon after, news having been brought to Henry in Normandy of Becket's notification of three of the principal English prelates of their excommunication by the pope because of certain acts of obedience to the king, Henry exclaimed, "Will my servants still leave me exposed to the insolence of this ungrateful and imperious priest?" Upon which four of his knights, named Tracy, Morville, Britts and Fitz Urse repaired to Canterbury and

assassinated Becket in his church during the evening service. They must have proceeded to this act, however, without Henry's knowledge; for the news of the murder is said to have filled him with consternation. He lost no time in making his peace with the pope and such concessions to the church as in the lifetime of Becket he would not have made. He obtained from Pope Gregory VIII. absolution and made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the murdered prelate, who was canonized: So great was the fame of the martyred saint that 100,000 pilgrims are said to have visited his tomb in one year.

Domestic dissensions caused much bitterness to Henry's old age. His sons were instigated by the wily king of France to take arms against him. Upon his father's refusal to give him the govern- of Normandy Henry, the eldest, rebelled. Notwithstanding their father's liberality to them in the days gone by Richard and Geoffry joined with their brother and the confederacy was enlarged by the accession thereto of William, the king of Scotland. "The English dominions in France were for two years the theater of war between the contending parties." A peace was at length arranged and the princes pardoned; but soon after, Richard, now the eldest son, rebelled and united with the king of France. These troubles, together with the sore disappointment of finding himself deserted by his youngest and favorite son John, brought Henry the sooner to his death. There must have been a cause for the course of disobedience taken by all his children; and it may have been truthfully said that "to Henry's want of conjugal fidelity and lawless loves may be traced many of his troubles."

Richard I., Cœur de Lion, having succeeded to the throne, set himself to work to prepare for his crusade, in connection with Philip Augustus, king of France, and Frederic Barbarossa, the emperor. On the day of Richard's coronation a most horrible slaughter of the Jews took place as a sacrifice acceptable to God. In the different kingdoms of Europe they were without the protection of the laws: and at times multitudes of them fell victims to a treacherous and madly fanatic populace.

On the conclusion of the truce with Saladin, spoken of elsewhere Richard hastened his return to his kingdom, where the intrigues of his brother John and Philip Augustus rendered his presence necessary. He passed overland from Palestine, and on his arrival in Germany, where he traveled in disguise, he was discovered and made prisoner by the Duke of Austria, who for 60,000 pounds

placed him in the hands of the emperor. In two years after the English gave for him to the emperor 300,000 pounds. Having arrived in England he was joyfully received by his subjects. Though his brother John had good cause to dread his presence yet Richard naturally kind to his own people, was willing to overlook his misdeeds. "I freely forgive him," said he, "and I hope I may forget his wrongs, as soon as he will my pardon." Though a jovial companion and a valorous knight Richard was fierce and rash in conduct; he received his death wound in storming the castle of a rebellious subject in France.

On the death of Richard, John, his brother, took immediate possession of the throne and put to death Arthur, his brother Geoffrey's son, who had risen as a claimant for it. For the murder of his nephew the king of France now deprived John of those possessions in that country which the English monarch was accustomed to hold as a fief of France; and besides this murder the other offenses whereof John was guilty, rendered his character odious to the English people. The nobility, perceiving in him such a character as might at some time yield up their rights without a struggle, organized themselves into a confederacy and demanded of him the restoration of their ancient laws and the redress of their grievances. Having brought together their armed forces at Runnymede, they compelled John to subscribe their great charter of rights called *Magna Charta*. The main things for which the charter gives security are: 1. Representation in parliament; 2. Trial by jury; 3. Writs of habeas corpus. It also provides for the fixed and regular returns of the courts of common pleas, and for the safety of foreign merchants traveling in England. Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury braved the pope's displeasure by being one of the foremost in procuring and afterwards in defending from the faithless attempts of John this great chart of English liberties. Twenty-five of the barons were named as guardians of the liberties of the kingdom to whom was committed the charge of seeing the provisions of the charter executed. In this instrument was contained the germ of English and American constitutional liberty.

John's next step was to give his dominions to the pope, and he received them back as a fief of the Holy See together with absolution from his engagements. Then putting himself at the head of an army of foreign mercenaries he attacked the unsuspecting barons, burned their castles and laid waste their territories. The

barons, on their part, offered the crown to Louis, son of Philip Augustus of France, who entered England with another foreign army. But on John's death many of the nobles withdrew their support from Louis and proclaimed Henry III., the son of John, during whose minority the earl of Pembroke acted as regent. Having actively engaged his forces against Louis he compelled him to renounce his claim upon the throne of England.

Henry III. married Eleanor, the daughter of the Count of Provence. Having applied to the parliament for money to enable him to invade France, the barons first demanded the confirmation of the charter. This Henry granted. His invasion of France being productive of no beneficial result the spirit of disaffection spread throughout the kingdom. Henry again renewed the great charter with imposing ceremonies; but afterwards disregarding it a parliament was called at Oxford, which confirmed and extended the rights of the people.

The barons organized against the king under the command of de Montfort, earl of Leicester. In the war which ensued Leicester got possession of the king, and for two years exercised the regal power in his name. Edward, Henry's eldest son, who had at first joined the party against his father, now took command of the royalists, and by his energy and valor obtained a victory over the forces of de Montfort at Evesham, where the last named general was slain. During the reign of Henry III., notwithstanding the disorders which for some time existed, the country increased in wealth and extended its commerce; the rights of the general public also became more respected, *and for the first time they were represented in parliament.*

Prince Edward, at the summons of the pope, in the period which intervened between the battle of Evesham and his father's death, went, accompanied by his wife and a few followers upon the eighth crusade.

Returning to England on his father's death, Edward conceived the design of reducing to the dominion of England the whole island of Britain. He eventually conquered the Welsh who bravely and long maintained their independence under their king Llewellyn, until this prince was killed. David, his brother, having been made prisoner by the English, was tried as a traitor and executed with a remarkable barbarity. Tradition says that Edward then convoked an assembly of the leaders of the Welsh and told them he would give them for their sovereign a prince, with whose manners no possi-

ble fault could be found, a Welshman by birth, who could not speak even a word of English; and amidst their joyful acclamations he produced his infant son, born in Wales, in the castle of Caernarvon. This was his second son, but, the oldest dying, the "Prince of Wales" became afterwards the title of the heir of the monarchy.

In his invasion of Scotland, which he undertook next, one of the most powerful opponents Edward met with was Sir William Wallace, who for a long time made good headway against the English forces. He was, however, at length betrayed to Edward by a pretended friend of his, named Sir John Monteith, and suffered on Tower Hill, at London, the cruel death of a traitor; a death, however, which, though barbarous and ignominious was to him rather a glory than dishonor.

But with Robert Bruce Edward was especially enraged. It is said that Edward was so enraged at his conduct that he and his son swore, at a military court at Westminster, never to rest till Scotland was subdued. To fulfill his oath he had levied a large army and having proceeded with it as far as Carlisle there died. Edward II. his son and successor either withdrew the forces his father had marched to the Scottish border or left them there under lieutenants, contrary to his father's dying commands. His nobles, displeased with his retreat and with the listless way in which he spent time with certain favorites of his, at last worked on him so as to compel him to give up his listlessness and to renew the war with Scotland. He, therefore, invaded Scotland with an army much greater than Bruce had ready to oppose him. The Scots had, however, made careful preparation for the action and had well chosen their ground on the memorable field of Bannockburn, in the county of Sterling. The armies were in sight of each other when the Scots knelt to implore the blessing of heaven and to receive the benediction of their priests. Edward who had expressed doubts as to whether they would abide battle, on beholding the army in this posture of supplication, exclaimed joyfully, "They crave mercy." "It is from heaven, not from your highness," replied Umfraville, a Scotchman in the English service; "on this very field they will either win or die." This prediction was fulfilled, the English were defeated and driven into their own kingdom. The battle of Bannockburn is said to have been fought in 1314. Edward III. came to the throne on the deposition of his father in 1327, and of him it is not necessary to make mention until he assumed the title of king

of France and invaded that country in 1339. At Helveot Sluys he gained an important naval battle upon which he returned to England to make more vigorous the preparations for another war. In this expedition he was successful, gaining the battle of Cressy and taking Calais in 1346. David the son of Bruce, now finding the English engaged in France, makes an attack upon the northern parts of England, but was met by an army from the south, defeated, taken prisoner and kept in captivity eleven years. Thus and in this year, 1346, was Scotland for a time subjected to the English Normans.

The truce fixed upon after the fall of Calais having expired Edward renewed the war with France. At the battle of Poictiers, the Black Prince, his son, defeated the French, and made John, the king of France, his prisoner. A treaty was now arranged by which the ancient English possessions and recent conquests in France were yielded to Edward besides a large ransom in money for the captive king. Edward III. improved England in several ways; but his foreign wars greatly impoverished it. In his old age he lived wretchedly, and, when he departed this life, he died miserably. It has been said, "His successes were a dazzling show, the evils which followed were a great reality."

The "Black Prince" of Wales never became king; but a state of gloomy discontent pervaded England when Richard II., his son, succeeded his grandfather, in 1377. Not only had the foreign wars impoverished the country, but the services of feudalism now amounted to personal slavery and worse than the tyranny of the temporal lords was that of the lords spiritual. Besides tithes and perquisites *the clergy*, wonderful to relate, *owned at this time more than one-half the landed property in England.*

A reformer of no mediocre ability now appeared in the person of John Wickliffe, born in 1324. He was educated and received distinguished honors at Oxford. In 1370 he began to declaim openly against what he termed the usurped powers of the pope. Edward III. invited him to court and gave him the living of Lutterworth. When the pope commanded the English clergy to seize the arch heretic, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, protected him. Wickliffe then came boldly before parliament with a severe paper against the papal infallibility and in advocacy of the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. He then had in mind making a translation of the Bible. Though afterwards persecuted Wickliffe died a natural death at a good old age. His bones were after his death

exhumed and burned but his doctrines germinated and bore good fruit in the minds and characters of men.

Richard II., being deposed, was succeeded on the throne, in 1399, by Henry, duke of Lancaster, son to John of Gaunt, son to Edward III., who had rebelled against him. He now became Henry IV. Rebellions which arose in the north and in Wales he suppressed. In his reign (1401), the first laws were enacted for punishing heretics with death. William Sawtry, a preacher, who followed the preachings of Wickliffe was burnt at Smithfield in 1401, the first Christian who was put to death in England by men professing to be Christians for alleged errors of opinion.

In 1413 Henry V. succeeded his father on the throne of England. He, in many respects, proved to be a more sensible man than his the youth had given promise of. But cruel laws were enacted against followers of Wickliffe's doctrines: yet the sect increased and under the name of Lollards formed an extensive party in the kingdom. The proceedings against them became so intolerable as to drive them into open rebellion: and they being dispersed their leader, Sir John Oldcastle, was barbariously executed.

Henry now renewing the claim of the Plantagenets to the crown of France invaded that country at the head of a powerful army, reduced Harfleur and terminated this campaign with the memorable victory of Agincourt. Through the success of his arms and by treaties Henry made himself master of Paris and a large portion of France. He married the Princess Catharine, daughter of the French king, and was acknowledged heir of the monarchy. Charles, king of France, was reinstated on the throne, but his kingship was merely nominal, the real authority being vested in the English sovereign. After Henry's death Catharine married Owen Tudor, of Wales, and from this connection sprang the house of Tudor. The two kings, Henry V. and Charles VI., died the same year; and although Henry VI., the son and heir of the former, was proclaimed with great rejoicings both in Paris and in London, yet the dauphin, the son and heir to the French king, assumed the government under the title of Charles VII. He was crowned at Poictiers, Rheims, the usual place being in the hands of his enemies. On the side of the English, and in support of the regent Bedford, there were the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany and against such a powerful force as they had at their disposition Charles, although he had received some reinforcements from Scotland, could not, with his treasury in such a depleted condition, expect to make much

headway. At Verneuil the duke of Bedford obtained a victory over the united French and Scotch. Orleans, which was considered the key to France, he then besieged and Charles hopeless of relieving it was about to retire, when his hopes were revived by a most singular event. A young female appeared before him and declared herself commissioned by God to deliver the city of Orleans and conduct him to Rheims, there to be crowned and anointed. That she was commissioned by heaven both Charles and his courtiers believed from the solemn impressions which she made upon them.

A convention of the clergy was called which pronounced her revelation genuine. Clad in steel from head to foot, and bearing a consecrated banner, the maid of Orleans rode forth. She took command of the army, and, assured by a voice from God, the troops followed her into the city. The English pretended to laugh, but they were evidently under fear that perchance they were fighting against God. The heroine led the French to continued victories until she put them in possession of Orleans.

She then demanded of the king to depart with her to Rheims to be crowned, and, although he thought this a mad undertaking, the intervening country being in the hands of the English, he obeyed. The English, though the duke of Bedford's orders were strict, could not be prevailed upon to offer her little cavalcade any resistance. As they passed along the cities opened their gates; Charles entered Rheims and was crowned and anointed. The maid here declared that her mission was ended and that she should depart; but the French pleaded for her stay, and she unwisely remained in the camp. At the siege of Compeigne she was taken captive in making a sally, tried by an English ecclesiastical court for the crime of sorcery and burnt to death. But her influence continued to be felt. Heaven had interfered in behalf of the French: the English party declined in numbers; and the death of the duke of Bedford changed things so as to enable Charles to obtain possession of his entire kingdom.

When Henry V. died in France, as said before, his son, Henry VI., was yet an infant. Before his death he appointed his brothers, the dukes of Glouscester and Bedford, the former to the regency of England, the latter to that of France. As the young king grew up he was found to be of a good disposition but lacked capacity. At the age of twenty-five he married Margaret, the daughter of the king of Sicily, whom history represents as a woman of masculine mind, coping with the most able politicians and commanders of her

day; while she was obliged to be the supporter of a husband, whose mind, naturally weak, sometimes sunk into utter imbecility.

When Henry IV., who had formerly been earl of Hereford and son to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who was uncle to Richard II. succeeded to the sovereignty, there were still living some of the descendants of the duke of Clarence, an elder brother of John of Gaunt; and whose claim to the throne was consequently superior to that of the Lancastrian family. Richard, duke of York, now represented that family, his mother being the last recognized descendant of Clarence. Richard's claim, therefore, was chiefly maternal, "but he was descended paternally from a son of Edward III., who was younger than the duke of Lancaster." The opposition to the queen of Henry V. and her ministry, during the inability of her son, Henry VI., had procured from Parliament the appointment of Richard as protector of the kingdom; but the transient restoration of the king again transferred the power to the queen's party. The Yorkists, or adherents of Richard, took up arms and a civil war begun, which, for thirty years, desolated the land. "This was termed the War of the Roses, the Lancastrian party, assuming the red and the Yorkists the white rose." The period was a very disastrous one for the country; repeated battles and executions destroying its commercial and domestic interests and deluging it with blood.

The first battle, fought between the rival parties was at St. Albans, where the Yorkists were triumphant. Having obtained possession of the king they induced him to sign a general pardon and to reinstate the duke of York in office. A change was, however, soon again effected by the court party, and York dismissed by the king, but three years elapsed before hostilities were renewed. The king, much desiring peace, tried to reconcile all differences. He went in procession with his whole court to the cathedral of St. Paul, the duke of York, at his desire, walking with the queen. But cabals and intrigues in various ways again led to war. At Bloreheath in Staffordshire, the contending parties again encountered each other, victory declaring this time for the Lancastrians. The duke of York was now compelled to take refuge in Ireland.

Meantime the Earl of Warwick, now governor of Calais, espoused the cause of Richard and landed a force in Kent. As he advanced to London his army increased, and coming to the city he entered and took possession of the king. A parliament being convoked it was decreed that Henry VI. should remain king during his life and

then that the duke of York should succeed him, and in the meantime be intrusted with the administration of the government. The queen meantime with her young son had retired into the northern part of the kingdom, where a considerable army had gathered around her. Richard marched against her, but was defeated and slain at Wakefield green and his principal followers taken and executed.

Edward, earl of March, son and heir of Richard, duke of York, now prosecuted his claim. At St. Albans he was again victorious in a battle fought with the queen's army. Margaret, now joined by her husband, retired into the north of England where most of her strength lay, and the son of Richard was crowned king at London, under the title of Edward IV. The contending parties now raged with great violence. Their armies met near Towton, a few miles from York, where was fought the greatest battle which yet occurred during the war. The forces of the Lancastrians numbered 60,000, those of Edward 40,000. During three days the fight continued at intervals and resulted in the entire discomfiture of the Lancastrian army. In that battle 36,000 of the English are said to have fallen.

Margaret now fled with her husband and young son to seek friends in Scotland. She next went to France seeking aid from Louis XI., and, after an absence of two years, returned with a small body of French which was increased by her Scottish allies. With these forces she again met her enemies but was defeated at Hexham near the Tyne and with her husband and son again compelled to flee. Secreting himself for a while in the borders of Scotland Henry was made prisoner and confined in the tower. Margaret with the young prince escaped to the continent. The Lancastrians, everywhere defeated and humbled and left without a chief, were incapable of offering any effectual resistance and France and Scotland manifested a desire of friendship with the ruling king of England.

Edward had now the misfortune of injuring his cause by offending the earl of Warwick, styled "the king maker." With his consent the earl had gone to the continent to arrange a marriage between himself and the princess of Savoy, sister-in-law of Louis XI.; but meantime Edward accidently meeting with the Lady Elizabeth Gray, of the family of Wydeville, was so pleased with her that he impulsively married her and soon acknowledged her publicly as his queen. The earl of Warwick resenting this conduct, which interfered

with the negotiations in which he was engaged, now conspired against him and took sides with the party of Margaret.

Warwick, having landed a considerable army from Calais in England, produced such a revolt against Edward as obliged him to flee to Holland. Having obtained there, however, a considerable army of Flemings he returned to England and encountered his enemy at Barnet, near London, where Warwick's army was defeated and himself slain. Margaret, on the same day, arrived in England from France, and another battle was fought at Tewksbury where she was entirely defeated. Her young son, prince Edward, was taken prisoner and murdered. This battle closed the bloody war, secured the crown to Edward IV., and restored tranquility to the kingdom. Soon after the battle of Tewksbury Henry VI., who had never been more than a nominal king, died in the tower. His death has been charged to Richard, duke of Gloucester, the brother of Edward IV. Margaret, who had displayed such an indomitable will in her resolution and perseverance to succeed was now long kept a prisoner; but was at length ransomed by Louis XI., when she returned to her father's court.

Edward now prepared to invade France; but Louis XI. averted the invasion by concluding a treaty with him. His son, Edward, at the age of thirteen, was declared his successor, but his coronation was delayed through the intrigues and sinister designs of his uncle, Richard, duke of Gloucester. A large party of the ancient nobility having manifested a jealousy of the rising fortune of the Wydevilles, the queen's relatives, Richard now availed himself of this party for the execution of his designs. As soon as possible he got into his possession the young king and his brother, the duke of York. He then removed all the nobles, who, he thought, might oppose his usurpations, having the Wydevilles, lords Stanley and Hastings, executed on the same day without form of trial.

The parliament then obsequiously declared the young princes illegitimate and proclaimed Richard king. The two princes, who were confined in the tower, now disappeared, and it was supposed they were murdered by Richard's command; but this probably was not so. The duke of Buckingham, who had been the prime instrument in Richard's elevation, perceiving the general detestation in which his crimes now made him to be held, turned against him. Henry, earl of Richmond, of the family of Owen Tudor and Cathrine of France, the dowager queen of Henry V., was on his mother's side descended from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

Of the Lancastrian party he was now the only conspicuous chief, and, being now in exile on the continent, the Lancastrians formed a conspiracy to dethrone Richard and confer on him the crown. Richard, discovering the plot, seized and executed the duke of Buckingham, its prime mover, and a few of his accomplices. He then summoned a parliament who acknowledged his title to the crown, to strengthen which Richard arranged, although his wife was yet living, to marry his niece, Elizabeth, sister of the now disappeared princes.

Meanwhile Henry of Richmond, with an eye on the probable patriotism of the people of his paternal ancestors, embarked from Harfleur in Normandy with 2,000 well equipped men and landed at Milford Haven in Wales, where he was joyfully received by the Welsh, who largely augmented his army. Although Richard had been energetic in his measures for repelling the invasion, yet he was thwarted, not being able to depend upon the fidelity of those nobles, who felt they must, in the circumstances, appear in his cause. The opposing armies met on Bosworth field, where Richard was defeated and slain, Henry, earl of Richmond, was saluted upon the field king of England, and thus was transferred the crown from the house of Plantagenet to that of Tudor, in 1485. His subsequent marriage with Elizabeth united the house of York to that of Lancaster.

During his reign appeared a young man, who claimed to be Edward V., the rightful king of England; and another young man, who claimed to be the duke of York, brother to the other. Of course it did not suit Henry's policy to recognize their claim, nor was it safe for others to do so. The first of these was, therefore, called by the public, as a convenient appellation, Lambert Simnel and the second Perkin Warbeck. These two persons had for a time a considerably strong party in the kingdom.

The reign of Henry VII. is memorable for two things: *first, as being the last before the Protestant Reformation; and second, as being that in which the discovery of America took place. It was under the banner of Henry VII. that North America was discovered by the Venetian captains, John and Sebastian Cabot.* During his reign of twenty-five years England prospered; many good laws were passed; commerce and industry were encouraged; advantages which counterbalanced his many avaricious exactions. The parliament at this time, having little independence, gave its sanction to such acts as were most agreeable to the king. James

IV., king of Scotland, married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., and from her descended the line of Steward, kings of Great Britain. Henry VII. was succeeded in 1509 by his son, Henry VIII., the first of the "reforming kings" of England.

From the time the missionary Augustin became first archbishop of Canterbury, after his baptism of the King of Kent with great numbers of his people (596–600 A. D.) there can be no doubt that Christianity was acknowledged more or less as the religion of the people of all the seven or eight Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, for the period of 227 years to the union of the Heptarchic or Octarchic crowns in the person of Egbert, i. e., Cenwulf, an Anglic king.

But the Saxons were slow converts to Christianity, as we know from the fact of Charlemagne (800 A. D.) having through his sense of duty or policy — had to force the continental Saxons to enter the church; and even though the British Saxons had been all converted to Christianity before the year 800, as doubtless they were, yet we cannot suppose there was anything like the systematic order or polity carried on between each of these little kingdoms and the See of Rome, as afterwards necessarily had place, when the Roman Catholic religion was acknowledged either tacitly or verbally by law, as the religion of the state in the ages after the union of the Octarchic kingdoms. It is from after this time that the pope may be said to have governed Anglo-Saxon Britain directly from Rome just as he did all the other nations of Europe, which had arisen on the ruins of the Roman empire of the west.

In the line of the Anglo-Saxon kings of the race of Cenwulf I do not find any indication of acknowledgment of superiority of the See of Rome to their home polity before the reign of Alfred the great, Cenwulph's grandson. This man was a professor of the religion of Rome, and after his defeat of the Danes in the battle of Ethandune we see him allow them to settle in Northumberland and East Anglia on condition of their being governed by his laws and embracing Christianity. "They were accordingly baptized and the king himself stood sponsor for Guthrun their chief." Not only his predecessors in the Anglo-Saxon monarchy but Alfred the great himself were much occupied by incursions of the Northmen especially the Danes, into the country. Alfred, from the account given, appears to have spent much of his mature life in hiding from these barbarous freebooters: nor can he be said to have got firmly settled in the kingdom before his defeat and settlement of them as aforesaid.

Alfred was called "the great," not only because he was great in other respects, but because, like Charlemagne, he was great to the church. It is in its relation to the church, more especially to the See of Rome, that we are considering in the prophecy the Anglo-Saxon-Norman monarchy, just as in like manner the Franco-German. It is only in such sense that these monarchies could be supposed to have any relation to the prophetic symbols we are considering; for, in the symbolic prefiguration in the prophecy, these monarchies, as is seen, are only in the relation of appendages.

If, therefore, before the reign of Alfred the Great there were no expressed or understood relation by acknowledgment of dependence of this monarchy on the See of Rome, or by acknowledgment of duty to obey it in all things, contributing to it money, etc., and if it be allowed that Alfred the Great was the first king of England, who expressedly or actually acknowledged such relation of dependence and duty, which relation was afterwards understood and acted upon on the one side by the kings of England, the successors of Alfred, as long as they continued in connection with the See of Rome, which was down to the Protestant Reformation, and on the other side by the See of Rome; then we are to date the connection of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy with the See of Rome from the time that Alfred the great attained to the supremacy in the kingdom down to the time when the monarchy of England, in the person of Henry VIII., severed by law its connection with the See of Rome; or, in other words, from or from about the time that Alfred was crowned king of England down to that point in the life of Henry VIII., when he broke off all connection with the See of Rome by assuming the spiritual supremacy, formerly granted to and exercised by the pope over the realm of England. The death of Alfred the great is set down for the year 901, when he was aged 59 years, he having been born, according to this in 842. "At the age of twenty-two he ascended the throne," that is, when he was rising 23 which would leave his ascent to the throne to have been about in the year 865. And this truly appears to have been the time of Altred's accession, for in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 860 I find as follows: "This year died King Ethebald and his body lies at Sherborne; and Ethelbert succeeded to all the realm of his brother and he held it in goodly concord and in great tranquility." —"And Ethelbert reigned five years and his body lies at Sherborne." He then has Ethelred, that is Aethelfred or Alfred, to

succeed, putting said Ethelred's accession under the year 866; but it would, of course, be the same year of the death of his predecessor, that is, 865. And thus agrees in general Miller's and Turner's histories and all the histories of the Anglo-Saxons which I know of. If this be the proper date, it is from this or from a very few years after it that the time is to be reckoned during which England may be understood to have legally acknowledged the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over its home government, down to that point in the reign of Henry VIII., when he assumed to himself the spiritual supremacy over England, and severed all legal connection between that kingdom and the See of Rome considered as its supreme head. But, at the time of the ascent of Alfred to the throne, things were in a very unsettled condition in regard to the kingdom's internal affairs arising mostly from the incursions of the Danes. On coming to the throne he would, therefore, be reasonably supposed to be occupied for a few years in arranging the internal affairs of his kingdom, or in securing his own personal safety before he would enter into any business with the See of Rome, either directly or indirectly recognizing its supremacy over England, a supremacy which was certainly acknowledged in effect in all the ages after Alfred until Henry VIII assumed it to himself; so that it is said that in the fourteenth century the church owned "half of the land of England." We may, therefore, give as the period that England acknowledged the supremacy of the See of Rome as 1534 — 868 in years, that is from a few years after the accession of Alfred the Great to the throne of England, under the form of name Ethelred (i. e. properly Æthelfred, or Ælfred) as this is given in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle or in Turner's history of the Anglo-Saxons, to that of the assumption of spiritual supremacy by Henry VIII, in 1534.

It may be wondered why it was that the point of time of the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the See of Rome over the English kingdom did not begin farther back in the line of monarchs, say at Cenwulf, the grandfather of Alfred and founder of the monarchy? The reason must be that there was no such mutual understanding as a supremacy on the one side and a dependency on the other recognized between the See of Rome and the realm of England before Alfred. This position by no means argues that the Anglo-Saxon kings and their peoples before the reign of Alfred, even away back in the Heptarchic kingdoms, were not Roman Catholics.; for they largely were as Beda's Ecclesiastical history,

with other histories, makes to appear; but, as said, they had no understanding of a dependency of their kingdom on the See of Rome, in the way, legalized or otherwise, which Alfred and his successors came to acknowledge such dependency. In the same way it might be wondered why it was in the life of Charlemagne in particular the point of connection was made, as it evidently was with the See of Rome from which the time in years is reckoned forward to the accession of Frederick III., he who was successor of Charlemagne, as German emperor, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks? Or why that point was not at some point in the life of Charlemagne's father Pepin, who was also king of France, or of that of his grandfather Charles Martel, all of whom were professed Roman Catholics, dutiful children of the "holy father" at Rome? The answer is as above that before Charlemagne the time had not come for any such connection to be signified; and so it commenced at a point in the life of Charlemagne by which the connection is easily perceived; and, reckoning from which to the point at which you have to terminate that such significant connection, the meaning cannot be misunderstood.

And, so reckoning from the accession of Alfred the Great, as that date is entered in the histories or from some date near to this (as the dates entered in the histories for those early periods are sometimes only approximations) to the date of the exercise or the "assumption" of the spiritual supremacy by Henry VIII., the points of time are quite as definitely marked, and the meaning just as little to be misapprehended.

But what is the meaning? it will be asked. The meaning is, according to the prophecy, that the bishop of Rome had, for the period given in that interval, a supremacy over or dispensation of those kingdoms, and this, their own people consenting thereto. He certainly had no dispensation of the crown or benefices of the realm of England after Henry VIII. had assumed the supremacy of all kinds over that realm himself.

The Anglo-Saxon-Norman monarchy in its spiritual or Christian relation to the See of Rome, historically speaking, is here assumed as the original of one of the horns of the Lamblike Symbolization of Rev. XIII, 11; the other horn being assumed to represent the Franco-German empire in its like Spiritual or Christian relation to the same See.

The line of the kings of England for the space under our consideration is as follows:

Anglo-Saxon Dynasty.	Egbert, i.e. Cenwulf of the race of the Angles, first monarch after the Heptarchie. Ceolwulf, brother of Ethelwolf, i.e. Ethelbald, son of Cenwulf Ethelbert, son of Ethelwolf Alfred i.e. Æthelfred, i.e., Ethelred, son of Ethelwulf Edward "the elder," son of Æthalstan, son of Edmund, "the elder," son of Edred, brother of; "in his reign monasteries established." Edwy, son of Edgar, brother of Edward II, son of Ethelred, son of Edgar and Elfrida. Edmund II, "Ironside" son of
Danish Dynasty.	Sweyn, not fully established as king. Canute, son of Harold, son of Hardicanute brother of
Anglo-Saxon Dynasty.	Edward, "the confessor," son of Ethelred Harold, son of Earl Godwin, for four years.
House of Normandy.	William "of Normandy" William II, "Rufus," son of Henry I, brother of
House of Blois.	Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, grandson of William I by his daughter Adela.

House of Plantagenet.

Henry II, grandson of Henry I, by his daughter Matilda.
Richard I, son of
John, brother of
Henry III, son of
Edward I, son of
Edward II, son of
Edward III, son of
Richard II, son of the "black prince."
Henry IV, "Duke of Lancaster."
Henry V, son of
Henry VI, son of
Edward IV, son of Richard, duke of York.
Edward V, son of
Richard III, uncle of

House of Tudor.

Henry VII, "earl of Richmond."
Henry VIII, son of

In the manner of the "Coronation" of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs it does not appear that the custom of their ancestors on the continent was ever much departed from. They seem to have had festivities accompanied with their ancient Gothic songs; the absence of the appendage called "a crown" dispensing, of course, with the presence of a bishop at least for the purpose of putting this on the monarch's head; although they may have had something corresponding to a crown. The story of Alfred, afterwards called the great, having been crowned by the Pope at Rome when he was five years of age and on the desire of his father to have him succeed to himself instead of his elder brother, is simply a monkish fiction of William of Malmesbury or some other, who wished to have Alfred correspond to Charlemagne as much as possible as to personal character and accidents of life. The account also of the coronation of Ethelred, the son of Elfrida, by Dunstan is either fictitious or an extravagant representation of what really took place.

Of the prophecy in Rev. XIII., 11–18, which we are now considering, we have under this head commented particularly only on the first verse (that is verse 11th,) of this chapter. The rest of it we will develop now: Verse 12th is: "And he exerciseth all the

power of the first being before him and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first being, whose deadly wound was healed." The first symbolic prefiguration here spoken of refers to the empire at Constantinople; and the second one exercising all the power which he was accustomed to exercise before him, means that the papacy to which the second refers, exercised all the same kind of power as the other did, namely, temporal and spiritual sovereignty; "before him" meaning contemporaneously with him, literally "before his face," in view of him. And his "causing the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first being whose deadly wound was healed" means that the papacy caused all its adherents to obey the empire at Constantinople, during the two centuries of the exarchate of Ravenna, or in the main from 553 to 754 A. D., at which last date the exarchate was transferred to the papacy by Pepin, king of France, and forever lost to the empire at Constantinople. I have shown clearly before that the "deadly wound healed" or the "wounded head revived" refers to the restoration of Rome and Italy to the eastern Roman empire in 553 by the general of the Emperor Justinian, after which for about two centuries Rome was within the jurisdiction of the Roman empire proper. For this period, therefore, the pope was a subject of the Roman emperor, and would personally and through his ministry inculcate in the churches obedience to him. It is plain that the wounded head healed refers to this part of the empire which was lost to the empire for one hundred and fifty years or so (410–553) and possessed and much abused by the Goths and Vandals; and then restored to the empire in 553 and possessed by it during the successive terms of eighteen exarchs. During this period the popes appear, on the whole, to have acted as dutiful subjects and profitable servants to the eastern Roman emperors; for he caused "the earth," that is, the Latin church, extending in the west far and wide, over which his dominion was acknowledged, "to worship the first being, whose deadly wound was healed," that is, to obey the laws and respect the emperor of the Roman empire proper whose seat was at Constantinople.

Verse 13: "And he doth great wonders so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men." This appears to refer to the miracles which the Papacy and the Roman Catholic ministry generally claimed the power of doing. In Matthew XXIV., 24, Jesus says in a discourse to his disciples: "For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets and shall show

great signs and wonders, insomuch that if it were possible they shall deceive the very elect." And, in the 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians, Ch. II., 9–10, Paul, in speaking of the mystery of iniquity, which would in time be revealed, says: "Even him, whose coming is after the power of Satan, with all powers and signs and lying wonders; and with all deceivableness of righteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." From this it is plain that wonders or miracles, so called, may be for lying and deceiving as well as for good purposes; and hence how necessary it is that those engaged in the ministry of the church should gird up the loins of their mind and so govern themselves that in all they say and do they should be strictly consistent with truth and righteousness, looking to the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, and always cultivating his spirit in themselves and all others. Looking unto him they will receive the love of the truth, whereby they may be saved and will not be given over to "the strong delusion," which God should send, "that they should believe a lie: That they might be condemned who would not believe the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." 2d Thess. II., 11–12. "So that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men." Some have thought this part of the prophecy to have pointed literally to the "Greek fire," which was used so effectually by the Eastern Roman empire against the Saracen Mahometans in their siege of Constantinople in the years 661 to 667. In the former of these years the Caliph, Moawyah, succeeded to the Caliphate and in his victorious progress westward made several ineffectual attempts to capture Constantinople. For five successive summers the Moslems attacked the city and retreated in the winter. At length in 667 the Greek fire was invented by Callinicus of Heliopolis and brought by him to Constantinople.

It was a composition of naphtha, pitch and sulphur, which, when once ignited, could not be extinguished by water. It adhered to wood and so consumed whole fleets; when thrown upon the combatants it insinuated itself between the joints of their armor and they died a death of torture. It was projected by pistons, "took fire in the air and approached its victims in the form of fiery dragons." In one winter the caliph lost a fleet and army; and not only retired, but concluded a peace by agreeing to pay the emperor a tribute for thirty years. Thus and at this time was the progress of the Musselmans barred in the east; while in the west, at a

somewhat later date, it was effectually barred by Charles Martel, in the great battle he fought with them of seven day's duration on the field of Tours, in 714. The Greek fire, therefore, which proved so effectual against the enemies of the empire, was first invented and used while the pope was a subject of the eastern Roman empire, but its origination, according to the account, is not ascribable to Rome or Italy or to any one in the then Roman empire; but to one who had his abode in the then Mahometan province of Egypt, to "Callinicus of Heliopolis, who invented it and brought it to Constantinople." If then the prophecy point to the Greek fire it cannot mean that it originated from the papacy to which the prophecy evidently points; and so the prophecy may not point so distinctively to the Greek fire as to that which was preindicated by Christ and Paul as quoted above. During the two centuries which included the invention and use of the Greek fire in defense of the capital of the empire, the papacy was subject to that empire and the prayers of the Papacy, in all its ramifications were daily offered for the peace, prosperity and good weal of the empire and emperor; therefore the invention and effectual use of this fire for this purpose may have been by some ascribed as a result of the prayers of the church, which would in the uncritical vulgar mind — which takes things by wholes — resolve itself into a miracle of the church or of the Pope. Verse 14: "And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the being; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the being, which had the wound by a sword and did live." The first part of this verse is included in the explanation I have given of the preceding verse; namely, in the miracles, which the Papacy and the church always either claimed the power to do or that they were the instruments in doing. But in the last part of the verse: "Saying to them that dwell on the earth that they should make an image to the being which had the wound by a sword and did live;" we have another phase of the prophecy, another preindication. Here the Papacy is in a transition state; it passes out of the two hundred years of the exarchate, and out of a state of subjection, first to the emperors at Rome, second to the emperors at Constantinople; third to the Gothic kings of Rome and Italy; and fourth to the Exarchs and the emperors at Constantinople, into a state of independence, into its own independent, temporal sovereignty, which it receives as a gift from its devoted sons Pepin and Charlemagne, kings of France, and retains and ex-

ercises then for many centuries, all the western potentates, kings and emperors, consenting thereto. "Saying to them that dwell on the earth that they should make an image to the being that had the wound by a sword and did live." Here the Papacy first advises its own people at Rome and in the Exarchate to organize a state and church government, after the manner of that of the Roman empire, whose seat was at Constantinople, of which new government the pope should be sovereign. Secondly, the Papacy, through itself and through its ministry advises Charlemagne, the now ruler of most of western people, excepting Scandinavia and the British isles, to organize a system of government after the pattern of that of the Roman empire, whose seat was at Constantinople; of which empire the pope was to be considered spiritual head; but, as the spiritual was superior to the temporal, so the pope was to be also considered the supreme head, owner and dispenser of that empire. And thirdly, through its ministry in the British isles, the Papacy did, in like manner and spirit, teach organization of state governments after the pattern of that Roman empire, whose seat was at Constantinople; but of which, itself being naturally considered spiritual head, as head on earth of the Catholic church, representative of St. Peter and Vicegerent of Christ, it should be considered as supreme temporal ruler also. This was the doctrine preached at that time by the ministry of the Church of Rome, so that you have many state and church governments organized at this time and on the same general model. The union of the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms took place nearly at the same time as that of the Heptarchic kingdoms in England, and as that of the nations of Europe under the Carlovingian house. Ireland was now and for a long time previously had been a Catholic monarchy, acknowledging in general the supremacy of the pope. Thus, and in such way, by the teaching of its ministry far and wide, was the pope's supremacy over Europe established: Thus and in such way was each "image" (church and state government) "made to the being which had the wound by a sword and did live."

Verse 15: "And he had power to give life to the image of the being, that the image of the being should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the being should be killed." This prophecy shows the government of the Papacy in full operation, all its rights or assumptions acknowledged and its mandates obeyed, far and wide, as well as at home at Rome and in the Exarchate. "He had power to give life to the image of the

being, that the image of the being should both speak," etc., means that the Papacy, being the generally acknowledged supreme authority, business could not properly be carried on either in the jurisdiction proper of the Papacy, that is, the Exarchate, or in the other governments far and wide, which acknowledged the Papal supremacy, without the Papal sanction. Great confidence arises to the citizens of any country from their living in accordance with the established laws thereof; thus living they both "speak" out and act forth; but acting against the laws or not living in accordance with them they lack such confidence of word and act, are kicking against the pricks; and much limited in their action. "And he had power to give life to the image," etc., that is, the Roman Catholic ministry established in the exarchate and in all the other governments which acknowledged the Papal supremacy, were an influence in favor of that government so long as it did not oppose the Papal authority, or so long as it went in accordance with it: so long as this was the case the ministry prayed for the government and inculcated obedience thereto among all its people; but so soon as marked disobedience to, or disregard of the Papal authority was noticed in any of those governments this was either dealt with from Rome; or by the Papal ministry established in this government, when the latter was thought to be sufficient without direct interference from Rome. It is seen, therefore, that though there were no telegraphs or telephones in the ages to which this prophecy directly refers, yet the Papacy, through its pledged and sworn ministry was intimate at every European fireside, where its authority was acknowledged; and assumed the right to pry into not only the secret affairs but the secret thoughts of every one of its votaries.

"Should both speak and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the being should be killed;" This appears to mean that the Papacy as a recompense for obedience to itself, as the constituted visible supremacy upon earth, should by its influences so exercise the minds of governments and of the members thereof that they would the more easily perceive the spirit of the established laws, which had the Papal sanction, and the more easily perceive who they were who were obeying and who disobeying these laws; and the more intelligently compel obedience to those laws in accordance with the terms of their vow, pledge or oath to the Papal supremacy. Therefore, governments would become so intelligent as to the spirit of the laws, and so devoted to the

Papacy that those would not obey the laws of the State and of the church, "who would not worship the image of the being" should be disfranchised, imprisoned, killed temporally! Outcast, shunned, excommunicated, killed spiritually! It is seen, therefore, how the Papal system tended to centralization; and to the keeping of the masses, whom circumstances compel to ignorance, in the power of the few. The pope as supreme was the great center of power as well as the great centralizer in governments.

Verses 16-17: "And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in the right hand and in the foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell save he that had the mark or the name of the being or the number of his name.

In the present age at least the Roman Catholic laity commune, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper only in one kind the priest putting a wafer on their tongue; but neither bread nor cup in their right hand; although the clergy of that church commune in both kinds, partaking of both the bread and wine. The mark in this case would, doubtless, refer to the oath of allegiance taken to the pope by his subjects, in the Exarchate, which was usually taken with the right hand uplifted, or holding the Bible or some religious canon; and to the oath taken to obey the pope and the rules of the church by the Roman Catholic ministers at their ordination; and to the oath taken by the subjects of all Roman Catholic countries, so far as they were required to do so signifying allegiance to their highest ruler and obedience to the established laws and the constituted authorities. This oath or pledge might, too, have been in the way of a subscription with the right hand to a document, such as a profession of faith, or the like.

The sign in the forehead points to the sign of the cross marked by the tip of the priest's finger on the forehead of the infant in baptism in the Roman Catholic church. This mark of its kind was universally given in the Roman Catholic church, all in that system being baptized in their infancy.

"And that no man might buy or sell save he that had the mark or the name of the being or the number of his name." This means that it was contrary to the law of the Exarchate or the Papal dominions proper for any one to live there who was not a true Roman Catholic, which of course included as a preliminary the compliance with the ordinance of baptism and the reception of the mark upon the forehead. Secondly, it included compliance, perhaps, with other ordinances in which there should be an oath taken with the

right hand uplifted or by a subscription, etc. This was the general rule in all the organized governments in Roman Catholic Christendom, so when you speak of the Exarchate as a temporal and spiritual sovereignty you speak of all. You see, therefore, the pope being the acknowledged supreme head over all Christian kingdoms, all Western Europe was somewhat like one family under his fatherhood. They had all to be obedient to him and in their infancy to receive his distinguishing mark.

Moreover, the mark in the forehead or in the right hand would also indicate the slavery or entire subjection of mind and body into which all should be brought by this power; the forehead symbolizing the mental, intellectual and rational faculties; the right hand, the principal organ of corporeal labor, the bodily faculties. In the ages of papal supremacy over Europe men could not think very freely on many subjects, more especially the subject of religion. If they did so, they could not express themselves freely upon it. It is to be presumed that in those long ages referred to most people were of the class that are now called agnostics. Agnosticism was, indeed, the only safe ground for them to occupy, since they dared not differ in religious opinion from the priests. The subjection of the minds of the people to the priests, to such a degree as to interfere with their thinking fairly and fully upon the subject of religion or any subject on which they should think is a great injury to the people of any country, a great injury to any true polity. Until men's minds become enslaved their bodies will probably remain unsubdued; for the mind is the governor and director of the body, the latter follows and is obedient to the former. So men should above all things not neglect to use their reason freely, fearlessly and aright; for it is the highest and noblest faculty with which God has endowed them, and they should appreciate and use this endowment and not allow any man or any system to enslave it and them most basely in and with it. But while men freely use and cultivate their reason and follow the course it leads them in, they should at the same time always remember to cultivate modesty and exercise charity.

Verse 18th and last: "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the being, for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six." In Rev. XIV., 11, the mark is called the mark of the being's name, and in chapters XV., 2, and XIII., 17, the number is called the number of his name, which, according to the last clause of verse

18th of this XIIIth chapter, is in the original Greek χξς. The ancient Greeks, as well as Romans, used their alphabetic characters instead of figures to express numbers.

Thus the first character	χ	equals	600
" second "	ξ	"	60
" third "	ς=st	"	6
Which added together		"	666

And in the letters of our alphabet χ equals Ch.
" " " " " " " ξ " xi.
" " " " " " " ς " st.*

Which put together form Chxist, a specious resemblance of the name Christ.

The two first radical letters of the name Christ Ch. R., which are the first radicals of the mark, *Charagma*, and constituted the imperial monogram of the Christian Roman Empire, represent 700, the perfect number. The Ch, x, st, represent 666, an imperfect number, a tripple falling away, (apostasy) from septenary perfection, as Woodsworth calls it. The early copies A and Vulgate write the numbers in full in the Greek; but B writes merely the three Greek letters standing for numbers, Ch, x, st. C reads 616, but Irenæus, one of the earliest and most learned of the Fathers, opposes this and maintains 666.

Hence we see that Chxist is the name, which is so specious a resemblance of the name Christ, that the worldly, the selfish, the carnal, the cruel, the wicked, yea, all who are neglectful of their own soul's salvation and of that of the world, never detect the counterfeit. Does he look like as a lamb? Yet he has not the gentle nature of that creature; but a character more like that of the tiger.

Moreover it is stated in verse 18th that the number of the being is the number of man, that is, of man generically as well as individually. There is a parallel passage in Rev. XXI., 17, where the same word ἀνθρώπου is used, also without the article, in describing the dimensions of the new Jerusalem. If, therefore, man represent the dimensions of the symbolic being, man also represents the dimensions of the new Jerusalem or redeemed man.

* The character ς is an abbreviation for sti. or st.

[See an unabridged Greek Lexicon as to the numerical values, and equivalents in English letters of the Greek letters ς, ξ, χ.]

But, in regard to this number mark, it is due for me to explain here that it pertains to some politico-religious systems, which have place in the Eastern Roman empire as well as in the Western, even though these systems be not under the name of Christianity. Thus

MoHαμμεδισμης, Mohammedism, equals numerically 666 and

△ηαργαμανισμης, Turkomanism, equals numerically 666 and

Γηδαραμανισμης, Germanism, which is a variation of Turkomanism, equals numerically 666.

The Germans or Franco-Germans, which is here meant, on the West; and the Turks, the full spelling of which is Turkomans, on the East, have controlled the Roman empire since its fall on its opposite sides, the Turks having had the larger share.

The national name which the Turks call themselves is Magyarr, which you can see is but a transposition of Gaedargman, German, and of Deabargaman, Turkoman or Turk, as I have explained above. The Magyars are also the Hunns, Abars (i. e. Deabarg) and Chaesars; and, as you see, the name Goth (Gaed) is only a part of the full race name (see Dec. and Fall V., 411). The fuller form Deabarg (Edagarg) is root of the name Darius; and the lesser form Edab, Deab or Edag is the root of Ochus (Eachaidh), which are exchangeable. See Rollin, Anct. Hist. ii, 297.

But as to the symbolic prefiguration of Rev. XIII., 11–18, which we have had now under consideration, we have so far considered it mainly as to its external or historic bearing. As to its internal or spiritual bearing, however, it takes its marks from the reformed systems. In this respect the symbolization is here somewhat after the manner of that of the witness church in the wilderness (Ch. XII.), which wilderness referred to America, although there were about 1080 years of the 1260 of the persecution of the witnesses, which pertained to the Eastern hemisphere, in which America was not known, as I have explained. The two horns of the prefiguration have, therefore, primary reference to the two sacraments or oaths, which distinguish the reformed systems of religion, but which were the principal powers of the papacy for 1260 years before the reformation took place. Farther on I will give the exposition of this prophecy in relation to protestantism and its history. I will, however, say here that the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper are authorized by Christ to be received not by constraint, but willingly of all His disciples; but the union of church and state is not authorized by Him.

THE NATIONS OF "THE REFORMATION" ARE GOTHIC; NAMELY (1) GERMAN AND (2) ANGLO-SAXON-NORMAN, THEY BEING REPRESENTED IN THE PROPHECY BY THE TWO HORNS OF THE SYMBOLIC PREFIGURATION OF REVELATION XIII., 11–18; AND THEIR SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT, COMBINING THE CHURCH AND THE STATE, BEING IMAGES OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE SYSTEM, ESTABLISHED BY CHARLEMAGNE AND OTHO; OR IMAGES OF IMAGES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE SYSTEM ESTABLISHED AT CONSTANTINOPLE. THEY ARE ALSO IMAGES OF THE PAPAL MONARCHY

The Germanic nations wherein the Reformation took place were not included in the old pagan Roman empire: Saxony, where it originated, was conquered by Charlemagne after many years of war. In the time of Charlemagne, however, Saxony extended from the Rhine to the Baltic and from the German ocean on the west to Bohemia on the east, so that including many nations, which were afterwards called by other names, it might be thought but another name for Germany. This is also true to the derivation of the national name, for Sacai, whence Sachsen, is but another name for Scuthai or Scythian, whence the nation of the Gaer-men, Spear men or Germans. They are traceable to the same stock as are the Gaedhal or Gaels of the British isles.*

It is said that at several intervals before the time of Charlemagne the Saxons to the north of the Rhine were tributary to the French monarchs of the line of Clovis and Pepin d'Heristal, but that they as often revolted. It was not before the year 785 that Charlemagne had accomplished the conquest of the Saxons and had compelled their king, Witikind, and his people, under penalty of death to receive the papal religion and baptism. To this end he is said to have sacrificed many thousand Saxon lives. As we have seen in passing, under the preceding head, in the interval of the five centuries between Charlemagne and the fourteenth century other north German nations were brought into the Roman Catholic church by the secular force of the Papal Germanic empire. Into this religion the Gothic nations entered largely, not willingly; and when their time came to oppose the papal polity with any legal show of right on their side they did so quiet zealously.

* The derivation of the name Frank, i.e., Fran-Chaeth, indicates the Franks and Saxons to be of a common stock. Frank, as a national appellative, means the same as Sachsen, or Scythian, that is, literally, the child of Seth or Scaeth.

The Saxons of the empire of Charlemagne were of the same stock as were those Saxons who had immigrated to Britain three or three and a half centuries before. In regard to their receptivity of the papal Christianity the British Saxons seem to have had (although long separated as to time and place) about the same frame of mind as had their brethren or rather those of the same race on the continent. This system of Christianity the Anglo-Saxons were evidently slow to receive. It is not till the time of Alfred that there is noticeable much enthusiasm displayed in the cause of the Roman Catholic religion by the Anglo-Saxon kings. About the year 950, or fifty years after the death of Alfred, Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, flourished. He was an enterprising monk who bent his energies in favor of establishing monasteries as well as in the practice of celibacy, among the clergy in England. Contemporary with him was the celebrated or infamous Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, who disfigured the beautiful Elgiva, as mentioned before.

At the beginning of the Reformation the English race entered into the change with as great ardor as did the people of the same race on the continent; and the earnestness which they generally displayed in separating from the old polity when an opportunity presented itself for them with any show of legality on their side to do so, would rather indicate that the papal Christian polity did not suit the Saxon nature; that is, speaking strictly, the Germans north of the Rhine and in Britain. Whether or not these peoples found the papal religion to have been uncongenial to them, while established by law amongst them, it is certain that the sober and unexcitable nature and frame of mind of the Saxons may have been the general cause why that people did not, as other peoples, take up earlier and more zealously with the religion of Rome, which has so much in it that is adapted to take hold of the senses. But at the time of the reformation there was such an aggregation of long-standing abuses laid to the charge of the old established system that those sober-minded people, though never so averse to change, could not now shut the eyes of their understanding to the urgent need of a general change of polity and a thorough renovation of the old system.

The nations of the German empire in general, which had been brought into Christianity in whatever way on to the year 1000, appear to have considered themselves the children of the church; for, although their emperors had often such disagreements with the popes as amounted to war, they yet were wont to receive their

crown from his hands or from his deputies, the bishops, and generally evinced respect for the church. These were the German Christian nations then, with those brought into the church in whatever way after them, — say from the year 1000 to 1300 A. D., who, with the Anglo-Saxon race, are symbolized by the two horns of the prophetic prefiguration of Rev. XIII., 11–18; and by the ten horns of that of Rev. XVII. These were they that were preindicated to give their power and their strength unto that papal Christian polity and then to turn round and hate, maltreat, and abuse it in a remarkable way: Rev. XVII., 12–18. Those who in the ages of the German-Roman empire had been so strong in support of the old system became after the opening of the reformation quite as strong in their opposition to it.

Although there had been some persecuted variously and put to death in all the ages of the Christian Roman empire before on account of religion, yet the Reformation of religion, as historically understood, commenced in the year 1517 by the debates of Martin Luther with John Tetzel, the pope's legate, relative to the sale of Indulgences and the pope's power to forgive sins. "While the Roman pontiff," says Mosheim,* "slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominions but tranquility and submission, an obscure and inconsiderable person arose on a sudden, in the year 1517, and laid the foundation for this long expected change by opposing with undaunted resolution his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism." This extraordinary person was Martin Luther, a monk of the order of St. Augustin, now in the thirty-fourth year of his age, he having been born at Eisleben, in Saxony, on the 10th of November, 1483, the same year in which Torquemada established the modern Spanish Inquisition at Seville, two years before the accession of Henry VII., the first of the house of Tudor in England, and nine years before the discovery of America by Columbus. This man was destined to be instrumental in bringing about a wonderful revolution in human opinions and in human affairs. To his mother he attributed his early bent to religious devotion, by which, though "educated for a lawyer," he became a monk; and this course of his was assisted also by the impression made on his mind by the death of a friend, struck down by lightning while standing at his side. His parents were people, as we would say, in only moderate circumstances; he wrought in

* Eccles. Hist., Cent. XVI.

humble occupations; and when he became a monk, in the humble spirit of his order, he solicited support for his monastery in the city of Wittenberg.

Before he was twenty years of age he had not seen the Bible, but, in 1507, finding a Latin copy in the library of his monastery, he read and studied it. Reflecting, in connection with the truths therein contained, upon the history and present operations of the Catholic church, how truth had been wronged by ignorant piety and misrepresented by hypocritical infidelity his soul was fired with new energy such as he had not experienced before. When Indulgences were first sold to raise money for the crusades they were understood as commutations of prescribed penances for sins committed or to be committed; they were, of course, yet understood in the same way; and Pope Leo X. made use of such merchandise to raise money to pay a debt, and to complete the mighty edifice of St. Peter's Church at Rome.

Tetzel, a monk of the Inquisitorial order of St. Dominic, used his eloquence in persuading the people to purchase these Indulgences. But Luther, who had been preparing himself to deliver a course of lectures on Scriptural repentance, was led into an examination by which he detected the nature of this system, and lost no time in publicly taking issue with the Dominican. Tetzel, who had then great influence with the potentates, ecclesiastical and civil, might with a word have delivered Luther to the inquisitorial fires, with which he threatened him; but Luther's time had not yet come; he had a great work yet to do and was preserved. Such a reputation had Luther soon acquired that he was made professor of theology in the University of Wittenberg, an institution which had lately been founded by the elector of Saxony. To scriptural studies, therefore, he applied himself mostly and he soon produced ninety-five propositions in the scholastic fashion, denouncing the doctrines of penance, purgatory and indulgences; and, inviting a public disputation on these subjects, he hung his propositions on the door of a church in Wittenberg. No one accepting his challenge he published his propositions by which went forth to the world a powerful blast for his proposed reformation. The effect produced on the German mind was wonderful; all the people were now on the side of Luther in the debate and to such a degree were their feelings enlisted in his behalf that Tetzel had now more cause to fear violence than to use it. This merchant of Indulgences, however, in order to recover his ground or to justify his position

with the people published an answer to Luther in one hundred and fifty-six propositions; but as they were based upon the infallibility of the pope, while Luther's theses were based upon the Scriptures, there could be no debate, since there was no common standard of reference, and so the question was left open. In an assembly of his monks Tetzel burnt Luther's book. In the University of Wittenberg the students, loth to see their preceptor thus disrespected, publicly burnt that of Tetzel. The court of Rome, learning of those proceedings, determined to suppress Luther as soon as possible. Cardinal Cajetan was sent into Germany and so prevailed with the emperor Maximilian, by means of monetary considerations and otherwise, that the latter officiously requested the pope to extinguish the new heresy. Luther was forthwith summoned to Rome, and, delivered as he was by the emperor to Papal vengeance, would doubtless have sunk in despair were it not that he was upheld by his own magnanimity and by thought of the righteousness of his cause. In thinking over whom he might apply to, who would serve as his protector in the perilous circumstances in which he was placed, his mind rested upon Frederic, elector of Saxony. He knew this elector's vote was important to Maximilian in favor of the election of his grandson Charles V, as his successor in the empire. He, therefore, having sought, providentially obtained his protection; and, instead of having to go to Rome, he was by the elector's request, allowed to appear for trial before a council at Augsburg. Learning, however, that his destruction was resolved upon, Luther made his escape to Wittenberg. He now hesitated not to publish his opinions abroad; whereupon the Pope excommunicated him publicly. Upon a pile, which he had erected for the purpose, Luther publicly burned the papal bull of excommunication, his intrepidity probably saving both him and his cause.

Charles V. having succeeded to the empire convoked an assembly of its princes to meet at Worms in order to suppress the new heresy. Before this assembly, over which the emperor presided, Luther was cited to appear, an opportunity which he gladly embraced; for to this assembly, his friends remonstrating, he said he would go, "though there were as many devils in Worms as there were tiles on the houses." The elector Frederic procured for him the emperor's safe conduct for a certain number of days; and having gone to Worms the favorable reception he met with from the public of the city showed the estimation in which they held him. Brought before his judges Luther appeared calm and respectful. "Are you

the author of these books?" he was asked. He replied: "I am." "Will you," was next asked, "retract the opinions herein expressed?" To this he answered that he required time for consideration. After two days he again appeared before the judges and answered in the negative as follows: "Unless I shall be convinced by Scripture (for I can put no faith in popes and councils, as it is evident that they have frequently erred and contradicted each other), unless my conscience shall be convinced by the word of God, I neither will nor can recant; since it is unworthy of an honest man to act contrary to his own conviction. Here I stand; it is impossible for me to act otherwise, so help me God." By the emperor Charles, who took his forwardness as effrontery, the ban of the empire was now added to the excommunication pronounced by the pope, so that Luther, the moment his safe conduct expired, should be an outlaw. The elector Frederic, seeing this, had him, on his return, apprehended by armed men and conveyed to the Castle of Wartburg. Here it was that Luther performed his translation of the Scriptures into the German language, in which work he was doubtless assisted somewhat by his friend Melanthon. While yet under a sentence of death which any one was at liberty to execute Luther showed his faith and courage by sallying forth from his confinement and returning to Wittenberg. Here he exerted himself in composing the differences which had arisen meantime among the friends of the reformation. In the castle of Wartburg, in the room occupied by Luther, is shown a black spot on the wall, said to have been made by his throwing his inkstand at an evil spirit, which he fancied haunted him; this story is, however, probably without foundation.

Pope Adrian VI., who succeeded Leo X. on his coming to the Papal chair, published a declaration, wherein, intending to reform the church, he says: "Many abominations have been committed for several years past in this holy chair, and we shall endeavor that our court, from which perhaps all this evil has proceeded, shall undergo a speedy reform." The German princes, some of whom were Roman Catholics, drew up a list to be transmitted to Rome of the iniquities of the priesthood and the oppressions of the church system; and requested the calling of a general council for the purpose of adopting measures of reform. Although there are here avowals on the part of the papacy itself and its friends in regard to the need of reformation, yet the present pope was a foe of Luther's doctrine and bent on his destruction. He, however, soon died and

was succeeded by Clement VII. of the family de Medicis, when, as before, the object of the papacy was to aggrandize rather than to reform.

During the eight years succeeding the diet at Worms, while Charles V. was occupied in war with Francis I., of France, the opinions of the reformers spread rapidly. Two or three years before Luther commenced his reformation, Zuinglius, a priest of Zurich, began to preach the doctrines expounded by Wickliffe and Huss, and large numbers of the Swiss embraced his opinions; a small number, however, opposed them in arms and Zuinglius was killed. His friend and fellow reformer, Œcolampadius, died of grief. Erasmus, called the most learned man of that age, gave his influence warmly in favor of the reformation, as against the abuses of the papacy.

From Germany the opinions of the reformers extended to France, the Netherlands and England. Charles V., being liberated from the French war by the peace of Cambray, summoned a diet at Spires to settle religious controversies. The decree of the diet at Worms this diet confirmed, and forbade further innovations in religion. Against this decree the elector of Saxony with other princes of the empire, as well as the deputies of fourteen imperial cities *protested*, and hence in the year 1529, the reformers received the name of PROTESTANTS.

At Augsburg the emperor convened another diet whereat Luther was not permitted to attend. Melancthon, however, drew up the Protestant confession of faith, which was, on their behalf, presented to the diet; but all attempts at reconciliation proved fruitless. A more severe decree was now passed against the reformers, who on their part entered into the league of Smalcald, in which the Protestant states pledged themselves to defend each other against all aggressions. They also formed a secret alliance with Henry VIII., of England, and with Francis I, of France, whose enmity to Charles continued constant. This happened in 1531, from whence to the peace of Crespi in 1544, the emperor, occupied in wars with the French and Turks and with his expedition to Africa, left the Protestants free to promulgate their doctrines.* But the cause of the reformation, even in Luther's time, was injured by its friends, by means of whom Satan often gives the deepest wounds to the

* It was at about this time that the Society of the Jesuits originated with Ignatius Loyola, a society which has been thought to compensate to some small degree to the Catholic church for what it had lost in the reformation.

best of causes. On Luther's return to Wittenberg he found among his reforming friends many who asserted a baptism of the spirit from on high and were, therefore, called Anabaptists. These also claiming that only adults should be baptized, rebaptized those that had been baptized in their infancy in receiving them into their sect. A principal preacher of theirs, named Muncer, having told Luther they needed not the Scriptures, that they were guided by the spirit, he replied: "I slap your spirit on the snout," a remark we must say, from whomsoever proceeding, would indicate rather the character of the low pettifogging lawyer than the spirit of the true minister of Christ.

When relieved from his cares in 1544 Charles V leagued with the pope for the extirpation of heresy. They assembled a council at Trent to the decisions of which the Protestants refused to submit. Considering its decrees inconsistent both with reason and Scripture they, for their part, preferred the issue of arms. Charles, unprepared for immediate war, had recourse to intrigue. Maurice, a prince of the Saxon family, he won to his side by promising to give him the possessions of the elector of Saxony. While the emperor and the princes of the league were negotiating Luther died in 1546; after which the Protestants were subjected to innumerable evils, arising from their different counsels. Maurice treacherously invaded the territory of his relation, John Frederic, elector of Saxony; defeated his troops and made himself master of almost the whole electorate. The news of these conquests soon reached the hostile camps and filled the Protestants with terror and their opponents with joy. The disheartened confederates having sued for peace received conditions, which were so rigorous that they at once rejected them. Their army meantime having separated Charles seized the opportunity of procuring the submission of the princes separately. All yielded excepting the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse. The former returned to his electorate which he recovered; but Charles soon after, having invaded Saxony, took him prisoner. The landgrave alone of the confederates, being now in arms, Charles used an artifice to obtain possession of his person. For this purpose he employed the services of Maurice; and the landgrave through the advice of his treacherous son-in-law under a promise of liberty, having submitted himself to the emperor, was, contrary to the terms of the agreement, perfidiously imprisoned and kept for five years in confinement, though many entreaties were in the meantime made for his release by several of

the princes of Europe, and even by Maurice, his son-in-law, who had acted to him such a treacherous part.

At a diet held at Augsburg there was presented by the emperor's orders a system of doctrine called the "Interim," because it was to be binding only until a general council should be convoked. Although the principles, before set forth, were made in this a little more flexible as to one or two points, yet the system was decidedly anti-protestant nor yet was it suitable to the Catholics.

Meantime, the emperor, manifesting a desire to make the imperial dignity hereditary in his family sought the election to the empire of his son Philip, in prejudice to his brother Ferdinand, who had already been known as king of the Romans; but the electors refused to yield to his solicitations. Now Maurice of Saxony, a perfect master in the arts of intrigue, who could handle the shrewdest men as he could pawns on a chess board, and who felt himself very little restrained by the force of moral principle as to any course he might take, set himself to countermine the plans of the emperor. To this end he obtained of him command of the imperial army and was employed first to compel the citizens of Magdeburg to submit to the Interim. This object being accomplished he delayed under various pretexts to disband the army. He next secured the support of Henry II, who had just succeeded his father, Frances I, as King of France. At the head of 20,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, Maurice now boldly published a manifesto against the emperor, stating therein his reasons for his present course. Out of health and unsuspicious of danger, Charles was with a few soldiers at Innspruck; and the news of the defection of Maurice coming to him, he was confounded, and at once resolved upon flight. Unable to endure the rocking of a carriage Charles was born over the Alps in a litter. Having arrived safely at Villach in Carinthia, he there remained until matters were settled with the Protestant princes. Maurice, though hastily moving in pursuit of the emperor and failing to come up with him, at length concluded that pursuit must be useless and so returned to Innspruck. Meantime negotiations were commenced at PASSAU, which at length, in 1552, terminated in a peace, called "the peace of religion." Of this agreement the principal stipulation was that the liberties and rights of the Protestants in Germany should be preserved.

Charles V. soon after this resigned his sovereignty of Spain to his son Philip; but by the German electors his brother Ferdinand was elected emperor. In order to leave peace to his dominions he

then made a truce for five years with Henry II. of France, with whom he had yet a war, and then passed the two remaining years of his life in a monastery in Spain, occupying his time in making watches. Thus ended his eventful life, passed in the time of the opening of the reformation in Germany, the emperor Charles V.; who was born in the year 1500 and died aged 58 years.

The diet assembled at Ratisbon, soon after the accession of Ferdinand, confirmed the "peace of religion." The first council convened at Trent, to which the "Interim" was provisionary, had been removed, ostensibly on account of an epidemic, to Bologna and separated, therefrom, in consternation, at the time of the establishment of the peace of Passau. In 1562 it was reassembled at Trent; but the great body of the Protestants as well as a portion of the Catholics denied its authority. It is memorable as being the last called a general council, if we except that convened in our time to declare or confirm the infallibility of the pope.

The contents of the following pages are extracted from different writers on the reformation and the principal reformers, which exhibit these subjects from their points of view, but principally from the work "Christ's Second Appearing," which was written, I believe, by a Quaker: —

The contentions concerning the presence of Christ in the Eucharist were carried on by the reformers for many years, and finally terminated in a grand division between the reforming parties, one of which claimed Martin Luther as the founder of their church, the other John Calvin, a professor of theology at Geneva. Luther and his followers, it is said, rejected the doctrine of the Romish Church, with respect to the transubstantiation or change of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ; but were, nevertheless, of the opinion that the partakers of the Lord's Supper received along with the bread and wine the real body and blood of Christ. "This," says Mosheim, "was in their judgment a mystery which they did not pretend to explain." But Dr. Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim's history, says: "Luther was not so modest as Dr. Mosheim here represents him. He pretended to explain his doctrine of the real presence, absurd and contradictory as it was, and uttered much senseless jargon on this subject. "As in red hot iron," said he, "two distinct substances, viz., iron, and fire, are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the Eucharist." This, Maclaine calls, the "nonsensical doctrine of consubstantiation."

Carlostadt, who was Luther's colleague and companion, and whose doctrine was afterwards confirmed by Zuingle, maintained, "That the body and blood of Christ were not really present in the Eucharist; and that the bread and wine were no more than external signs or symbols." This opinion of Zuingle was received by the friends of the Reformation in Switzerland, and by a number of its followers in Germany. But Mosheim says that "Luther maintained his doctrine in relation to this point with the greatest obstinacy; and hence arose in the year 1524, a tedious and vehement controversy which terminated at length in a fatal division." To such a degree had the contentions among the reformers proceeded concerning the Eucharist, that to terminate the controversy, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, invited in the year 1529, Luther and Zuingle, together with some of the most eminent doctors who adhered to the respective parties of these contending chiefs, to a conference at Marburgh. There they disputed during four days and their dissensions still remained, "nor could either of the contending parties," says Mosheim, "be persuaded to abandon or even modify their opinions of the matter."

By the industry of Calvin the schools and churches of England also became the oracles of Calvinism; the Church of Switzerland was acknowledged as a sister church, and the system there established was rendered the public rule of faith in England, without any change being made in the old Episcopal government. The doctrines established in the reformed Church of Scotland also were imported from Switzerland, by the celebrated Knox, and were strictly Calvinistic. Thus John Calvin became the founder of the Calvinistic reformed churches as distinguished from those founded by Martin Luther.

In the year 1552, Westphal, pastor of Hamburgh, renewed with greater violence than ever, this deplorable controversy; he was a stubborn defender of the opinions of Luther. He published a book against the forementioned act of uniformity, which, says Maclaine, "breathes the most virulent spirit of persecution." "This," says Mosheim, "engaged Calvin to enter the lists with Westphal whom he treated with as little lenity and forbearance as the rigid Lutheran had showed to the Helvetic churches. Calvin and Westphal had each their zealous defenders; hence the breach widened, their spirits were heated, and the flame of controversy was kindled anew with violence and fury." These disputes were

augmented and tumults were excited by the fierce conflicts which were waged concerning the decrees of God, set in motion by Calvin. Augustus, elector of Saxony, and the Duke of Saxe Weimar summoned the most eminent doctors of both the contending parties to meet at Altenburgh, in the year 1568, that it might be seen how far a reconciliation was possible. But such were the furious and unchristian spirits of these reforming parties as blasted the fruits which otherwise might have been expected from this conference. The princes now undertook another method, and ordered a Form of Doctrine to be composed, in order to terminate the controversies which divided the Lutheran Church itself, and so protect that Church against doctrinal innovations from the Calvinists. This Form was begun in 1569, and was completed by six doctors in about seven or eight years after. This form of doctrine, which was intended to promote peace, when finished was called the Form of Concord, yet the title was found to be incorrect, for it proved to be a Form of Discord, and source of new contentions and tumults among those who instituted it. This form of concord, which condemned the sentiments of the Calvinists, was received by the greatest part of the Lutherans as the great rule of their religion, "and hence," says Mosheim, "arises an insuperable obstacle to all schemes of reconciliation and concord."

The Form of Concord, so called, consists of two parts. "In the first," says Mosheim, "is contained a system of doctrine drawn up according to the fancy of the six doctors," who had received their orders from and were under the protection of the princes; for these secular princes were clothed with the dignity of ecclesiastical supremacy according to the established principles of the reformers. In the second (part) is exhibited one of the strongest instances of that tyrannical and persecuting spirit which the Protestants complained of in the Church of Rome, even a formal condemnation of all who differ from those six doctors. "This condemnation branded with the denomination of heretics, and excluded from the communion of the Church, all Christians of all nations who would refuse to subscribe to these doctrines. More particularly in Germany the terrors of the sword were solicited against these pretended heretics, as may be seen in the famous testament of Brentius."

The Lutherans and Calvinists went hand in hand on the continent of Europe in persecuting to the death the Anabaptists and all others whom they in common considered here-

tics. And the Church of England, imbued with the same spirit, through its supreme head, and all the branches of its hierarchy, spoke with authority and arrogance, as if with the voice of a dragon, against all reputed heretics, non-conformists, and papists, and banished and burned them in hundreds for a period of two centuries: so that it could be said that they, that is the ruling powers, caused as many as would not conform to all the rules and rites of their established religion to be killed.

However abominable the doctrine of compulsion is, and however corrupt the source from which it flows, the Protestant Reformers retained it in its full extent. This is manifest from their giving up people of different religious opinions from their own to be oppressed and punished by the civil rulers. Robinson very justly says: "Dominion over conscience is antichrist anywhere. At Rome Antichrist is of age, a sovereign, and wears a crown; at the meanest meeting-house, if the same kind of tyranny be, Antichrist is a beggar's baby at the breast; but as conscience everywhere is a throne of God, so a usurper of his throne is Antichrist anywhere." * Whatever deranges the equality of Christians is the spirit of Antichrist. Call it truth or piety or virtue, or whatever we may, the whole is in direct opposition to the Gospel, so long as that persecuting spirit remains connected with it.

It was but a short time after the Reformation began that the cruel work of persecution was commenced by the Reformers, in order to bow down every effort on the side of freedom, and to extirpate every heretic who dared to oppose the corrupt and ambitious plans of the Reformers. And according to the historians of his time, no one was more fit to set the example of a cruel persecutor than Martin Luther. His most favorable historian, Mosheim, himself of the Lutheran faith, in speaking of the bitterness and animosity of the first Reformers, says: "Luther himself appears at the head of this sanguine tribe, whom he far surpasses in invectives and abuse, treating his adversaries with the most brutal asperity, and sparing neither rank nor condition." He considered everything as subordinate to his own opinions under the name of truth, and poured forth, against such as disappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invectives, mingled with contempt.† He fell out with Carlostadt, one of his co-Reformers, and not only had him banished from Wittenberg, but followed him from place to place, having him frequently expelled. He could not agree with Calvin nor with Zuingle, who as himself, were supported by powerful patrons, and he was immensely angry with

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* Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 173.

† Hist. Charles V. Book VIII.

the Baptists, who had none. He had himself taught the doctrine of immersion, but he could not bear the article of Reforming without him. This exasperated him to the last degree; he became their bitter enemy; and notwithstanding all he had previously said in favor of immersion, he persecuted them under the name of rebaptizers or Anabaptists. There was a Thomas Muncer, who had been a minister at several places, being persecuted through the influence of Luther and compelled to seek refuge where he could. There were Nicholas Stork, Mark Stubner, Martin Cellarius, and others against all of whom Luther set himself. When he heard of them settling anywhere he officiously played the part of a universal bishop, and wrote to princes and senates to expel such dangerous men. "It is," says Robinson, "very truly said by Cardinal Housius, that Luther did not intend to make all men as free as himself; he had not foreseen that other men would apply the same reasoning to his tyranny over conscience which he had so successfully applied to that of the Pope, and, therefore, he dethroned him that he might set up himself." * His colleague Carlostadt found this to his sorrow. On Luther's plan there was no probability of freedom coming to the people. It was only designed to free the priests from obedience to the Pope, and to enable them to tyrannize over the people in the name of the Civil Magistrate. Muncer saw this fallacy, and remonstrated against it; and this was the crime for which he was punished by Luther with an unpardonable rigor, and which the followers of Luther have never forgiven to this day. Observe the spirit of the followers of Luther; Muncer, say they, was a man well skilled in the knowledge of the Scriptures before the devil inspired him; but then he had the arrogance to preach not only against the Pope, but against Dr. Martin Luther himself. As if Martin the Saxon had any better patent for infallibility than Leo the Romish Pope.

But the principal occasion Luther took to give vent to his persecuting spirit was that of the insurrection of the peasants called the "Rustic War." When these long deluded and oppressed creatures sighed for religious and civil liberty the clergy of all orders agreed to reproach them for their depravity, and to scandalize the first of all human blessings with the odious name of carnal liberty. Muncer drew up for the peasants a memorial or manifesto, setting forth their grievances, which they presented to their lords and dispersed all over Germany. Luther wrote four treatises on the subject. The first was an answer to the manifesto, in which, though he told them that the princes were cruel oppressors who had no excuse for their

* Eccles. Hist.

injustice and deserved to be dethroned by God, yet that it was sedition in the oppressed to resist them. His advice to them was that they should not resist evil, but when they were smitten on one cheek they should turn the other also; that this was the doctrine of Christ, and such doctors as taught otherwise were worse than Turks and inspired by the devil. But this same Luther, who under the mask of a minister of Christ exhorted the oppressed peasants not to resist evil, wrote again to the princes and endeavored to convince them that it was their duty to kill and exterminate those same peasants as they would *mad dogs.** The princes set about the work agreeably to the instructions of this double-faced Reformer, and thousands fell victims to the ferocious and more than savage massacres in which both Protestants and Papists became united, and in which the peasants without distinction became involved in one common fate of fire and sword, and suffered with the utmost barbarity. That Luther's persecuting rage was mainly directed against those whom he condemned in his writings under the name of Anabaptists, and who unjustly suffered without resistance, appears from what follows: "It is to be observed," says Mosheim, "that the leaders of that sect had fallen into that erroneous and chimerical notion that the new Kingdom of Christ, which they expected, was to be exempt from every kind of vice, and from the smallest degree of corruption, and so they were not pleased with the plan of Reformation proposed by Luther." This was enough to kindle the flame of resentment in the breast of Luther, who by taking the Church as it was under the reign of the Papacy, included whole parishes and kingdoms, with all the inhabitants of every description, in the Church. That the most cruel resentment was kindled in the breast of Luther against these people is evident from his famous Augsburgh confession, each article of which begins with *Docent*, that is, they teach, and ends with *damnant*, that is, they condemn, and many of them with *damnant Anabaptistas*, they condemn the Anabaptists. We may enquire what right Luther, who had just before been condemned by the Pope, had to call in question the sentiments of others and presumptuously condemn those who conscientiously differed from him in their religious opinions, as if Dr. Martin Luther had all power in heaven and in earth. It was a horrid crime in Luther's eyes for any one to expect a pure and unspotted Church, and for that reason to be dissatisfied with his plans of reformation.

Thus, after the plan of the Catholic establishment we here find a complete fusion of the Church with the world by Luther. If a

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* Consult Eccles. Hist., Cents. XVI., chap. II. Also "Christ's Second Appearing.

corrupt and tyrannical Church had been the object of the pursuit of these reputed heretics, both they and their ancestors found one to their sorrow long enough before Luther rose up to establish his by the sword of earthly princes. The fact is, that the reputed heretics had, in every age, witnessed a good confession against Catholic Orthodoxy by cheerfully sacrificing all earthly comforts and even their lives in support of their faith concerning a pure Church, and the same undaunted spirit continued to witness against the Protestant Reformers, and gave them a fair opportunity to prove that they were actuated by the same spirit, and exercised all the persecuting power of the first beast. "In almost all the countries of Europe," says Mosheim, "an unspeakable number of those unhappy wretches preferred death in its worst forms to a retraction of their errors; neither the view of the flames that were kindled to consume them, nor the ignominies of the gibbet, nor the terrors of the sword, could shake their invincible but ill-placed constancy, or make them abandon tenets which appeared to them dearer than life and all its enjoyments." But this historian soon after adds: "It is true, indeed, that many Anabaptists suffered death because they were judged incurable heretics; for in this century, the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of re-baptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies." Now what greater cruelties did ever the Church of Rome practice than to burn to death such as they judged to be incurable heretics when no other charge could be brought against them? But Mosheim, that Lutheran ecclesiastic, is pleased to call their faith concerning a pure Church an erroneous and chimerical notion, and their sentiments errors, and their constancy, with which they faced death in its worst forms, ill-placed. See Ephes. V, 27; Rev. XXI, 27. In the same manner the Popish historian, Thuanus, speaks of the Waldenses, "that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled everywhere of their goods and dignities, and dispersed here and there, than that, convinced of their error, they repented." * It is acknowledged by their enemies that many of those Anabaptists were of the most upright intentions, and sincere piety, and that the innocent, with those who were accounted guilty, suffered with undistinguishing cruelty. But it is remarkable that all those undistinguishing cruelties, carried on under the pretence of suppressing heresy or sedition, were practised in the same persecuting spirit, and accompanied with like misrepresentations and slanderous accusations as were used by the

* Newton's Dissertations on Prophecy, Diss. XXIV.

ancient Pagans in their persecutions of the primitive Christians. And besides those undistinguishing cruelties exercised at the instigation of Luther, what fruits do we see his Reformation produced in his own heart and life? After he had practised it for twenty years it did not save him from his outbreaking sins, but directly to the contrary. "He grew daily more peevish, more irascible, and more impatient of contradiction." So says Dr. Robertson. His whole life of ambition and cruelty well comports with the character which he gives of himself in his last will; and whether any temporal Monarch or Pope ever discovered the feelings of his own ambition more than Luther did, may be judged from what follows: "I am known," says this Reforming monk, "in heaven, in earth, and in hell, and possess consequence sufficient for this demand that my single testimony be believed, seeing that God, of his Fatherly compassion, hath intrusted to me, though a reprobate man and a miserable sinner, the Gospel of his Son, and hath granted that I should be so true and faithful in it, that many in the world have received it from me as a doctor of the truth, while they contemn, with detestation, the bans of the Pope, of Cæsar, of Kings, of Princes, and of priests, yea of all devils!!! Why then may it not suffice for this disposal of a small estate, if the testimony of my hand be affixed, and it can be said Dr. Martin Luther, God's Notary and Witness of his Gospel, wrote these things."

Such is a faithful representation of the character of Luther, taken from himself and from the most faithful historians of his times; and it appears to us, though we have not the least desire, nor are we at all interested to lay upon him, or upon any other of the Reformers, a greater burden of iniquity than their memory is worthy to bear, that he who says that God has entrusted to him his Gospel, while much of his life's conduct and his final testimony declare him to have been a reprobate was either a truly penitent man or a hypocrite. Some think his nature to have been like that of his contemporary, Henry VIII; their fundamental characters were somewhat alike, but Henry, as a monster of cruelty, was incomparable.

The same persecuting spirit which actuated Luther was manifested also in John Calvin. At Geneva he acted the part of a universal bishop, presiding in the assembly of the clergy and in the consistory, and punished heretics of all kinds, who had the confidence to object against his ecclesiastical system of tyranny, with unremitting rigor. There was one Gruet, who was charged with denying "the divinity of the Christian religion," that is, the religion then established at Geneva "and the immortality of the soul." He also called Calvin the "new Pope" and became guilty of other like impieties, for

which he was brought before the civil tribunal in the year 1550 and was *condemned to death*. There were others who could not receive his doctrine of eternal and absolute decrees. "These adversaries," says Mosheim, "felt by a disagreeable experience the warmth and violence of his haughty temper, and that impatience of contradiction which arose from an over-zealous concern for his honor, or rather for his unrivalled supremacy." "He would not suffer them to remain at Geneva, nay, in the heat of the controversy, being carried away by the impetuosity of his passions, he accused them of crimes from which they have been fully absolved by the impartial judgment of unprejudiced posterity." Among the victims of Calvin's unlimited power and excessive zeal we may reckon Castilio, master of the public school at Geneva. He was deposed from his office in the year 1554, and banished. A like fate happened to Bolsec, a professor of medicine, whose favorable opinions of the Protestant religion first brought him to Geneva; but finding himself mistaken, he had the assurance, in the year 1551, to raise his voice in the full congregation against absolute and unconditional decrees, for which he was imprisoned, and soon after banished.

But none appears to have given Calvin more trouble than did Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician, who appeared in the year 1530, and by his abilities, both natural and acquired, had obtained the patronage of many persons of authority in France, Germany, and Italy. Notwithstanding these advantages, finding him in his power, Calvin had him imprisoned, and an accusation of blasphemy brought against him by the Council.

Servetus was a man of a free and liberal turn of mind, "he was," says Robinson, "an original genius, of a manly spirit, bold in his inquiries after truth, and generous as the day in communicating his opinions, not doubting that he had as much right to investigate the doctrine of the Trinity as others had that of Transubstantiation."

In the year 1531-2, he published two books, both intended to disprove the doctrine of the Trinity; and as they denied the popular notions of persons in God, and affirmed that Jesus was a man, they procured for him a great number of enemies and also many friends. He had freely communicated his opinions to Œcolampadius and Bucer. Both these reforming divines had the character of mildness; but Œcolampadius thought anger just in this case, and Bucer declared from the pulpit that Servetus deserved to be torn in pieces, and have his bowels torn out of him. All the artillery of the orthodox was now directed against this schismatical Spaniard, blasphemous heretic, for so they, whom the greater part of Europe then called heretics, had the inconsistency to denominate Servetus.

Calvin having published his favorite production entitled "Christian Institutes," Servetus read this book, and finding in it a great number of mistakes and errors he took the liberty to inform the author of them. This so irritated Calvin that he never forgave him, and instead of profiting by the advice, he wrote to his friends Viret and Farel "that if ever this heretic should fall into his hands it would cost him his life." And so it finally happened. Calvin had an admirer at Geneva whose name was Trie: this Trie had a relative at Lyons, a Papist, whose name was Arney, who incessantly exhorted his cousin to return to the bosom of the Church. Calvin dictated letters in the name of William Trie who directed them to Arney, and the latter carried them to Ory the Inquisitor. To unfold more fully Calvin's private character we shall here give the contents of this letter to Trie. "I thank God that vices are better corrected here than among all of your officials; with you they support a heretic who deserves to be burned wherever he is found. When I mention to you a heretic, I mention one who shall be condemned by the Papists as well as by the Protestants; at least he deserves to be so. For although we differ in opinion about many things, we are still agreed that there are three persons in the essence of God. You may cruelly burn us, but behold, him who shall call Jesus Christ an idol, who shall destroy all the foundations of faith, who gathers together all the dreams of ancient heretics, who shall even condemn the baptism of little children, calling it a diabolical invention; and he shall have the vogue amongst you, and be supported as if he had committed no fault. Where, pray, is the zeal you pretend to? And where is the wisdom of this fine hierarchy you magnify so much?" By this means Servetus was seized in the year 1553 and cast into prison; but in four days after he managed to make his escape, and could nowhere be found. The prosecution was carried on in his absence, and he was condemned to be burned alive in a slow fire; and seeing his person could not be found, the sentence was executed upon his effigy. "The effigy of Servetus was placed in a cart with five bales of his books, and all were burned together for the glory of God and the safety of the Church."* Four months after this Servetus was discovered, while waiting for a boat to cross the lake of Geneva, on his way to Zurich. Calvin received intelligence and prevailed on the chief magistrate to arrest and imprison him, although it was on the first day of the week when, by the laws of Geneva, no person could be arrested except for a capital crime. But Calvin urged that Servetus was a heretic and that heresy was a capital crime. To prison

* Eccles. Researches.

he was committed and on the same day he was tried in court. As it was necessary for some one to prosecute Servetus, Calvin employed one of his own family, Nicholas de la Fontaine, who, some say, had been a cook, others a valet, but whatever he had been he was now a preacher. Short as the notice had been Lafontaine was ready prepared, and an humble request was presented to the judges in which Servetus was accused of uttering blasphemies against God, of infecting the world with heresies and of condemning the doctrine preached at Geneva. Servetus presented a petition to the magistrate and council. The petition was rejected; the attorney-general said that the court ought not to grant the petitioner an advocate, because he himself was thoroughly skilled in the art of telling lies. Such was his deplorable situation. "Far from his own country, fallen into the hands of cruel strangers, all under the power of Calvin, his avowed enemy, who bore him a mortal hatred; stript of all his property, confined in a dark prison, and neglected till he was almost eaten with vermin; denied an advocate, and loaded with every indignity his enemies could invent. The last act of this melancholy tragedy was performed at Geneva on October 27, 1553. Calvin had drawn up the process against Servetus; the magistrates and council had pronounced sentence against him that he should be burnt alive; and on this day, with many brutal circumstances, the sentence was executed to the encouragement of Catholic cruelty, to the scandal of the pretended Reformation, to the offence of all just men, and to the everlasting disgrace of those ecclesiastical tyrants who were the instruments of such a wild and barbarous deed."* "Many," adds Robinson, "have pretended to apologize for Calvin, and what are his nostrums, which end in tyranny and murder, that the great voice of nature should be drowned in a din of vain babbling about him." "Servetus was not a subject of the Republic of Geneva; he had committed no offence against the laws of the state; he was passing peaceably on the road which lay through the city; he was not a member of any Reformed Church; he was a useful and honorable member of society; he was a man of unimpeached morality; he was then the admiration of numbers of good judges who afterwards pleaded his cause." Calvin's heart never relented at the recollection of that bloody deed. On the contrary, he justified it by publishing, after the execution, a book entitled "A faithful account of the errors of Michael Servetus." In this it is attempted to be proved that heretics ought to be restrained by the sword. Castalio, or Socinus, confuted this book. Beza answered justifying the doctrine of putting heretics

* Eccles. Researches.

to death. Several endeavored to sanctify the deed by Scriptural texts and godly words; and many have attempted to follow their example in doing alike. Some of them go so far as to attribute the burning of Servetus to a special judgment of God. Can the nicest critic discern the difference between this and the spirit and style of the Papal Inquisition? Is it not all the unrestrained outworking of the evil principle in man as we often had occasion to remark from examples before?

"The execution of this man," says Robinson, "occasioned a great many excellent and unanswerable treatises against persecution. Beza was offended because the authors said that he had published a book to justify the murder of heretics; whereas he had only written one to prove that they ought to be put to death. They called him a bloody man for exhorting magistrates to put men to death for religion; he retorted he had wished, and continued to wish, that the magistrates would serve them so." The apologists urged the example of Melancthon in proof of the justice of putting Servetus to death. "Melancthon himself," say they, "the most moderate and the mildest of all the Reformers, approves what has been done at Geneva." We may remark, if such were the spirit of the mildest of the Reformers, what kind of men must those have been, whom their most favorable historians acknowledged to be men of violent and haughty temper? Mosheim says: "The Anabaptists and those who denied the divinity of Christ, and a Trinity of persons in the Godhead were objects of common aversion, a ainst whom the zeal, vigilance, and severity of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were united, and in opposing whose settlement and progress those three communions, forgetting their mutual dissensions, joined their most rigorous councils and endeavors." This then was the practice of the Reformers, Lutherans, and Calvinists, to join hand in hand with the Papists, in shedding the blood of reputed heretics; and who of us, therefore, can pretend to say that these persecuting Protestant Reformers were not indisputably one in spirit, nature, and disposition with the priesthood of the mother Church of Rome? We cannot advance a plea in their behalf, as true Christians. The Protestant Reformers could encourage persecution and by their example, their principles and practice unite with the Papists in shedding innocent blood. Then, if we claim innocency and martyrdom for those who were tortured and put to death by Papal Inquisition, how can we rid ourselves of the idea that those who were the subjects of Protestant and Papal persecution combined were other than innocent men and martyrs?

The following is an extract written with Calvin's own hand to the Marquis de Poet, High Chamberlain to the King of Navarre:

"Sept. 30th, 1561. "Honor, glory and riches shall be the reward of your pains; but above all do not fail to rid the country of these zealous scoundrels who stir up the people to revolt against us. Such monsters should be exterminated as I have exterminated Michael Servetus the Spaniard." The persecuting spirit of Calvin was not confined to Switzerland, but extended far and wide beyond that country. Robinson says: "He and other foreign divines had many tools in Poland, particularly Prasnicius, a violent orthodox clergyman. With this man, and through him with the nobility, gentry and clergy, Calvin and Beza corresponded: and many divines of Germany and Switzerland, and even the synod of Geneva, sent letters and tracts into Poland, all justifying the murders of Gentilis and Servetus, and the necessity of employing the secular power to rid the world of such monsters as denied the Trinity and infant baptism. "The advice given by the consistory of Geneva to prince Radzivil is a most ignorant and impious attack on the liberties and lives of innocent men. They beg his highness, as the first in piety and dignity, to use his influence with the nobility of Poland to engage the Anti-trinitarians as they would Tartars and Muscovites." The point of this argument will be better understood if it be remembered that the Poles always regarded the Muscovites or Russians as their greatest enemies. In Poland, also, the Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists united in one bond of cruelty to crush those who, for the sake of peace, had fled thither from the iron arm of persecution in other places. We here present to our readers two extracts of letters written by Andrew Dudith, of Poland, who had been excommunicated from the Church of Rome for heresy. His sentiments favored the Unitarian Baptists, a species of popular heretics, who had fled into Poland in order to enjoy that religious liberty which was denied them in other places. Dudith corresponded with many of the most noted reformers, and these extracts clearly discover the spirit by which they were actuated, and may serve to show the light in which that discerning man viewed the conduct of these persecuting Protestants.

"Tell me, my learned friend," says he to Wolf, "now that the Calvinists have burned Servetus, and beheaded Gentilis, and murdered many others; having banished Bernard Ochim, with his wife and children, from your city in the depths of a sharp winter; now that the Lutherans have expelled Lasco with the congregation of foreigners that came out of England with him, in an exceedingly rigorous season of the year, having done a great many such exploits all contrary to the genius of Christianity; now, I ask, how shall we meet the Papists? With what face can we tax them with cruelty? How dare we say our weapons are not carnal? How can we any

longer let both grow together until the harvest? Let us cease to boast that faith cannot be compelled, and the conscience ought to be free." "You contend," says he to Beza, "that Scripture is a perfect rule of faith and practice. But you are all divided about the sense of Scripture, and you have not settled who shall be judge. You say one thing, Stancarus another. You quote Scripture, he quotes Scripture. You reason, he reasons. You require me to believe you. I respect you, but why should I trust you rather than Stancarus? You say he is a heretic, but the Papists say you are both heretics. Shall I believe them? They quote historians and fathers, so do you. To whom do you address yourselves? Where is the judge? You say the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets; but you say I am no prophet, and I say you are not one. Who is to be judge? I love liberty as well as you. You have broken your yoke, allow me to break mine. Having freed yourselves from the tyranny of popish prelates, why do you turn ecclesiastical tyrants yourselves, and treat others with barbarity and cruelty for only doing what you set them an example to do? You contend that your lay hearers, the magistrates, and not you, are to be blamed, for it is they who banish and burn for heresy. I know you make this excuse; but tell me, have you not instilled such principles into their ears? Have they done any thing more than put in practice the doctrine that you taught them? Have you not told them how glorious it was to defend the faith? Have you not been the constant panegyrists of such princes as have depopulated whole districts for heresy? Do you not daily teach that they who appeal from your confessions to Scripture ought to be punished by the secular power? It is impossible for you to deny this. Does not all the world know that you are a set of demagogues, or, to speak more mildly, a sort of tribunes, and that the magistrates do nothing but exhibit in public what you teach them in private? You try to justify the banishment of Ochim and the execution of others, and you seem to wish that Poland would follow your example. God forbid! When you talk of your Augsburgh confession and your Helvetic creed, and your unanimity, and your fundamental truths, I keep thinking of the sixth commandment, "Thou shalt not kill."

If matters of fact can establish anything, then it is certain that the two principal pillars of the Reformation, Luther and Calvin, as well as their confederate reformers, were influenced by the same spirit of cruelty and injustice which had influenced the hierarchy of their mother Church and the tyrants of every age, from Diotrephes and the Alexandrian priesthood down to the same Luther and Calvin.

The Reformation in England begun with Henry VIII., who was contemporary with Luther. He came to the throne on the death of his father Henry VII., in 1509, and died in 1547, Luther having died the year before. He was the second English dynast of the house of Tudor, and his long reign of 38 years has been called "a continual butchery of human beings." His historian says that "in his reign 72,000 persons suffered death for theft and robbery alone; and the number of executions, which took place on account of religion, was reckoned at six for every day of this long reign." *

Henry's first step on coming to the throne was to secure the alliance of Spain by his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur. Wickliffe's books having been pretty extensively circulated and read before this time his opinions were by many secretly cherished. The church with great severity had endeavored to check the new doctrines; and Henry in the year 1521 (the same year in which Luther was excommunicated by the pope) produced his "Defense of the Seven Sacraments." The pope in appreciation of this bestowed upon Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," a title which the British sovereigns apply to themselves till this time, although acting independently of the church which conferred it and at variance with some of the doctrines for the defense of which it was given. This "defense" coming into Luther's hands and he finding himself greatly vituperated therein, answered by another applying terms equally coarse to Henry. The partisans of Henry responded in language in which the lowest depth of scurrility was reached. The motive which induced Henry to publish this treatise seems undoubtedly to have been that he wished to have the pope and all the world know that he himself was a true Catholic, a son of the church whose doctrines he intended by all means to defend. He, as Luther, never gave it to be understood that he separated from the Roman Catholic Church, but only from that church as it considered the pope as its supreme head. To this church in its most extreme doctrines he adhered all his life and punished those who dissented from it, whether they belonged to the class of the German reformers or to any other class of "dissenters." Henry looked upon all as heretics who did not conform to his peculiar views, and promptly punished them as such. One Dr. Barnes, a professed Lutheran, and two other Protestants named Gerard and Jerome, were carried to the place of execution on three

* Hume Hist. Henry VIII.

hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a Catholic, who was, at the same time, executed for his religion. The names of the Catholics were Abel, Featherston and Powell; and they declared that the most grievous part of their punishment was their being coupled to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them. Here is perceived the absurdity of such religion as is professed by some people, a religion which may consist in a system of ideas they have conjured up in their mind concerning God, etc. But opinions change and the creed of one age or nation may be blasphemous and criminal in another. True religion consists more particularly in the being good and doing good one's self; in the doing to others as we would have others do to us, were our positions in relation to each other altered; in the living the life of active godliness and developing all the graces of the true Christian character while worshiping God, who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth.

But there is no doubt that many of those executions, so-called, for religion, under Henry VIII and other tyrants, were nothing but the most atrocious and cold-blooded murders, the persons being sacrificed for a purpose, namely, for the bringing about of conformity in the general mind and action with certain systems, religious or religio-political, which were newly introduced, or long existing. A part of my meaning here is that if there were any crime in the case, such for example as heresy for which so many suffered death by fire, some of those who did suffer so ignominiously for that alleged crime should not have suffered for it, had they been given time and opportunity to recant. But some there were undoubtedly who were hurried into carts and hurdles and taken to the place of execution and there sacrificed, simply because some tyrant in authority had ordered it so, or some confidant of his advised him that it should be so, thus to produce a widespread effect. Nor should there likely be a person in the crowd or community who would dare to raise his voice against the murder, lest, for his intrepidity, a like punishment might soon happen to himself.

"If we inquire from what articles of faith above or against our reason the Reformers have enfranchised their followers (for such enfranchisement is a benefit so far as it is compatible with truth and piety), we shall rather be surprised at their timidity than at their freedom. With the Jews they adopted the belief and defence of all the Hebrew Scriptures with all their prodigies apparent or real, from

the garden of Eden to the visions of the prophet Daniel; and they were bound like the Catholics to justify against the Jews the abolition of a divine law. In the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation the Reformers were severely orthodox; they freely adopted the theology of the four or six first councils; and with the Athanasian creed they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the Catholic faith. Transubstantiation or the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet that defies, not only the powers of argument but pleasantry; but instead of consulting the evidence of their senses, of their sight, their feeling and their taste, the first Reformers were entangled in their own scruples, and awed by the words in which Jesus is represented to have instituted the Sacrament. But the loss of any mysterious doctrine of the Mother Church which the Reformers saw fit to dispense with was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace and predestination which they strained from the Epistles of St. Paul. These subtle questions had, undoubtedly, been prepared by the Fathers and school-men; but their final improvement and popular use are due to the first Reformers, who enforced them as the absolute and essential terms of salvation. Thus far the weight of supernatural belief inclines against the Protestants; and many a sober Christian," says Gibbon, "would prefer to admit that a wafer is God, than that God is a cruel and capricious tyrant. The patriot Reformers," the same author adds, "were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal rigor their creeds and confessions; they asserted the right of the magistrates to punish heretics with death. The pious or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus, the guilt of his own rebellion; and the flames of Smithfield in which he was afterwards consumed had been kindled for the Anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer. *The nature of the tiger was the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs.*" *

Henry VIII., being desirous of cementing a union with the German Reformers, sent, in 1538, Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunswick; but this ambassador made but little progress in his negotiation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him who had orders both to negotiate and to dispute. They endeavored to convince Henry that he was guilty of a mistake in administering the Eucharist in one kind only, in allowing privates masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy.

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* Milman's Gibbon's Rome, ch. LIV.

Henry would not by any means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was highly displeased that they should dare to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian as he. He found arguments and syllogisms enough to defend his side of the question and he dismissed the ambassadors without coming to any conclusion. Jealous also that his own subjects should become so well versed in theology as to question his tenets, he used great precaution in publishing the translation of the Scriptures which was finished for him this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain; and he took care to inform the people, by proclamation, "that this indulgence was not the effect of his duty but of his goodness and liberality to them, who, therefore, should use it moderately for the increase of virtue, not of strife; and he ordered that no one should read the Bible aloud so as to disturb the priest while he said mass nor presume to expound the doubtful places without advice from the learned." In these measures it is seen the Church of England, with its supreme head, still held a middle ground between the Papists and the Protestants.

In the next year, 1539, he had the parliament to pass the bill of the *Six Articles*, or the bloody bill as it is justly termed by the Protestants. In this law the doctrine of the "real presence" was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article, that with regard to the "real presence," subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in the cases of treason, and admitted not the privilege of abjuring; an unheard-of severity, says Hume, and unknown to the Inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure; an obstinate adherence to error or a relapse was adjudged to be felony, punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment. Their commerce with women was, on the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment: on the second death. The abstaining from confession and from receiving the Eucharist at the appointed times subjected the person to fine and imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable with death and forfeiture as in cases of felony. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king for inquiring into these heresies and irregular practices, and the criminals were to be tried by a jury. By this law the king laid his oppressive hand upon both Protestants and Papists;

and another law, passed by the same parliament, gave to the king's Proclamation the same force as to a civil statute, thus making him as absolute a despot as ever despot was.

In 1546 the king, who had been hitherto careful to keep the mass in Latin, was at last prevailed on, principally by Cranmer, to permit that the Litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in English; and by this innovation he excited anew the hopes of the Reformers who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the Six Articles. One petition of the new Litany was a prayer "to save us from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and from all his detestable enormities." Cranmer now employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations, and he took advantage of the absence of Gardiner, a prelate who was favorably disposed towards the old regime, and was now on embassy to the emperor Charles V.; but Gardiner having written to the king that if he carried his opposition against the Romish religion to greater extremities Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded.

Having been many years married to Catherine of Arragon, who is said to have been an excellent woman, Henry now wished to marry Anna Boleyn, a lady of his court. He, therefore, affected to think his marriage with Catherine illegal, because she was his brother's widow, and so began to support the cause of the Catholics that he might thereby win the favor of the pope, who he hoped might thus grant him a divorce. But having applied therefor to the pope his application was deferred to be acted upon from time to time. At length Clement VII, at the instance of Charles V, Catherine's nephew, summoned Henry to appear at Rome; a summons which the monarch resented as an insult. Henry, thereupon, proposed to the universities of Europe the question as to whether his marriage with Catharine had been valid or invalid, according to the Canon law. From several of these he received answers favorable to his purpose and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge with the convocations of Canterbury and York finally enlisted themselves on his side, pronouncing the king's marriage "invalid, irregular, and contrary to the Word of God which no human power has authority to dispute." Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of the university of Cambridge, was at this time in great repute for his breadth and depth of theological and canonical learning. Henry succeeded in engaging him on his side, so that he exerted his influence at this time in favor of the universities granting the divorce, but afterwards of their granting of the question of the king's spiritual su-

premacy over the Church of England. As an acknowledgment for his services if not of his fitness for the position Henry on his assumption of the supremacy made Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury.

Cardinal Wolsey, whom Henry had exalted to great power in the kingdom, endeavored to effect a marriage between him and some French princess in order thereby to forward his own design upon the papal throne, but did not succeed in this. The influence of Wolsey tended to keep Henry's passions in check; but the latter becoming at length weary of the exercise over him of a watchful control, Henry resolved to disagree with him permanently and at length banished him from the court. Wolsey submitted with such gentleness as, it is said, would have propitiated any but a tyrant before resolved upon his destruction. Wolsey was, however, followed into his retreat and there apprehended for treason and being taken to London for execution was seized with a mortal disease. On the approach of his death he remarked: "Had I but served my God as diligently as I have served my king he would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

Wolsey's crime being a denial of the king's spiritual supremacy, which denial he had to make if he continued a sworn liege man of the pope, may or may not in the judgment of the thinking world, have justified Henry's proceeding in condemning him to death for the denial of that which he had assumed as his own right. Without either attempting to justify or palliate the cruelties of Henry VIII., the question, you perceive, was in this case, whether the pope or Henry VIII. should be supreme in England; and whether those who had sworn to support the pope's supremacy (which all of the ministers of the Roman Catholic Church had to do as preliminary to the performance of their sacerdotal functions) could longer continue to live in England, the law now recognizing here another supreme head than the pope?

Never was a more absolute despot than Henry VIII. The clergy, the parliament, the people were all his most obedient slaves: and the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had only one neck, appears to have been fully complied with in the case of the subjects of Henry in relation to their monarch, for with lamb-like gentleness the English people presented their necks to the axe and their bodies to the flames of that tyrant. "The flattery of courtiers," says Hume, "had so influenced his tyrannical arrogance that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own particular standard, the religious faith of the whole nation."

The "real presence" was a favorite doctrine of Henry's, and many suffered ignominiously for the denying of it. There was one Lambert, a schoolmaster, who denied this doctrine, and being cited before the prelates, Cranmer and Latimer, and having no other way of escape from that tribunal, he appealed to the king. Henry, not displeased with an opportunity when he could at once display his theological learning, upon which he prided himself much, and exert his supremacy, accepted the appeal and determined to mix in a very unfair manner the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given that the king intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster: scaffolds were erected in Westminster Hall for the accommodation of the audience, the king appeared on his throne accompanied with all the ensigns of royalty; the prelates were placed on his right hand, the temporal peers on his left; the judges and the most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers, and in the midst of this brilliant assemblage was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist. The bishop of Chichester opened the conference by stating that Lambert being charged with heretical pravity had appealed from his bishop to the king, as if he expected more favor from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic. That though his majesty had thrown off the usurpation of the see of Rome, had disincorporated some idle monks who lived like drones in a bee-hive, had abolished the idolatrous worship of images, had published the Bible in English for the instruction of all his subjects, and had made some less alterations which every one must approve of,* yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departures from it; and that he had taken the present opportunity before so learned and grave an audience of convincing Lambert of his errors: but if he still continued obstinate in them, he must expect the most condign punishment."

After this not very encouraging preamble, the king asked Lambert what his opinion was of Christ's corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with indignation and disdain. He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from Scripture and the schoolmen. The audience applauded the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition; Cranmer seconded his

* Henry had gradually and previous to this trial, effected all that is here said.

proofs by some new topics; Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer; Tunstal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokely brought fresh aid to Tunstal; and six lord bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokely; and the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours, till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. His majesty then returning to the charge, asked him whether he were convinced? And he proposed as a concluding argument this interesting question, whether he were resolved to live or to die? Lambert who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, and, doubtless, fully persuaded of the truth of the principles which he supported, replied that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency. The king told him that he would be no protector of heretics: and therefore if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, the king's minister, pronounced sentence against him.

Lambert did not appear any way daunted by the terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had opposed the king as intense as possible. He was burned over a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end to his torments some of the guards more merciful than the rest raised him on their halberts and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times: "None but Christ, none but Christ."

Eleven monks, some of them priors, were executed at Tyburn for denying the king's supremacy. Fourteen Dutch anabaptists, who had come to reside in England, were also burned at the stake. The execution of the bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas Moore, both men of very high character, for denying the king's supremacy, very soon followed. Both of these died with great magnanimity, and the latter uttered several modest pleasantries on the scaffold; when laying his head on the block he put his beard aside with his hands, remarking that it had not committed treason. These arbitrary murders raised a general outcry, and the tyrant's name was execrated throughout the Catholic world.

Henry next resolved on the suppression of the monasteries and the sequestration of their revenues, a measure arbitrary and despotic indeed, but nevertheless productive of good effects, in that it released many persons whom the avarice or superstition of their parents or their own inclination to an inactive life had immured in these secluded and unnatural abodes. These convents were nurseries of idle-

ness, and must have been, however they were maintained, a burden on the country. By their suppression the king acquired a large amount of money.

Cardinal Pole, a second cousin of the king, found it expedient to absent himself from England during the rigorous persecutions which Henry was carrying on. He was one of the most active of the Papal agents, and had endeavored in vain to excite the neighboring Catholic nations to avenge, by a warlike movement, the injuries suffered by the Church. Unable to get this formidable foe into his hands, the king seized his brother, Lord Montague, and several other persons of distinction, who were executed on a charge of abetting his designs. An inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, but it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with the other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of Cardinal Pole; and Henry was instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, Pole's aged mother, suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution, and that venerable matron displayed great dignity or obstinacy on the scaffold. She refused to lay her head on the block or submit to a sentence where she had received no trial. She told the executioner that if he would have her head he must win it the best way he could; and thus shaking her venerable gray locks she ran about the scaffold, and the executioner followed her with his axe, aiming many ineffectual blows at her neck before he was able to give the fatal stroke.

These are merely a few examples of the murders committed by Henry VIII. which may serve as a specimen of his long reign. An act of parliament was passed giving to the king's Proclamation all the authority of a Statute of Parliament, thus making him an absolute despot. And this omnipotence or absolute despotism was retained and exercised by the English monarchs henceforward for over one hundred and thirty years, down to the latter part of the reign of Charles I., and after the restoration till the accession of William III., at which time parliamentary liberty began to be a little more freely exercised.

The execution of Sir Thomas Moore, the chancellor of the kingdom, whose office he afterwards gave to Cromwell, and who is said to have resembled the ancient sages more than any man who had appeared in Europe for centuries, awakened the indignation of all Christendom. This man refused either to affirm or deny the validity of Catharine's marriage or the supremacy; although he declared himself ready to swear that he would support the succession to the crown established by parliament. It was for denying the king's

spiritual supremacy that Fisher, bishop of Rochester, as Cardinal Wolsey, suffered death.

Three years after his marriage with Anne Boleyn Henry had her beheaded under an accusation of adultery; and in her stead married Jane Seymour, who died after giving birth to a son, who became in time Edward VI. A marriage was then arranged for Henry with Anne, duchess of Cleves, which eventually terminated in a divorce, and then he married Catharine Howard, who was brought to the scaffold. His sixth and last wife was Catharine Parr, who survived him.

By his will Henry left his crown, first, to his son Edward, the son of Jane Seymour; next, to Mary, daughter of Catharine of Arragon; and next, to Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn. On his death, his son, Edward, being only nine years of age, the government was committed to a regency at the head of which was the king's uncle, Henry Seymour, earl of Hertford, now created duke of Somerset, with the title of protector, Cranmer being appointed one of the executors of Henry became the principal guardian and instructor of the young king.

On the accession of Edward VI., the son and successor of Henry VIII., the more advanced reforming party came into power in England. Cranmer, being appointed one of the executors of Henry, became the principal guardian and instructor of young Edward. The Duke of Somerset, who became protector, had long before been regarded as a secret partisan of the Reformers; and being now freed from restraint, he made no scruple of discovering his intention to correct all abuses in the old religion, and to adopt still more of the Protestant innovations. "The protector," says Hume, "in his schemes for advancing the Reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by insensible innovations to that system of doctrine and discipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect. He probably, also, foresaw that a system which avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be most lasting; and that a devotion merely spiritual was fitted only for the first fervors of a new sect, and upon the relaxation of these, naturally gave place to the inroads of superstition. He seems, therefore, to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy which, being suited to a great and settled government, might stand as a perpetual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished or entirely destroyed." * This remark of Hume, that a

* Hume's History, Reign of Edward VI.

merely spiritual religion is fitted only for the first fervors of a new sect, we do not consider just. Behold, for example, the Mohammedan religion, which is very widely spread and established for over a dozen of centuries without any regular priesthood or spiritual hierarchy, and which is surely a spiritual religion, and we do not find that it is now more mixed with superstition than it was at its first promulgation. Also, Methodism in all its branches, which is likewise in effect a kind of Unitarianism (as is also Presbyterianism becoming now almost universally), and which is in some sense a spiritual religion, is not more mixed with superstition to-day than when it was first promulgated; and while recognizing its commendable spirit of humility and industry so characteristic of the spirit of primitive Christianity, I may be allowed to remark that the priesthood should in all cases guard against any exhibition in themselves of a spirit of intolerance, so characteristic of ignorance, worldliness and bigotry, or of self aggrandizement, arrogance and hypocrisy so characteristic of a lordly hierarchy. The more spiritual the worship the more acceptable to God, and the more permanent in its good effects.

"A committee of bishops and divines," says Hume, "was appointed by the council under the protector to compose a liturgy, and in the year 1549 they had accomplished the work committed to them. They proceeded in this undertaking on moderate principles, retaining as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the Reformers would admit, and indulging nothing to the spirit of contradiction which so naturally takes place in all great innovations; and they flattered themselves that they had established a service in which every denomination of Christians might concur." † The mass had always hitherto been celebrated in Latin, a practice which could not have been edifying to the people, but was useful to the clergy, in that it impressed the people with the sense of some mysterious virtue in these rites. But the Reformers pretended in some few particulars to encourage private judgment in the laity. And the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the Bible, into their vulgar tongue appeared more comformable to the genius of their sect; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to the saints and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mass and the new liturgy of the Church of England. This form of worship was established by Parliament in all the Churches of the Kingdom, and a uniformity was ordained to be

† Hume, Edward VI.

observed in all the rites and ceremonies. The same parliament enacted a law permitting the marriage of priests, and in the preamble confesses "That it were better for priests and the ministers of the church to live chaste and without marriage, and it were much to be wished that they would of themselves abstain."

The doctrine of the "real presence," though tacitly condemned by the new liturgy and by the abolition of many of the ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of the people. And it was the last doctrine of popery that came to be pretty universally abandoned by the English. Bishops Bonner and Gardiner for inculcating this doctrine were committed to prison, and there were many other instances of persecution for non-conformity with the new religion derived from the bigotry and rancor of theologians.

"Though the Protestant divines," says Hume, speaking with reference to this time, "had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain, that they would suffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn, in the same flames from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ with them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all Anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Book of Common Prayer. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them if possible, to impose penance upon them, and to give them absolution; or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm; and in the execution of this charge they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers of the commission, they were overruled and abrogated by the council." * Thus all were compelled to worship this image of the Romish system of religion. A woman named Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, accused of heresy, was committed to the flames. Afterwards a Dutchman named Van Paris, accused of the heresy then called Arianism, suffered the same cruel death. "These rigorous methods of proceeding," says Hume, "soon brought the whole nation to a conformity seeming or real with the doctrine and the new liturgy.—To dissent from the religion of the magistrate was at this time universally conceived and felt to be as criminal as to question his title, or rebel against his authority."

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* Hume: Edward. VI.

Edward's health having failed and the hopes arising to the Protestants from his attachment to their cause being likely to be blighted the duke of Northumberland sought to prepare the way for the elevation to the throne of his son Guilford Dudley, who had married the lady Jane, granddaughter of Mary, youngest daughter of Henry VII. To lady Jane young Edward was friendly, arising from their association together as schoolmates under Roger Ascham and through the influence of Northumberland and without their own knowledge Edward had signed an instrument in writing declaring Jane Gray his successor. When, on the death of Edward, she was informed of her elevation she is said to have fainted from surprise and grief, and, on her recovery, remonstrated against her advancement to the position, urging the prior claims of Mary and Elizabeth. Her scruples were, however, at length overcome by the persuasion of her aspiring relatives; she accepted unwillingly the proffered honor and was proclaimed queen. Hereupon ensued a contest between Northumberland and the partisans of Mary in which the latter were successful. The duke was condemned and executed for treason, and his son Guilford Dudley with his wife, queen Jane, soon after met the same fate. Next were tried and executed their leading partisans. Mary, having been proclaimed queen, the Protestant bishops were deposed and the Catholics restored. Mary soon after was married to Philip of Spain, the son of the emperor Charles V, to whom through her mother she was nearly related. Consequent upon Mary's marriage with Philip, who was as bigoted a Catholic as she herself the Protestants became much alarmed and an insurrection broke out headed by the duke of Suffolk and Sir Thomas Wyatt, who urged Elizabeth to assume the crown. She, though sympathizing as strongly as they with the cause of the reformation, either through a sense of prudence or of the prior right of her sister declined to meddle in the matter.

Shortly after Philip's arrival in England the realm was with great ceremony reunited to the church of Rome and was absolved by Cardinal Pole, the Pope's legate, from the sins of heresy and schism. Not only at Rome was this event celebrated with great rejoicings; but in England it was the signal of lighting up the fires of persecution, which now during a good part of this wicked reign were kept burning. The first martyr was John Rogers who was burned at Smithfield on March 4th, 1555. Then in like manner

were martyred the Fathers of the English church, the bishops Cranmer, Hooper, Latimer and Ridley. The number of those who suffered martyrdom for conscience sake in this short reign (1553–1558) in England is estimated at 400, of which 290 were burned at the stake. Many of the English Protestants in this reign sought and found refuge in foreign lands. John Calvin was then engaged in teaching theology at Geneva, he being esteemed of great repute among the reformers; and in Switzerland, therefore, some of the English refugees sought and found for a time an asylum. In 1558 Mary dying, her husband Philip departed from England and Elizabeth succeeded to the throne. Some have thought that Mary's cruelties to the Protestants may, to some extent, have been prompted by her husband and however this may have been, it is true the murders permitted by Mary in England on account of religion were nothing when compared with those caused by the Inquisition in Spain in the reign and with the consent of her grandmother Isabella, the patron of Columbus. Yet Isabella, even by Protestants, is lauded, while her granddaughter is by them styled "the bloody Mary." In order to partially understand the spirit of Elizabeth's reign attend to the following facts concerning it, which are culled from the principal histories: —

On the accession of queen Elizabeth in 1558 the Protestant religion was restored. During her reign of forty-five years nonconformists to the state's religion, especially the Papists, suffered rigorously. But few in this reign suffered capitally by fire, this being the penalty for heresy as in Henry VIII's time; but great numbers were executed by "drawing" (eviscerating while yet alive), "hanging and quartering," which was the usual penalty for denying the queen's supremacy. See Lingard, Vols. VII.-IX., Hallam and Strype. Under this Queen, whom the Protestants of a later day have called "that bright occidental star," * it was decreed that whosoever, in any way, reconciled any one to the Church of Rome, or was himself reconciled thereto, was declared to be guilty of treason. To say mass was subjected to the penalty of a year's imprisonment and a fine of two hundred marks. The being present at mass was punishable by a year's imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred marks.† A fine of twenty pounds was imposed for being absent from church a month. A severe law was also enacted against Jesuits and popish priests. The most reliable historians, and some even of those who defend the Queen's measures, allow that in ten years fifty priests were executed, and fifty banished. This Queen, as her father, Henry VIII., appears to have had an absolute control of

* See Preface to King James' translation of the Bible.

† A mark equalled 13s. 4d. English; about $3.22.

the parliament. "In so great awe did the commons stand of every courtier as well as the crown," says Hume, "that they durst use no freedom of speech which they thought would give the least offence to any of them." The same author says: "The Queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a strict hand over the Puritans; who, though their pretensions were not so immediately dangerous to her authority, seemed to be actuated by a more unreasonable obstinacy, and to retain claims of which both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, it was as yet difficult to discern the full scope and intention. Some secret attempts of that sect to establish a second congregation and discipline, had been carefully suppressed in the beginning of this reign; and when any of the established clergy discovered a tendency to their principles by omitting the legal habits and ceremonies, the Queen had shown a determined resolution to punish them by fines and deprivations; though her orders to that purpose had been frequently eluded by the secret protection which these sectaries received from some of her most considerable courtiers."

It is seen, therefore, that the English Protestant Church, as the Lutheran and others, followed the example of its Mother Church of Rome, in compelling all to conform to it. But the most powerful and effective instrument of persecution, as well as the most perfect substitute for Papal cruelty, during the reign of Elizabeth, was the Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, established by John Whitgift, the Queen's primate, in 1584. He appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics, to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, etc., to regulate all religious opinions, to punish all breaches of uniformity in the exercise of public worship; to make inquiry, not only by legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by any other means which they could devise, by rack, by torture, inquisition, by imprisonment, etc." When they found reason to suspect any person they administered to him an oath called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friends. The fines which they levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the old laws of the kingdom, by which this commission was not bound. The imprisonments to which they subjected any delinquent were limited to no rule but their own pleasure. "These ecclesiastical commissioners," says the historian,* "were liable to no control; in a word, this court was a real inquisition, attended with all the iniquities as well as cruelties inseparable from that tribunal.

* Hume: Reign of Elizabeth.

† Hume: Reign of James I.

It is thought the position Elizabeth and her government took in relation to the Catholics may have been caused by the opposition which the Catholics in the beginning of her reign had manifested to her, claiming that the marriage of her father with Anne Boleyn, her mother, was invalid and she consequently illegitimate; to this effect the pope had issued a bull absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance. Her cousin Mary of Scots, queen of France, was deemed by the Catholics the lawful heir. She had been educated in France and had become the wife of Francis II., king of that country. By the advice of the duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, brothers of her mother, Mary of Scots and of France had assumed the arms and title of queen of England, thus giving alarm to Elizabeth, though she took no immediate measures to support her claim. All this it is thought might have caused the stern position taken by Elizabeth and her government towards the Catholics; but, otherwise, she is said to have made herself as a mother to her subjects, never refusing to receive and consider the petitions of the lowest of them and to judge between such and their powerful oppressors. Yet, like her father, Henry VIII., she may be said to have had a will of her own both in secular and ecclesiastical affairs, and although her reign procured to England prosperity and peace, yet was it without civil or religious liberty. Towards the end of this reign, however, the freedom of speech in parliament became noticeable, the queen granting with a good grace what in the earlier part of her reign she would have refused. But the exploit of her reign which filled Europe with admiration was not so much the defeat of the Spanish Armada as the circumnavigation of the globe by Sir Francis Drake. In 1578 Elizabeth gave to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the first patent given by England for lands in the new world. Gilbert having lost his life in an attempt to settle the country the queen transferred his patent to his brother-in-law, Sir Walter Raleigh. The coast discovered by his navigators, and which he was at much expense to colonize, without success in leaving permanent settlements, was called Virginia after this virgin queen.

On the death of Elizabeth in 1603, after a reign of 45 years, the crown passed quietly from the house of Tudor to that of Stewart. Her successor James VI. of Scotland and 1st of England, the son of Henry Stewart of Darnley and of Mary queen of Scots, was great grandson of Henry VII., the first of the house of Tudor by his daughter Margaret. A little after his accession the Puritans, a people who pertained to the church of England, but who regarded

its ceremonies and forms as an image of Romanism, petitioned the king for their discontinuance. In his earlier years James had imbibed their notions as promulgated by John Knox; but when he became established in power, as a monarch, he feared the democratical tendency of their principle. His maxim is said to have been: "No bishop, no king." In order, however, to come to a definite understanding on the subject he convoked an assembly at Hampton court; and having listened to the arguments on both sides, said at its close he would have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony," and he, therefore, enjoined upon the Puritans to conform to the established worship. He soon after made arrangements for that translation of the Scriptures which down to our time has been the standard among Protestants. That there was a strong and influential party among the Catholics of England opposed to James is shown by the concoction of the gunpowder plot in the second year of his reign, the design of which was to blow up the parliament and royal family. He was quite absolute and uncompromising in his ideas concerning the national religion. The following which is extracted from the book "Christ's Second Appearing," found in one of the libraries of Union college, will partially indicate the spirit of his reign.

The spirit of this bloody inquisition continued through the reign of King James I., who is canonized in the preface to the translation of the Bible, effected under his reign, as "The Most High and Mighty Prince James." "Under this reign," says Hume, "there was no toleration for the different sects.† Two heretics, under the title of Arians, were burned to death. A professor of theology, named Vorstius, a disciple of Arminius, was called from a German to a Dutch university, in the year 1611; and, as he differed from his Britannic Majesty, who prided himself highly upon his theological and scholastic learning, in some nice questions concerning the intimate essence and secret decrees of God, he was considered as a dangerous rival in scholastic fame, and was at last obliged to yield to the legions of that royal doctor, whose syllogisms he might have refuted or eluded. James, in other incidents of whose reign vigor was wanting, here behaved even with haughtiness and insolence; and the States were obliged, after several remonstrances, to deprive Vorstius of his chair, and to banish him from their dominion. The King carried his animosity against that professor no farther; though he had very charitably hinted to the States, "That, as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to

† Hume: Reign of James I.

their own Christian wisdom; *but surely never heretic better deserved the flames.*" "It is remarkable," says Hume, "that at this period, all over Europe, except in Holland alone, the practice of burning heretics still prevailed, even in Protestant countries; and instances were not wanting, even in England, during the reign of James."

The 69th Article, Partiament 6th of James VI. of Scotland, declares "that there is no face of kirk, nor other face of religion than is presently at this time established within this realm, which therefore is ever styled God's true religion and a perfect religion, which by manifold acts of parliament all within this realm are bound to profess, to subscribe the articles thereof, the confession of faith, to recant all doctrines and errors repugnant to any of the said articles." "And all magistrates on the one part are ordained to search, apprehend, and punish all contraveners. That all kings and princes at their coronation shall make their solemn oath in the presence of God that they shall be careful to root out of their empire all heretics."

The enterprise which James pushed forward so zealously for the settlement and improvement of Ireland is considered one of the most commendable measures of his time. Certain customs, which had supplied the place of laws and had kept the country in a state of disorder he abolished. Among others was that called the eric, wherein, as among the Anglo-Saxons, a price was set upon every man by the payment of which his slayer would escape punishment. The modern English laws were substituted and regular courts of judicature established; while for the enactment of such new laws as might be necessary an Irish house of commons was regularly constituted. Ulster was colonized by Scotch and English Protestants. Recommending a union of the Scotch and English parliaments he found this not accomplished in his reign, but for himself he assumed the title of "King of Great Britain." The colonization of America he also earnestly encouraged. His accession to power appears an epoch in the history of England. We appear to be here arrived not only in the feet but in the toes of Daniel's image. Considering also the time of the rise of this empire; for the point we have arrived at is that of the first origin of the nation of Great Britain; of the union of many kingdoms in one; have we not, I say, in this empire so called of "Great Britain" the Roman empire of Constantinople revived in the west? Or, is it for no reason that people have long remarked that England does in effect possess

Constantinople? The Turks, it is true, occupy that city with a portion of the eastern empire; but, it is often asked, how long they would be likely to occupy it, were it England's interest that they should not be there? So talk the wiseacres. But the disposing of the Lord so far is, of the Lord, I say, who is stronger than either England or the Turks, that England is in her place and the Turks are in the place wherein they are; and they both go along together just as they do. Or have we not rather in the "Great Britain" we are considering, the ecclesiastico-political Roman empire of the west, revived still father in the west? The former being the original of the prophetic presentation of Rev. XVII, is not this a prophetic re-presentation thereof farther in the west? But this subject will become more clear before we are through with our demonstration.

Charles I., the son and successor of James I., came to the throne in 1625. The parliaments in his time, being set for the curtailment of the royal prerogative, he had much trouble with in obtaining from them supplies for the expense of the government. Having in a flurry dissolved two or three parliaments because they did not promptly act as he wished, then, when he summoned the next and it had voted the supplies he required, they on their own part prepared a bill setting forth the illegality of measures he had practiced and securing their liberties from future infringement. This bill, called the "Petition of Rights," having passed both houses and been presented for Charles' signature, he signed it in such a way as to indicate that he did it unwillingly. This parliament proceeding still farther in the reformation of abuses, he soon prorogued. The parliamentarians now complained much of the absolutism of Charles. The Puritans, now also become a numerous body, complained of the rigorous measures taken by the episcopacy to enforce conformity with the rules of the established church; while this church, under the control of the extremist, Archbishop Laud, increased their cause of complaint by introducing new ceremonies, which manifestly showed a tendency to the Roman Catholic forms and faith.

High Churchism, or Ritualism, was never carried to a higher pitch than by Bishop Laud, in the reign of Charles I., the son and successor of James. This King, a severely high churchman, endeavored to introduce the English mode of worship into Scotland, but met with such a determined opposition from the people there, most of whom were attached to the Presbyterian mode of worship, that he failed in

accomplishing his object. To show the pitch to which bishop Laud brought affairs in the Church of England during his reign, we may give an account of the process by which that prelate consecrated St. Catharine's Church. On the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried: "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may come in!" Immediately the doors of the church flew open and the prelate entered. Falling on his knees, with eyes uplifted and arms expanded, he uttered these words: "This place is holy; the ground is holy; in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Going toward the chancel he several times took up from the floor some of the dust and threw it into the air. When he approached, with his attendants, near to the communion table, he bowed frequently toward it. And, on their return, they went round the church, repeating, as they marched along, some of the psalms; and then repeated a form of prayer which concluded with these words: "We consecrate this church and separate it unto Thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses." After this, the bishop, standing near the communion table, pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute this holy place by musters of soldiers or keeping in it profane law courts or carrying burdens through it. On the conclusion of every curse he bowed towards the earth and cried: "Let all the people say, Amen."

The imprecations being all so piously finished, there were poured out a number of blessings upon such as had given or should hereafter give to it any chalices, plate, ornaments or utensils. At every benediction he, in like manner, bowed toward the east and cried: "Let all the people say, Amen." The sermon now followed, after which the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the following manner: As he approached the communion table he made many low reverences; and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers he approached the sacramental elements and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times toward the bread; then he drew nigh again, opened the napkin and bowed as before. Next he laid his hand upon the cup which contained the wine and had a cover upon it. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed three times toward it. He approached again and, lifting the cover, peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament

and gave it to others. And after many prayers said, the ceremony of the consecration ended. The walls and floor and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy. Orders were given and rigorously insisted on, that the communion table should be removed from the middle of the area where it hitherto stood in all the churches except in cathedrals. It was placed at the east end, railed in, and denominated an ALTAR; as the clergyman who officiated received commonly the appellation of PRIEST. The clergy were rigorously compelled to observe every ceremony, and were suspended and deposed by the High Commission Court if they were found to neglect any of them. Oaths were also imposed upon the churchwardens by many of the bishops; and they were sworn to inform against any one who acted contrary to the ecclesiastical canons. The popish practices which were introduced into the Church during this reign had so scandalized the minds of the stricter Protestants that they zealously opposed them and gladly suffered for their principles. "All the severities, indeed, of this reign," says Hume, "were exercised against those who triumphed in their sufferings, who courted persecution and braved authority." *

Into Scotland Charles made a tour for the purpose of bringing the Scots to conform to the customs of the English church; but the cause he came to forward had the effect of making the people of that country oppose him. Against popery and prelacy an outcry was raised, and both the clergy and people entered into a bond of union, pledging themselves to resist all religious innovations and to support each other against all opposition. This agreement was called "The solemn league and covenant." In order to obtain means to sustain an army in opposition to the covenanters, Charles now summoned another parliament, but had to dissolve it again without obtaining any aid therefrom. The army of the covenanters now advanced into England, defeating on the way a portion of the royal army at Newcastle. In their march southward at this time the Scotch are said to have maintained the strictest discipline; they paid for what provisions they received on the way, and made protestations of loyalty to the king, wishing, they said, only to obtain from him redress of their grievances.

Charles now, in 1640, convened the assembly called the "long parliament." This parliament impeached and beheaded Wentworth, earl of Stafford, as well as Bishop Laud and Sir Robert

* Hume: Reign of Charles I.

Berkeley. To the incarcerated Puritans it opened the prison doors and abolished the court of "star chamber" by which the late kings had oppressed the people. They then passed an act declaring that bishops should not sit in the upper house of the legislature, and another act which made their own sitting perpetual. At this time a rebellion broke out mysteriously in Ireland, wherein more than 10,000 Protestants are said to have been massacred by the Catholics. Among others the king was suspected of having been one of its instigators. In its grant of money to suppress this rebellion parliament did not allow the money to get into the king's hands. Now, however, that precedent and law and order were set aside everywhere appeared turmoil and confusion. Bands of apprentices patrolled the streets of London, who, wearing their hair cropped around, Captain Hyde drew his sword and said he would "crop the ears of the round head dogs," and from hence the parliamentary party were called the "roundheads."

Charles then, having impeached five members of parliament for resisting his authority, sent a sergeant to the house to arrest them; but he was sent back without any positive answer. The king then proceeded in person with armed attendants to the house; but found that the five members were gone; and withdrawing he was greeted with the cry of "privilege of parliament." Tumults succeeded and the royal family were obliged to leave London. Both the royal and parliamentary parties then proceeded to decide the contest by force of arms. At Edgehill an indecisive battle was fought wherein the royalists were commanded by Charles and his nephew, prince Rupert of Hanover; his opponents being led by the earl of Essex. At Lansdowne also the battle was indecisive in its result; But at Stratton and Roundway down the royalists were victorious. Again an indecisive battle was fought at Newbury, wherein both sides sustained great loss.

The Scots now united with the parliamentarians, while by the Irish Catholics succors were sent to the king. At the ensuing battle of Marston Moor the parliamentarians were victorious. In this battle 50,000 troops were engaged. The parliamentary commanders were Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell; the royalists were led by the marquis of Newcastle and prince Rupert. At Nasby Charles commanded in person and lost the battle. Here he is said to have displayed "the conduct of a prudent general and the valour of a stout soldier." On the loss of this battle Charles retreated to Wales, but finding himself unable to retrieve his fortunes he re-

solved to throw himself upon the generosity of the Scots. Presenting himself at their camp at Newark he was at first received with marks of respect; but he was detained a prisoner and at length delivered to the parliamentarians for 400,000 pounds sterling. By these he was kept at Holdenby until a change of events took him out of their hands.

For between the opponents of Charles there arose conflicting interests and hostile feelings. Another religious sect had meantime risen, which maintained among other opinions that right of freedom for all, in matters of religion, which is at this day so extensively acknowledged. These were the "Independents" at whose head was Oliver Cromwell. They were opposed not only to royalty and prelacy but to the presbytery; their expressed desire was that a republican government be established. Cromwell by the zeal which he manifested for equal rights in religion as in all other things gained the confidence of the army. Desiring to obtain possession of the king he sent a detachment of five hundred men, who conducted him from Holdenby to his camp. At the head of his army Cromwell now marched to London, where he dictated laws to the long parliament, which had by this time become extremely unpopular with the nation. He paid, at the same time, great court to Charles, whom the opposition of the two parties had again brought into prominence. But the king even now rejected overtures for reconciliation, refusing to relinquish his high pretentions or to allow to the people such a share in the government as they claimed. At Hampton Court Cromwell and his adherents established him and enabled him to live there for some time with the appearance of freedom.

At length, for some reason, this situation becoming unpleasant or dangerous for Charles, he escaped to Litchfield, where he remained for a while concealed, but was at length compelled to place himself in the custody of Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight. Here he was kept a close prisoner until at length his opponents, fearing for their own safety in case of the revival of his party, arraigned him on a charge of treason for levying war against the parliament, condemned and beheaded him upon the scaffold in 1649.

The commons now passed an act abolishing kingly power and the house of Lords as altogether unnecessary. The great seal of the nation, the form and inscription whereof they had changed to suit their purpose, they committed to a certain number of persons,

who were styled the "Conservators of the Liberties of England." The war had, on both sides, been largely maintained by private contributions, but even thus the excessive imposts made by the long parliament for revenue had at length made that institution quite unpopular. It had besides, meantime, passed some very strict and severe laws concerning religion, under one of which a venerable Catholic clergyman, named Southworth, aged 72 years, was burned at the stake at Winchester, for the crime of being a popish priest. "On the scaffold he reproached his persecutors for their inconsistency."

By the course which the Puritans and Presbyterians pursued when they were in power we see that whatever be the doctrines men profess, however spiritual and free from idolatrous tint, and however fervent and enthusiastic these men be in their religious devotions and professions, they still, when they come into power, are not unlikely to enact like cruelties with other more formal and idolatrous religionists, though probably not to the same extent. And all these developments are simply the outworking of human nature, perhaps, in enthusiastic devotion, or in excessive zeal in supporting some favorite idea, or in bigotry or hatred, or personal animosity, or peculiarity of temper and disposition in individuals. They are the outworking of the principles of human nature which comprises in itself the two extremes of bad and good; and these principles are developed in actions, the motives of which are attributed to religion, or God, or something else, which latter are merely ideas and may mean really nothing more.

From the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. down to after the time which we are now considering, say to the accession of William III., the rulers of England were distinguished for their cruelties in persecuting and killing their fellow-men, and this especially in support of an ecclesiastical system which they had established. They compelled all within the range of their power to bend to their idea, their will, or their caprice.

Cromwell having been appointed by parliament military governor of Ireland soon reduced that island to submission. In Scotland the Marquis of Montrose, attempting to form an army in the royal cause, was overcome and executed with forty others.

The Scottish covenanters, resolving now to support the monarchy, equipped an army of 36,000 men and proclaimed Charles II., king. Him they recalled from Holland, and, on his return, before landing, had him sign the covenant. Parliament now, re-

calling Cromwell from Ireland, sent him with full power against the Scots. At Dunbar he met and defeated them, and proceeded to take possession of Edinburgh and Leith. But meantime the Scots, though weakened by internal dissensions and jealousies of the prince they supported (having kept a national fast for his sins and those of his family) had again assembled an army with which Charles entered England. But Cromwell, the ensuing year, followed and defeated this royal army at Worcester. Charles being obliged to flee, after more than a month's concealment in different disguises, made his way to Normandy.

The authority of the commonwealth was now acknowledged throughout the English possessions, Cromwell being in supreme command of the army with the title of "Captain General." He was aware, however, that he was distrusted by the parliament; and taking a company of soldiers, he entered the parliament house, commanded the speaker to leave his chair and told the members they had sat long enough for what good they had done. Then in a strong stentorian voice he addressed individual members, telling Sir Hary Vane he was a juggler, Challoner he was a drunkard, and, in short, charging some with breaking one commandment, some another, and, finally, telling the whole: "You are no longer a parliament; I say you are no longer a parliament." Cromwell was now, while speaking in the name of liberty, become a military despot. By a council of his officers he was appointed "Protector of the Commonwealth," and addressed by the title of "highness." He next having summoned a number of men from the three kingdoms, so that all might be represented in one parliament, soon found their views not correspondent with his and so dissolved this parliament.

A war now ensuing between England and Holland Cromwell's fleet was triumphant after a prolonged struggle of three days. The commonwealth rose now to great importance among the nations of Europe, its ambassadors being present at almost every court. At this time Jamaica, one of the West India islands, was retained to the English by Admiral Penn. By the long Parliament the settlements in North America were favored; but from Cromwell they received a severer blow than they had received from the Stewarts in the "Navigation Acts" by which he introduced a restricted system of trade, prohibiting the colonists from using their own ships, and thus obliging them to sell their products to the English and to obtain from them the supplies they wanted. Cromwell made

all his foreign relations, colonial and otherwise, subservient to the home interests, so far as his foresight allowed him to judge should be so: His domestic government, too, was perhaps as mild and equitable as his dangerous situation permitted it to be, beset as he was by enemies who conspired against his life; yet it was vigorous and "he was guilty of some acts of tyranny such as Charles I. never dared venture upon." Five years after he obtained the protectorate, or in the ninth year after the death of Charles I. Cromwell died, and was succeeded in the protectorate by his son Richard, whose mild and unambitious disposition unsuited him for the turbulence and noisy cabals which were about him. He resigned the protectorate and retiring first to the continent and afterwards to his estate in the country he lived unoffending and unmolested. Into so many political and religious parties was the nation now divided that the people became weary of the confusion resulting from change and expressed generally their desire for the restoration of the monarchy.

Monk, an able commander both by sea and land, was now at the head of the army in Scotland; and, having formed a plan for the elevation of Charles II. to the throne, he marched to London. Here he procured the dissolution of the existing parliament and the election of a new one, to which when assembled he read a letter from the prince offering a general pardon; promising liberty of conscience; assuring the soldiers of the payment to them of their arrears; and submitting all grants to parliamentary arbitration. Monk had also the house of lords now again to assemble, and both houses jointly proclaimed Charles II. king. Sir Matthew Hale, chief justice, seconded by Prynne, wished to have limitations put upon the royal prerogative; but these suggestions were, for reasons of his own, overruled by Monk. Charles having come from Holland was proclaimed king in London on July 15th, 1650.

Charles was a person of agreeable appearance and engaging manners, but his real character was soon found not to correspond with these. His great deficiency was in moral principle; his great want morality. Licentiousness quickly sprang from the court, more or less throughout the kingdom; and although he had sworn to support the solemn league and covenant and to protect the rights of conscience, he re-established episcopacy as the exclusive religion; restored the bishops to their seats in parliament and the inferior clergy to their benefices. This, however, may be called but an ignoring of the contract he had sworn to when we compare it with his treatment of the Puritans. In relation to these he caused the

"Act of Uniformity" to be passed by which it was ordained that every minister of religion, schoolmaster or graduate of a college in taking his degrees, must declare his consent to everything contained in the "Book of Common Prayer;" and that all ministers should be ejected who had not already received or would not receive episcopal ordination; that they should take the oath of canonical obedience; should abjure the solemn league and covenant; and should renounce the principle of taking up arms against the king on any pretense whatever. The terms of subscription had now been made so rigid that the more scrupulous among the Presbyterians and Independents would not receive it and about two thousand of the clergy relinquished their cures, preferring, for the most part, to rely for support upon the humane charity of society than to renounce their principles.

Against those concerned in the death of the late king prosecutions were now commenced. Some were executed and others fled to foreign countries, where they were hunted under the name of "regicides."

In this reign the English navy triumphed largely over the Dutch. In 1664 New Amsterdam was taken by the English and called New York, after the title of the king's brother, James, Duke of York. To his favorites Charles granted large tracts of land in America.

To Charles II. succeeded, in 1685, his brother James II., whose character was no less deceptive than that of Charles. Having assembled his council he declared his determination to maintain the established government both in church and state. His conduct, however, in sending to make submission to the pope; going in state to attend mass, which by act of parliament was illegal; levying taxes without consent of parliament; and advancing Catholics to office, while he displaced Episcopalians, and the like, soon convinced the people that his professions were not earnest. Insurrections which broke out in Scotland and in England, in consequence of this, were suppressed and their leaders executed.

The infamous Judge Jeffries being chancellor of the kingdom now as well as in the preceding reign the frequent military executions were attended with remarkable cruelty. While the monarch upheld such military executions, thus making himself hateful to the people, he at the same time made great pretensions to religious toleration. Wm. Penn, the son of Admiral Penn, and founder of the colony of Pennsylvania, was much in company with James and was deceived into the belief that this tyrant and bigot had good

designs respecting liberty of conscience. But his intention to break down the democratic part of the English constitution and bring everything into subjection to his arbitrary will soon became manifest to him. This king became to the clergy of the established church quite obnoxious, not only depriving them of privileges formerly granted, but by directing them to read in public his declaration of equal indulgence to all religions. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops petitioned the king that he would not oblige them to promulgate that which by former acts of parliament was illegal. He answered by committing them to prison and prosecuting them for libel. Unless the Catholics and a certain number of officeholders under him the greater part of the nation now desired a change of the government; and many of the most influential persons in the kingdom banded themselves together and petitioned the prince of Orange, James' son-in-law, to come over and assume the government. This proposal was not unacceptable to William as he had had a design upon the English throne. Embarking, therefore, his army for England he landed them at Torbay; and so numerous were the accessions to his party that it seemed as if the whole nation had conspired in his favor. The navy and army also deserted to him. Being absent for a short time from his palace James returned and found his favorite daughter Anne had left him. "God help me," said the afflicted man, "my very children have forsaken me." The queen and the prince of Wales he sent to France, whither he followed them, as soon as he learned that William had begun to advance to London. The parliament now declaring the throne vacant proposed to William that he should act as regent to his wife as queen; but he sent them word that he would not accept of a power which depended upon the life of another, and that if they concluded upon this plan he could render them no assistance. Mary seconding his views, the prince and princess of Orange were declared king and queen of Great Britain. This event, called in English history the "Revolution," as that of the coronation of Charles II. is called the "Restoration," is one of the most singular and important on record. The change was brought about almost without bloodshed; and, in its course the principle was acknowledged that the people had, through their representatives, a right to elect their sovereign. Thenceforth no king could assume, as their former princes had done, that the whole kingdom was his, he deriving from God and the people from him. In England this relic of the feudal system was left behind,

when James II. for his violations of constitutional liberty, was declared to have forfeited his throne, and William III. was, by the representatives of the people, made king in his place.

Viscount Dundee in Scotland still held out for James and won a battle against William's forces, led by Gen. Mackay, but fell in the engagement. James and his family were hospitably entertained by Louis XIV. at his palace of St. Germain; and here now having collected a few hundreds of his own countrymen and some French he embarked with them for Ireland. In that country the earl of Tyrconnell, at the head of about 30,000 men remained faithful to him as well as the Catholic population in general; but the Protestants resisted with intrepidity though at times reduced to the utmost distress. As soon as matters connected with the English administration were somewhat composed William proceeded to Ireland to take command in a war which he had hitherto left to his lieutenants. On the banks of the Boyne the opposing armies engaged each other, each led on by a monarch, when victory ultimately declared in favor of William. James again fled to France and William had possession of Ireland. Though disturbance sometimes manifested itself during the reign of William yet the majority of the nation supported his measures. While he was personally engaged in the continental wars Mary administered with ability the affairs of England; but when her husband was present, she is said to have been the most submissive of wives. Her death was much regretted by all. William came to his death by a fall from his horse. He is said to have ruled with ability but not well. His ambition which was considerable was not moderated to the extent it should have been by a regard for the good of mankind and especially for that of the people he governed. He determined so to sway the people of Europe "that not a gun should be fired without his consent." To maintain large standing armies he commenced the system of borrowing money, which has, in its consequences, accumulated the enormous national debt that has brought England to the verge of ruin.

It was by one of King William's armies that the notoriously brutal massacre of the MacDonalds of Glenco was perpetrated. In America "King William's War" reached the people of New England, where the French and Indians from Canada came stealthily upon them, awaked them from their slumbers with the war whoop to see their dwellings in flames, their children dashed against the walls; and themselves reserved for scalping and torture. Thus in

1690 were destroyed Casco in Maine, Salmon's Falls in New Hampshire and Schenectady in New York. Some of the measures of William III. in American legislation showed that he believed the free institutions of that new country were tending to independence and that he desired to bar their way. In his accession Puritan New England had rejoiced, and he recalled the tyrants of whom they complained and suffered the smaller States to go back to their charter democracies; but to the leading State, Massachusetts, whose people had shown the most determined self-will, he would not restore their former privileges but compelled them to receive, with a new charter, royal governors. Between these governors and their peoples began at once disputes, which were not settled till after the war of the revolution.

During William's reign an act was passed, notwithstanding the opposition of the Jacobites, that is, the followers of James, which secured the crown to the descendants of Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, "they being Protestants."

To William succeeded Anne, second daughter of James II. She continued the English alliance with Austria, and, during her reign, Churchill, who afterwards became duke of Marlborough, cut an important figure on the continent at the head of the British forces. *In her reign was accomplished the important event of the union of the legislative powers of England and Scotland;* for although these two countries had now for 103 years, or since the accession of James I, been under one king, yet their legislatures continued to be distinct till this time. The bill, which was violently opposed in the Scottish parliament on the ground of inequality of representation, but was finally accepted on the parliament of England agreeing to pay 398,000 pounds sterling as a consideration for its passage, allowed Scotland to send to the British parliament forty-five members and sixteen peers with reciprocal rights of trade. Of Scotland considered as an individual kingdom it diminished the political importance; but it strengthened and consolidated the empire whereof Scotland was now but a territorial division.

After a reign of 22 years Anne Stewart was succeeded upon the throne of Great Britain, in 1714, by George I, who was hereditary elector of Hanover and great grandson of James I, king of Great Britain, through his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Frederic, elector Palatine, and king of Bohemia.

The three great political parties in the days of George I were the whigs or party of the people; the tories or party of the nobles;

and the Jacobites, so called from their espousing the cause of King James (Jacob) II. This last party gaining ground in the Kingdom projected a change, and, in 1715, invited over from France the Stewart claimant, who by his party was called James III, Louis XIV, secretly favoring his cause. But the latter soon dying after a reign of sixty years, the duke of Orleans, now regent, although he did not openly oppose yet gave no promise of assistance to James. Meantime the earls of March and Derwentwater, who had risen in support of James in Scotland and the north of England, were crushed. After this the chevalier, as he was called, arrived in Scotland and was proclaimed as James III by his followers; but finding his cause so dampened by defeat before his arrival, and learning that a large price was set upon his head, he re-embarked for France. Of his adherents some fled; some concealed themselves, and some were apprehended and treated with remarkable cruelty.

In thirty years later (1745) when George II. was in alliance with Frederick the great of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria and had an army on the continent under the duke of Cumberland, acting against the French, another attempt was made to restore the Stuarts. The chevalier Charles Edward, son of the foregoing, landed in Scotland. Of Highland chieftains and Lowland barons he obtained a large following and at the head of a considerable army thus gathered, he surprised Edinburgh and established himself in Holyrood house. Here he proclaimed his father king of Great Britain. At Preston Pans, shortly afterwards he gained a victory over the king's troops; taking alarm at which the parliament recalled the duke of Cumberland from the continent, and sent him against the Stuart. Meantime, however, he had marched into England and taking Carlisle on his way, proceeded to Derby. But finding that few of the English Jacobites joined his standard and learning besides that extensive preparations were now being made to proceed against him he returned north. At Falkirk he again defeated the royal troops, but Cumberland, following him closely, with a large force of veterans drawn from the continent and elsewhere came up with his small army at Culloden in the north of Scotland and obtained over him the victory. Stuart escaping from the field wandered afterwards for five months under various disguises, a heavy price being set upon his head. But the adherents of his family in the Highlands would not betray him for money. Much fault has been found with the duke of Cumberland for the cruelties which he allowed to be perpetrated upon the wounded

enemy on the field of Culloden; but let that have been as it may, we have only to remark that thus was established upon the throne of Great Britain the house of Hanover, which has since remained undisturbed by other claimants. If now we reckon the dynasties which reigned in South Brittain up to and including that of Tudor, we shall have to begin with the Roman, making a British dynasty second, which will answer also for the British rule, that preceded the Roman and of which we have little knowledge. Next we have to put the Saxon; then the Danish, etc. The dynasties for this space are as follows: —

1. Romans.
2. Britons.
3. Saxons.
4. Danes.
5. Normans.
6. Blois.
7. Plantagenet.
8. Tudor.

We may, therefore, call the ancient British the first dynasty, overlapping as it does, the Roman. The last dynasty here given, namely, that of Tudor, is in female descent from the 7th; for it was by right of descent from a daughter of John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, that Henry Tudor afterwards Henry VII, claimed the crown of England. The 8th dynasty, then, came into power in England as being of the 7th in this sense. In the sense, therefore, of being the ancient British rule revived it may be thought to present another prophetic prototype in that it was and (for a time) was not; and yet it was, when it did again attain to power. Between the ancient British dynasty, beginning with Vortigern and his son Vortimer, after the departure of the Romans, and the rise of the dynasty of Tudor there intervened six dynasties, so that immediately preceding the Anglo-Saxon, and immediately following the Plantagenet we have ancient British rule. Confer Rev. XVII, 8, 11, etc. In our present application of the prophecy it is to be remembered we are directing the attention not to the original or prototype, but to an adumbration thereof.

Moreover, in relation to the rise of the power, now called Great Britain, we can reckon as to this in another than a dynastic sense, as above, namely, by nations, somewhat after the manner of the five contemporary Franco-German nations in the time of the emperor Arnulf, as follows:

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNTIES IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

1. The Norwegian Kingdom of Sodor and Man, etc., say 865–1265.
2. Wales, 870–1282.
3. Scotland, during this time.
4. England or Anglo-Saxondom, during this time.
5. Ireland, during this time.
6. "Great Britain and Ireland" after 1603.
7. " " " " and Hanover after 1713.
8. The present house or heir apparent, 1892,

which is not the same as, but a variation of the Seventh.

You perceive that under the 6th head all the preceding five governments are united in one, as according to Rev. XVII., 10. The 7th, which "must continue a short space," having begun in 1714 ended in effect in 1837. After a sufficient research into the subject in the early authorities, including Palgrave, I conclude the kingdoms called West Wales (Cornwall), and Cumbria (Strathclyde), were in general subkingdoms to the Anglo-Saxons and to Scotland. But the sovereignty of the Norwegians in some of those islands on the western coast of Britain for nearly the time given was *de facto*.

The Stewart dynasty may be said to have existed in a stormy time, politically speaking; it embraced and overlapped the parliamentary anarchy and the "protectorate;" the latter, however, being undoubtedly a distinct dynasty. The heir apparent in this period, namely, Charles II., was, arising, it is thought, from his association with low minded persons, not of such a high moral tone as suited Oliver Cromwell, nor does he seem to have improved much in this respect before he had advanced well in life. But whatever else the Stewart dynasty did and there is indeed much evil laid to its account it may be said to have consolidated the British empire. Its first dynast united in his person the crowns of north and south Britain; and under its last dynast, namely, queen Anne, the union of the Scotch and English parliaments was effected. Its first dynast gave also to the English world that translation of the Scriptures, which has been held as the standard to our own time; nor did he leave only one copy of them in each church, tied by a chain, as Henry VIII did, but gave it to the free use of all the people of all the world. This dynasty of native Britons formed, indeed, an epoch in every way, and relinquished its power, gloriously energized under its last dynast, to the second elector of the *ninth electorate of the German empire*. This

was George I. of England, the founder of the generally able minded house of Brunswick of Great Britain and Ireland. The first five English dynasts of this house, namely George I., II., III., IV. and William IV. were also electors of the German empire. Victoria, on her accession in 1837, was excluded by the Salic law from a German throne; and, so, Ernest, the oldest surviving son of George III., became king of Hanover. He was succeeded in 1851 by his son George V. Four years previously, however, in 1832–3, the people of Hanover having manifested a desire for greater political liberty, were granted by the English government a new constitution, by which they have a legislature of two houses. According to this, some one of the royal family of England was to be chief executive.

According to our last tabulation, the Germans replace their own race on the throne of England after the intervention of seven dynasties, as, after the intervention of six, the Britons replaced the Britons.

But as to what is meant by the electorates of the German empire, I may repeat as said farther back that, in the year 1355, this empire was divided by the terms of the constitution called the "Golden Bull," into seven geographical divisions or kingdoms called electorates, at the head of each of which was a sovereign or elector, whose oldest son was to be his successor in the electorate. This constitution which was framed and issued by the pope and the emperor Charles of Luxembourg, — one of whom appears to have been as devoted a Roman Catholic as the other, — remained as regards the number of electorates in *statu quo* for 293 years, or until by the treaty of Westphalia, which closed the "thirty years' war" in 1648, one of the electorates, namely, the Palatinate, was divided into two, called respectively the Upper and the Lower Palatinate. The Upper Palatinate was, at this time, given to the elector of Bavaria and the Lower to Charles Louis, the son of the former elector Palatine. Since 1692, according to Zimmerman (IV, 1549), Hanover has been reckoned a ninth electorate.

The first German dynasty in Britain some would be disposed to consider as a prototype of certain of our Apocalyptic symbols. There were seven Anglic and Saxon kingdoms, called the Heptarchie, out of one of which, Deira, an eighth was formed, namely, Mercia (i.e., Mur-chaeth-ia, the land of the sea chief, or, literally, Merchant-land), in 586. This was, therefore, a seventh-eighth kingdom, and it was also an Anglic kingdom, as distinguished from Saxon; that kingdom which subjugated all the others, instead of

Wessex, as commonly understood: and the Angles gave to England its line of Anglo-Saxon kings after which the country was named England (Angle-land).

Now, considering the intervention of the long parliament in the period given in our last tabulation, it may be said that if this ninth dynasty of Germans in England, namely the dynasty of Hanover, were alluded to in our Apocalyptic prophecies, under the general head we have been now considering, it is a very faint penciling of history which shows it to be so. It may, however, be answered that this is what was to be expected in this case, this dynasty, if referred to at all, being out on the verge of the prophecy, near, we hope, to the full introduction of the age of the Son of Man; and in the time of which, it is much to be wished, that long-expected era may be ushered in. It is to be hoped that every day henceforth will disappear more from the world all such brutality, cruelty, ignorance and vice as hitherto has too much characterized and utterly degraded humanity, and that the whole human family will henceforth cultivate the Christian doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man and live in all sincerity and action as becometh this doctrine.

I have hitherto, under this head, spoken mainly of Germany and England, but as the Scandinavian and Sclavic nations come largely into view in the movement and effects of the Reformation it behoves to give these peoples a passing notice.

The Scandinavians are those nations lying to the west and north-west of the Baltic. They are principally Denmark and Norway with their colony Iceland; and Sweden. They are one of the chief homes of the Goths in Europe from an early historical period. In the Middle Ages numbers of their inhabitants acted barbarously as sea kings or free booters. Before their conversion to Christianity they sacrificed human beings to their war gods in their barbarous religious rites.

The first account we have in history of any of them having been converted to Christianity is of Harold, a Danish prince, who was baptized at Ingelheine, in the year 826. But they, as a race, embraced Christianity with remarkable slowness, especially in what might be called their old homes, where they were not much brought into contact with outside influences. After, however, they had gotten a foothold in France, England, Italy and Sicily, thereinall to abide, they, coming into contact with the civilization and religion which had prevailed there long before, soon became of the Church's

children some of the most devoted. In the movements of the crusades some of the greatest leaders, as Bohemond and Tancred and Robert of Normandy, were of this stock. Their abandonment of their barbarous and sanguinary customs was owing principally to their intercourse with more civilized nations, and to the influence upon them of Christianity, which was introduced into Denmark in the ninth century; into Norway in the tenth and into Sweden in the eleventh.

It was greatly to the advantage of Denmark, Norway and Sweden that they were united under a common government by Margaret of Waldemar, daughter of Waldemar II., king of Denmark, and called "the Semiramis of the north." On her father's death she obtained, contrary to the Salic law, in force among the Danes, peaceable possession of the Danish sovereignty. Haquin, king of Norway, her husband, having died, she obtained in a like peaceable way, possession of the sovereignty of Norway. And such was her fame for wisdom and energy that when Albert, a German conqueror, was making good headway in his subjugation of the Swedes, they invited her to assist them. She went with an army in 1389, defeated Albert in battle and made him prisoner. After seven years of war the compact called the "Union of Calmar," was made, which united the three nations in one confederacy, each having its own legislature, but all under the same monarch. Having elected Margaret, she, during her reign, established many wise regulations, and enabled the confederacy to progress rapidly in commerce and the arts.

Margaret, having had herself no child, adopted Eric, a grand nephew, who proved to be a weak prince, and so in 1449 the "Union of Calmar" was dissolved.

There now ensued a period of war when Sweden had a king of its own. In 1513 Christian II., called from his ferocious disposition, "the Nero of the North," was king of Denmark and Norway; and Sweden, being divided between two conflicting parties, Troll, archbishop of Upsal, encouraged Christian to invade that kingdom. He did so, and having killed in battle the king, Steen Sture, was acknowledged king of Sweden by the diet. He then, having invited to a feast the nobles of the realm, treacherously slew ninety-four chief men and bishops, after which he let loose his troops upon the people and a multitude of Swedes were consequently sacrificed. Gustavus Vasa, the son of a nobleman, fled and concealed himself among the mountains of Dalecarlia, whence he issued with

a resolute band. His countrymen in large numbers joined his standard, and in 1523 they succeeded in expelling the Danes and in placing Gustavus on the throne of Sweden. In his reign Sweden prospered agriculturally and commercially, and, on the breaking out of the reformation he and his people received its doctrines. It was in defense of these that his descendant, Gustavus Adolphus, came forward as the hero of his age. With the latter to command her armies and his able minister, Oxenstiern, to manage her internal affairs, Sweden rose in this period (1611–1632) to a first class power.

At the death of the German emperor Rodolph, who was son of Maximilian II, the son of Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V, the imperial title fell to his brother Mathias: 1612. Before this the Protestant princes of the German confederation had formed a league called "the Evangelical Union." Hitherto Mathias had shown himself friendly to them, but their pressing demands for an extension of their privileges he now persistently resisted, and they complaining that he encroached upon their rights, took up arms to secure them. This proved the beginning of the "thirty years' war." The crowns of Bohemia and Hungary Mathias procured for his cousin Ferdinand, duke of Styria, whom he designed for his successor in the empire; but these measures so alarmed those nations that they now took part with the princes of the Evangelical union. In the midst of these disorders Mathias died and Ferdinand II was accordingly raised to the imperial throne. The Bohemians continuing their revolt, deposed Ferdinand and elected to the sovereignty of their kingdom Frederic, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who was son-in-law of James I, King of Great Britain, having married his daughter Elizabeth. This Frederic is ancestor of the British house of Hanover. Besides the support of the princes of the Evangelical Union, Frederic now received the aid of Bethlem Gabor, the chief or vaivode of Transylvania; a body of troops under Henry of Nassau from the Low countries, and 2,000 English volunteers. His forces were, however, unable to cope with the united forces of the emperor, the king of Spain and the archduke of Austria, which defeated him in a pitched battle at Prague. The imperialists having driven him from his palatinate deprived him of his electoral dignity which they conferred upon the duke of Bavaria. Much to the annoyance of his English subjects Frederic's father-in-law refused to assist him in his extremity. By this neglect the English thought James showed himself false to the Protestant cause.

After crushing a league of the northern powers, at the head of which was Christian IV of Denmark, Ferdinand aspired to establish despotic sway in Germany; to reduce the princes to the rank of nobles and revive the imperial jurisdiction in Italy. He began by issuing an edict requiring the Protestant princes to restore the church lands and benefices, which they had possessed since the Peace of Passau. The princes, remonstrating, urged that the edict was illegal; but, the emperor persisting, the Protestants formed a secret alliance with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. This monarch being a zealous Protestant, deemed it politic to unite his forces with those powers whose object was to weaken the influence of the house of Austria; and besides he conceived he had good cause of dissatisfaction with the emperor, for having assisted the Poles in opposition to the Swedes. Mostly on account of religion, but partly to preserve the balance of power, Holland came into this confederacy and Charles I, then reigning in England, sent to the confederates a force of 6,000 men. The court of France also united itself with the Protestant confederates, it being the policy of Cardinal Richelieu, then prime minister of France, to curb the Austrian power by all means.

Gustavus, having entered Pomerania, captured many strategic points; and over the imperial forces under the command of Tilley he gained a complete victory at Leipsic. All the armies of the evangelical alliance now joining his standard Gustavus made himself master of the whole country between the Elbe and the Rhine. Tilly, having been killed, Wallenstein, an equally able general, replaced him. With him at Lutzen Gustavus engaged in battle: At daybreak the fighting began and lasted till sunset, when the obstinate and persistent valor of the Swedes left them in possession of the field. They had triumphed over a force of the enemy much superior in numbers, but Gustavus was killed. It is said that an enemy, finding him wounded on the field, asked him who he was, when he replied: "I am the king of Sweden, and I seal with my blood the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany:" 1632.

Gustavus having left but one child, a daughter named Christina, aged six years, the regency of the kingdom was committed to Oxenstiern. The war was continued in Germany and the Swedish ranks kept replenished with able bodied men and officers from the north well drilled and taught in the schools of Gustavus. Wallenstein, the imperial general having been assassinated the command was given to Ferdinand, king of Hungary, eldest son of the em-

peror. The imperial army was at this time strengthened by the accession of the dukes of Lorraine and Bavaria, together with a reinforcement of Spanish troops. At Nordlingen the army of the confederates under command of Gen. Horn and the duke of Saxe Weimar, encountered the imperial forces, and there ensued one of the bloodiest battles recorded in history, which resulted in the defeat of the Swedes, With the Evangelical Union the emperor now (1635) negotiated the "treaty of Prague," by which the Protestants were left in possession of the church property and permitted the free exercise of their religion throughout the empire with the exception of Bohemia and the provinces of the house of Austria.

Between Sweden and France a new alliance was now formed and the latter nation participated actively in the war. The elector of Saxony, an imperialist general, was defeated at Wittstock, in 1636, by the Swedish general Bannier. On the death of his father the king of Hungary succeeded as Ferdinand III., and continued the war against Sweden, France and the Protestant Union. Near Brissac, the confederates, under the duke of Saxe Weimar, defeated the imperial army and took possession of many towns. In Pomerania the Swedes triumphed. Bannier, having crossed the Elbe, entered Saxony, obtained advantages over the imperialists in several slight engagements, and, near Chemnitz, gained a complete victory. Bohemia he next invaded and was victorious over the imperialists under Hofskirk. The retreating army he pursued to the walls of Prague and took the imperial general prisoner: 1640.

The emperor having convened a diet at Ratisbon Bannier formed a plan of attacking that city. Joined by the French under Guilbriant he crossed the Danube on the ice, captured 1,500 of the imperialist cavalry, as well as the equipage and advanced guard of the emperor, who himself narrowly escaped. An unexpected thaw compelling Bannier to cross the river saved the city. A large imperial army under Gen. Picallomini and the archduke Leopold now followed Bannier through Bohemia, but before they came up with him he died. On learning this Oxenstiern dispatched Tortensohn, a general who had fought under Gustavus Adolphus, with a strong force of men to fill Bannier's place and re-enforce the army. Guilbriant, however, had with his French forces defeated the imperialists near Wolfenbuttel. On the arrival of Tortensohn, the French and Swedes separated, the former entering Westphalia and the latter Bohemia. Now ensued a series of victories for the French by which was reduced the electorate of Cologne; and for

the Swedes after which Leipsic surrendered. The court of Vienna in dismay began negotiations, which were retarded by the death of Cardinal Richelieu and his master Louis XIII.

Meantime Tortensohn turned his forces against Denmark, the king of that country having before exhibited hostility to the Swedes. The emperor, being appealed to, sent one of his generals to assist Denmark; but before they came to a conflict an accommodation was made by the mediation, it is said, of France? France and Sweden now procured an agreement with George Racoczi, the vaivode of Transylvania, who having invaded Hungary divided the imperial forces. Tortensohn having invaded Bohemia, after an unsuccessful attempt at surprising Prague, drew the imperialists into an engagement and got a complete victory. Meantime the imperalists, under the elector of Bavaria, encountered the French, now under marshal Turenne, and dealt them a defeat on the plains of Mariendal.

Turenne, however, making a successful retreat, crossed the Main with little loss; being soon after re-enforced by 8,000 men under the duke of D'Enghien he encountered the Imperialists at Nordlingen and was victorious. This success of the French spread terror through the provinces and induced the electors of Bavaria and Saxony and the German princes to renounce their alliance with the emperor and make a peace with France. By the armistice of Ulm the elector of Bavaria in the following year induced Wrangel, the Swedish general that had succeeded Tortensohn, to abandon Bohemia. But the truce was violated, the next spring Wrangel, joined by Turenne, having encountered the imperialists and defeated them at Zummerhausen. Konigmark, another Swedish general, took possession of Prague. All these results compelled the emperor to sue earnestly for peace and negotiations were entered into which resulted in the treaty of Westphalia, which was signed on October 24, 1648. This treaty is of the nature of a confederation between the contracting parties; it looks to the preservation of the balance of power, and has served as a basis for the future treaties, most of the succeeding wars having reference to this. Its conditions evidence the humiliation of Austria. France received Alsace, Brisac and the sovereignty of Metz, Tool and Verdun; Sweden received five millions of crowns with Upper Pomerania, the Isle of Rugen and a part of Lower Pomerania, Wismar, Bremar, and Verden to be held as fiefs of the empire. The upper palatinate with the electoral dignity was continued to the duke of

Bavaria, while the lower palatinate was restored to Charles Louis son of the deposed elector; *an eighth electorate being established on his account.* Holland and Switzerland were declared to be free and sovereign states; and "the three religions, Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinistic," were each admitted to the free enjoyment of their tenets.

Thus ended the thirty years' war, which had desolated the face of Germany, a war of principle rather than of conquest, Protestantism as in Sweden and Germany trying to defend itself from ecclesiastical tyranny; and nationality, as in France, trying to defend itself and to keep its own from the giant force and selfish grasp of Austria. The ends for which the war was undertaken were accomplished; freedom of religion was guaranteed; there were the thunderings and lightnings and earthquakes of war; *the great city, the church, is here shown to have been divided into three parts,*—Catholic, Lutheran, Calvanistic,—each protected in its rights, each having a legal standing; the power of the Papacy was broken; the cities of the nations fell; the pride of the German empire was humbled.

Poland, anciently a home of the Vandals, was in 550 A. D. made a duchy. In about 850 Piastes, a peasant, was elected duke. He lived to the age of 120, and his successors, when native princes, the Poles called Piasts. About the time when Poland became a kingdom under Boleslaus III., in 999, Christianity was introduced. After this reign a succession of civil wars followed, until Casimir the just restored order in 1178. From Andrew II. in 1122, the Poles obtained a great charter, which was the foundation of their national constitution. Considering the extent of this country and the great ability and natural energy of its people in the early ages we are led to wonder why it was the Poles did not become one of the first nations in Europe in every respect. But the Poles were not accustomed to agree among themselves and early begun to choose for themselves foreign sovereigns. I have learned that the Poles are a proud people; and, doubtless, they are much more so than is proper or for their good. How good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!

Louis, an able sovereign of Hungary, was in 1370 elected king of Poland, and he ruled a domain, part of which touched the Adriatic, the Euxine and the Baltic. Though often at war with Poland, Lithuania had till this period remained independent and was the last portion of Europe subjected to Christianity. The succession to the

throne of Poland Louis had sought to secure to his eldest daughter Maria and Sigismund, elector of Brandenburgh, to whom she was affianced; but the Poles preferring Hadwida, a younger daughter of his, she was married to Jagelo, duke of Lithuania, and he was elected under the name of Ladislaus I. Under him Poland and Lithuania were united; he was baptized in 1386, and his people were Christianized and under his dynasty Poland was prosperous.

PRUSSIA was conquered by the Teutonic knights, an order of military monks or knights-sword-bearers, who, returning from the crusades in 1225, obliged the people, at the point of the sword, to receive their religion and submit to their government. This country they almost depopulated by their barbarities. In behalf of those people oppressed, as they were by the government of the knights-sword-bearers, Casimir IV., king of Poland, took up arms, and long and bloody wars followed in which the knights were in 1466 overcome. Thus Prussia had for 241 years been subjected to the government of those Christian knights, who indeed must have presented a remarkable contrast to the soldiers which true Christianity had ever sent forth in its missionary work. Albert, the grand master of the order, on being overcome by Casimir, renounced the Catholic and adopted the reformed faith and was made duke of east Prussia, as a vassal of Poland. He founded the university of Konigsberg.

The first diet assembled in Poland was in 1468. The reigns of Sigismund I. and of his son and successor Sigismund II., which take us down to the year 1572, form the brightest period of Polish history. Poland gladly received the reformation and was the first of the nations to proclaim religious toleration. The male line of the Jagelons terminated in the death of Sigismund II., and, unfortunately for the country, foreigners were afterwards elected to the throne by the contentious nobles, who at the same time reduced to nothing the power of the people and of the sovereign, thus destroying the frame and life of society and creating instead thereof a social monstrosity.*

The nobles held their elections in the open air, armed and on horseback. Seldom agreeing upon one of their own number they usually offered their crown to foreign princes; but it is to be here noticed that John Sobieski, the hero of Polish history, was a native

* Poland was the ancient Sarmatia and, during the later portion of the Middle Ages, the principal home of the Sclavonic nations. Its fertile regions extended from the Black Sea to he Baltic. The Poles were anciently divided into small republics under chiefs elected for life called palatins or vaivodes.

Polander, and was elevated to the throne after his defeat of the Turks in the battle of Choczim. For stopping the progress of the Turks westward, in 1673, he is called a second Charles Martel.

After an alternation for some time now of foreign and native governors, Poland was in effect absorbed by Peter the great and his wife and successor the empress Catharine of Russia, who banished and persecuted in various ways the Polish patriots.

The Poles now solicited aid from the Turks, which was granted them, and which was the occasion of Catharine declaring war against the Porte. She sent her fleet through the Mediterranean to arouse the Greeks to revolt, but this movement, for some reason, produced no effect. Two Russian armies overran a portion of the Turkish dominions, which was a source of great anxiety to the Turks. In 1770 the Russians had still the advantages of war on their side, and a short period of doubt, — of alternate hope and fear, — was all that now remained to the little band of Polish patriots. What had come to their knowledge was this, that an agreement had been come to between Maria Ther sa, the empress of Austria, Catharine of Russia and Frederick, the great of Prussia, to divide their country among themselves, annexing their several portions to their own respective dominions. This was accomplished and Poniatowski, a native Polish prince, who was entirely under the control of this triumvirate, was by them constituted sovereign of the remainder.

Against these iniquitous proceedings the Poles could raise but a very feeble voice. The patriot Reyten, finding all was lost, became insane. Protestations sent to the other European powers went unheeded. The patriot chiefs fled, all at least who could get away. Pulaski, having crossed the ocean, sacrificed his life in the cause of American independence, having been killed at Savannah in 1779.

It was in the year 1702, when the "Grand Alliance," consisting of England, Holland and the German empire were preparing to make war with Louis XIV of France, that we find PRUSSIA first spoken of as a kingdom. Into this alliance "Frederic, elector of Bradenburgh, had been won, by receiving from the emperor the title of King of Prussia. This is the first acknowledgment of Prussia as a kingdom." In the progress of this war during nine successive campaigns in so many years, the allies had not eventually made much headway against France. This is shown by the terms of the "Peace of Utrecht," which was signed in 1713, wherein it is specified that the Rhine was, as before, to be the established

boundary between Germany and France. But, on the other hand, there is remarkably much conceded to England, which points to the success of her armies under Marlborough in those successive campaigns as also to the success of her navy. Among many concessions the title of Anne to the throne of England and the eventual succession thereto of the house of Hanover was acknowledged by France; England, however, agreeing as a preliminary, to give the widow of James II, now resident in France, an annual pension of 60,000 pounds sterling.

In connection with and consequent upon the "Peace of Utrecht" two new kingdoms arose in Europe. Prussia the title of whose new king Frederick II was now for the first time acknowledged by France; and Sicily, which, with his hereditary possessions, was erected into a kingdom for Victor Amadeus II, duke of Savoy.

Charles VI, emperor of Germany, having no son, desired to secure the succession of the Austrian territories the hereditary domain of his family, to his daughter, Maria Theresa. To this end he issued his "Pragmatic Sanction," providing for the succession of female heirs. He had previously obtained the consent of the hereditary states of the empire, to which he now sought by negotiation to add the sanction of the other European powers, and in which he finally succeeded. He, therefore, thought he had secured to his daughter his rich possessions, including the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; but, as afterwards turned out, the "Pragmatic Sanction," which they had guaranteed, proved a feeble barrier against the ambition and selfishness, which actuated the lives of some of the neighboring potentates. Immediately following Charles' death were put forth the claims of the elector of Bavaria to the kingdom of Bohemia; and those of Augustus, elector of Saxony, now king of Poland, to the whole Austrian dominions. Maria Theresa, neverthless, took possession of her territories, most of her subjects, especially the Hungarians, being in her favor. She had previously married Francis, duke of Lorraine and she now desired his elevation to the imperial throne.

But by this time (1740) Prussia had become a kingdom of considerable strength. Frederick William, its first king, had, by his economy, amassed considerable money in his treasury; and this, with 60,000 well appointed veterans, came into the hands of his son and successor Frederic II., whose desire was to employ the power and wealth whereof he was possessed in enlarging his territories. The province he desired principally was Silesia, which per-

tained to Maria Theresa. Into this province he led a powerful army and then offered to support her claims elsewhere on condition of her relinquishing to him Lower Silesia. His offer she rejected and prepared herself to resist his usurpation. At Mollwitz, their armies having encountered each other, the Prussians were victorious and the whole of Silesia submitted to Frederic.

The success of Prussia aroused the ambition of the French court and a league was formed between Louis XV. of France, Frederic of Prussia and Charles, elector of Bavaria, by which it was agreed to divide the Austrian dominions and place the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne. Before the arms of the French and Bavarians, entering her territories, Maria Theresa retired to Hungary, where she was well supported not only by the people of that kingdom but by large armies from other quarters which here rallied to her standard. The elector of Bavaria, considering the lateness of the season and the strength of the fortifications of Vienna, turned his army toward Prague, which he took, and was there crowned king of Bohemia. Shortly after, proceeding to Frankfort, he was there crowned emperor of Germany under the title of Charles VII. Bavaria was now in turn invaded by the queen's armies.

Regardless of his other engagements Frederic of Prussia now entered into a treaty with Maria Theresa; and she, granting to him Upper and Lower Silesia, which were the principal territories he now desired, he engaged to remain neutral. Meantime the French army was compelled to retire from Bohemia. Deserted by Frederic Louis now offered terms of peace which Maria Theresa refused. George II. of England now acting in spirit with Frederic of Prussia, sent to her aid British and Hanoverian troops and in the next campaign the French were cleared out of Bohemia and the new emperor reduced to distress. Now the British, Hanoverian, and Austrian troops, under command of the English king, defeated the French at Dettingen, in 1743. Besides Maria Theresa acquired a new ally in the king of Sardinia.

The haughtiness of the queen in rejecting every overture, consequent upon her late successes, now produced against her another coalition. Louis XV., having confirmed his alliance with Spain, declared war against England. Influenced by France, Prussia, Sweden and some of the German princes were at length induced to engage actively on the side of the new emperor as against Maria Theresa. Invading Bohemia the Prussian king had for a time success, but was afterwards obliged to retire, surrendering his conquests.

When in immediate danger of being driven from his capital the new emperor died. Maximilian, his son, now engaged in a treaty with Maria Theresa by which he agreed that her husband should be made emperor; she, on her part, engaging to put him in possession of his hereditary estates. The ex-duke of Lorraine was, accordingly, elected emperor at Frankfort under the title of Francis I.

Frederic of Prussia did not at first acknowledge the validity of Francis' election. His armies continued the war in Silesia and Bohemia; but after he had gained two decisive battles, one at Friedburg in Silesia, and another at Sorr in Bohemia, a treaty of peace was signed at Dresden, by which he acknowledged Francis as emperor and was confirmed in the possession of Silesia.

In Flanders the French persistently prosecuted the war. Saxe, their commander, obtained a victory over the English and Hanoverians at Fontenoy and reduced Brabant. But, meantime, the French, having encouraged Charles Edward Stuart to make a descent upon Scotland, the Duke of Cumberland, the British general on the continent, was recalled to oppose him. The Austrians, being thus left to maintain the contest single-handed with the French in Flanders, Marshal Saxe obtained over them a victory at Roncoux in 1746. On the return of the Duke of Cumberland to the continent, in company now with the English king, a bloody but indecisive battle was fought at Val, after which the French besieged and finally captured Bergen-Op-Zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant, a capture which created much consternation among the Dutch.

At the motion of Louis XV., who now saw that his kingdom needed peace, a congress was opened at Aix-la-Chappelle, in which a treaty was agreed to on the basis of *mutual restitution*. The right of Maria Theresa to the hereditary possessions of the house of Austria, excepting such portions as were already ceded to other powers, was confirmed; and the king of Prussia was guaranteed in the possession of Silesia. To the people of New England, who had evinced so much persistence and courage in the capture of Louisburg, the key of the St. Lawrence and of the French possessions, and the strongest fortress then in America, the principle of mutual restitution was quite unacceptable.

Thus ended the "eight years' war," which was carried on for the gratification of a few crowned heads, who moved, at their pleasure, large masses of men to the slaughter, and caused streams of blood to flow for purposes worse than useless. With the desire of

Frederic of Prussia to augment his territory at the expense of a young queen, who had, it is true, far too much in her own name, the war began; and it ended with confirming to him those possessions, acquired with as much right as the bandit has to the property of the peaceable, industrious and law-abiding citizen: 1748.

It is in the ninth century, that century which has given birth to so many great men and governmental systems, that we first meet in history with the name Russia. The Russians early sought and found trade with Constantinople. Swatoslaus, one of their princes, was induced by Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople, to undertake the conquest of the Bulgarians, This the Russian prince having accomplished, he soon gave evidence of his near proximity to Constantinople. With a force of his barbarians he invaded the empire and Nicephorus found himself unable to cope with an enemy he had invited to his dominions. John Zimisces, his successor, was more successful. After several battles he succeeded in driving the intruders beyond the bounds of the empire. He pursued Swatoslaus to Dritza on the Danube, and there besieging him let him free on condition that he and his followers return to their nation.

Olga, the mother of Swatoslaus was a lady of remarkable ability for her age and nation. She professed Christianity and was baptized by the patriarch of Constantinople. Her subjects she endeavored to Christianize, but was successful to no remarkable degree. Her grandson, Vladimir, on his marriage with Anna, a princes of Constantinople, embraced the Christian faith, having determined to set himself against the idolatrous practices of his ancestral religion.

The historical greatness of Russia is, however, thought by historians to have begun in 1462 with Ivan Vasilovich, of the race of Ruric. Many petty chiefs of different degrees of authority had up to this period dominated in the different districts of those vast regions afterwards known geographically as Russia. Ivan, who possessed great mental energy with extraordinary ambition, and was of the size and strength of a giant, centralized those territorial powers by subjugating the provinces. Since 1241 when the descendants of Jenghis Khan overran the country the Russians had been under the oppressive yoke of the "Tartars of the Golden Horde." A division of Tamerlane's army had in 1395 ravaged the country from Azof to Moscow, and after this the Russians were tributary to the "Horde of Khaptshak." These Tartars having disagreed among themselves divided into four sections, viz., the Tartars of the

Crimea, of Khasan, of Astrachan and of Siberia. Of their disunion Ivan took advantage, not only refusing the tribute but making active war upon the Tartars. Naturally ferocious in his temper the character of Ivan was much modified by his wife, an accomplished Christian lady, being Sophia, the sister of Constantine XII, the last emperor of Constantinople. On account of this connection, and now that the empire of the east had fallen into the hands of the Turks, Ivan assumed to himself the title of Czar (Cæsar) and claimed as his right the throne of the Christian Roman empire of Constantinople. The Kremlin or citadel of Moscow he fortified, and by strict and rigorous rule at home, and war energetically carried on abroad, he consolidated the Russian government.

Ivan IV, called the Terrible, 1546, formed a military guard called Strelitzes (Shooters), which were the original of the regular Russian army. This despot subdued the Cossacks of the Don and the Tartars of Khasan and Astrachan, reducing the Khan of Siberia to tribute. With the Swedes, who afterwards warred upon him, he made peace by relinquishing to them Carelia and Ingria and all the Russian possessions about the Baltic. After his death occurred a period of anarchy within and an ingress of Tartars from without the dominion he labored to consolidate and establish. The Russians at length, wearied with internal dissensions, rose up with one accord and, rejecting the competitors of the family of Ruric, elevated to the throne Michael Romanoff in 1613. To his long distracted country he restored peace as well as some of its alienated provinces. His son Alexis succeeded him who proved eventually to be a judicious ruler. The Cossacks of the Ukraine he reduced to subjection. In his reign and by his direction the Russian laws were revised. In the international politics of Europe he took interest, interchanging ambassadors with France and Spain, but refusing to receive one from England's "protector" Oliver Cromwell.

Alexis was succeeded by his eldest son Theodore II., a sickly prince, who, on his premature death, was succeeded by his two younger brothers, Ivan and Peter. Sophia, their sister, however, by the force of her many sided natural ability, made herself the virtual head of the nation; notwithstanding the more than Salic laws of Russia, which doomed her, as an unmarried daughter of the Czar, to perpetual confinement in a convent. Ivan, feeble in mind and body, Sophia had no difficulty in managing as she wished, but Peter, though but a boy, manifested so much decision and energy of

character, that, in order to retard his progress, she is said not only to have neglected his education, but purposely to have put him in the way of criminal pleasures, that he might thus ruin his physical and mental constitution. But divine Providence had otherwise designed concerning him. She even with the assistance of the strelitzes conspired against Peter's life. But he escaped and received the undivided sovereignty while she was confined in a convent. The desire to civilize and improve his people and procure for them the advantages of commerce by navigation and otherwise with the outer world appears to have been the ruling impulse of the very laborious life of Peter.

To this object he devoted himself and, to a good degree, succeeded in accomplishing it. Having made preparations by travel, experiment, etc., for the carrying out of his plans Peter set his eye to recover the provinces on the Baltic which formerly belonged to Russia, but now pertained to Sweden. Charles XII. at the age of 15, having succeeded to his father Charles XI. in that monarchy, not only Peter but other surrounding sovereigns seemed to have conceived this to be a favorable opportunity for taking some of its territories. Against Sweden Peter now entered into a league with Frederic IV., king of Denmark, and with Augustus elector of Saxony, now reigning king of Poland, Peter desired especially some one of its provinces on the Baltic adjoining his own, whereon he could have a port; Augustus wished to have Swedish Livonia; and, as for the king of Denmark, he had a grudge against Charles of Sweden on account of his taking part with his enemy, the duke of Holstein Gottorp. The territories of the duke who was brother-in-law to Charles, the Danes had invaded; but the duke was vigorously supported on this occasion not only by Charles, his brother-in-law, but by England and Holland with both of which he was allied. The king of Denmark being thus effectually repulsed, Charles carried the war into his country and besieged Copenhagen. Reduced to great distress the Danish king obtained the mediation of France and England and a peace was concluded between Denmark and Sweden, honorable to the latter. But while this settled the difficulty between Sweden and Denmark the former had yet to encounter both Russia and Saxony-Poland and meantime the Russians had commenced hostilites and laid siege to Narva. Charles now advancing to the defense of that part of his kingdom, though the Russian army numbered 80,000 men, yet he with 8,000 having attacked their camp unawares defeated them and relieved Narva.

Peter who was absent from the battle at the head of another army of 40,000 men, having learned of this retired into his dominions, exclaiming, it is said, "I knew that the Swedes would beat us, but in time they will teach us to beat them." Augustus had meantime invaded Livonia and besieged Riga; and, after the relief of Narva, the season was too far advanced to admit of Charles going forward against Augustus; but early in the spring he appeared with his Swedes against Augustus with his consolidated Saxons and Poles. On the banks of the river Dwina Augustus was stationed, and there Charles, after fording the river, encountered the main body and obtained a complete victory. Through Courland and Lithuania he then performed a rapid march, and at Birsen, the town in which Peter and Augustus had, a few months before, planned his destruction, he now formed a resolution of dethroning the king of Poland. Augustus had, from his arbitrary sway of the Poles, become unpopular with their nobility; and Charles peremptorily declared he never would grant them peace until they had elected a new soverign.

At Glissau the hostile monarchs met and the heroic Swede, though having but half the number of men, vanquished the Polish and Saxon army. Cracow surrendered, but Charles being wounded through a fall from his horse, was, for a few weeks, disabled, which afforded to Augustus an opportunity to rally his troops and supporters. But Charles, having recovered, marched against the remains of the Saxon-Polish army, dispersed them, and proceeded to besiege Thorn, whither Augustus had retired: but the latter, making his escape, fled to Saxony. At Warsaw Charles assembled a diet where by his influence Augustus was deposed and Stanislaus Leczinski, a noble Polander, elected to the throne. The supplies of Russian troops which soon after arrived in Poland to aid Augustus, together with those Poles who joined the Russian standard in his aid, Charles and Stanislaus easily defeated and drove out of Poland. Charles, now, in pursuit of Augustus, entered Saxony, and, coming up with him at Ranstadt, compelled him to sign a treaty, whereby he not only gave up all right to the kingdom of Poland, but acknowledged Stanislaus as king and sent him a letter of congratulation. What has been regarded as a base feature of this treaty, on the part of Augustus, is that he delivered up to Charles Colonel Patkul, a noble Swede, who for having spoken freely to Charles on one occasion was expatriated, whereupon he went to Russia and was made by Peter his ambassador to Augustus. He having been

now surrendered by Augustus, Charles condemned him to death, as one engaged against him in the service of his enemy.

But while Charles was occupied with Poland and Saxony it appears he was scarcely in his proper place; for Peter had, in the mean time, not only increased and better disciplined his army, but conquered the Swedish provinces of Ingria, Livonia and the city of Narva. In this newly conquered country and in a desert island, situated in the narrow strait, which separates the province of Carelia from that of Ingria, — an island which the long winter of that climate rendered quite inhospitable, — Peter founded a new city, which he designed to be the future capital and royal residence of the Russian empire. Into this city in less than five years after its foundation he had transported 300,000 inhabitants.

But Charles of Sweden, now that he had subdued the Saxon-Polish army, made up his mind to march his army towards Moscow; but finding that the main route by which he should travel was blockaded by order of Peter and having received a promise of aid from Mazeppa, then chief of the Cossacks, he penetrated the Ukraine in September, and, overcoming every obstacle, advanced to the river Dwina, where he expected to be joined by the Cossack chief, as well as by his own general Lewenhaupt whom he ordered to meet him there with reinforcements. But Mazeppa had failed to fulfill his promise; and Lewenhaupt had been met on his way from Livonia and defeated by the Russian army.

Still the madly heroic Charles, while his army was daily diminishing from famine and disease, pushed on his way. With the Russian army, consisting of 70,000 men, under the command of Peter, he came up at Pultowa, and here Charles, so often conqueror, suffered a defeat. With only 300 of his guards he escaped wounded from the field, and, going to Bender, put himself under the protection of the Turks.

At this success over his renowned enemy Peter's joy was great. He advanced and rewarded officers and soldiers, who had distinguished themselves in the engagement; and, as for himself, he having taken a Swedish commander prisoner and having had his hat perforated by a bullet, he, it is said, created himself a major general.

Charles was received with favor by the Turks who treated him hospitably; and employing himself in seeking to engage the Ottoman empire in war with Russia the Turks showed their disposition thereto by imprisoning the Russian ambassador. Peter, learning

of this advanced against Turkey at the head of 40,000 men. Cantimir, prince of Moldavia, had promised to aid him and he marched into his country. Near Jassy he discovered an army of 200,000 Turks, and, not far away, a considerable army of Tartars. He fortified his camp on the banks of the Pruth, where he lay besieged by two hostile armies. The Russian provisions becoming scarce Peter was bewildered, not knowing what to do, and so retired in despair to his tent forbidding any one to follow him. The Czarina, Catharine, who had advanced to the position she now occupied from being at first a poor orphan girl, and who with the wives of several of the officers had accompanied the expedition, now bethought herself of a last resource. It occurred to her that a suitable present sent beforehand to the Turkish vizier might have the effect of making him approachable by an offer of peace. She, therefore, from all the ladies obtained their jewelry, on promise of future payment and adding her own to these she obtained the Czar's permission to send them to the vizier, who with marked courtesy received them from Catharine's messenger; and, after due consideration, sent back an answer of accommodation. Peter and his army were saved, he surrendering to the Turks his ports on the sea of Azof.

Meantime the war was kept alive in Sweden, consequent upon Charles refusing to sign a treaty which the emperor and maratime powers had formed. The Danes, Saxons and Russians continued hostilities against the Swedes who, though reduced to great distress, resisted perseveringly. The Turks, although they did not wish to violate the laws of hospitality, began to manifest uneasiness at Charles' presence amongst them. The latter noticed this but still remained; and one day, as he was riding past the vizier, and, as may have happened unintentionally, tore his robe with his spur. But intelligence at length having reached him that the Swedes were urging the regency of the kingdom upon his sister with the view of forcing her to make peace with Denmark and Russia, Charles was induced to return to Sweden; and five years after the battle of Pultowa he arrived at Stralsund in Pomerania, 1714.

Here with the neucleus of an army which had gathered around him he was besieged by the navy of the Czar, which had now acquired such strength as to command the Baltic. The place being taken by storm Charles escaped in a small vessel, passed safely through the Danish fleet and landed in Sweden. He arrived at Carlscroon fifteen years after he had left his capital bent on a career

of conquest, a capital which now, in his humbled fortunes, he did not care to revisit. Contemplating his numerous enemies, which had possessed themselves of all his outlying provinces, and were now threatening Sweden itself, Charles knew not what, in the circumstances to do. He finally concluded to invade Norway, then in the possession of Denmark, and there captured the city of Christiana which he was soon after forced to give up. Nothing daunted, however, he a second time invaded that kingdom, and while watching the attack of his soldiers on Fredericshall, was struck on the head with a cannon ball and expired without a groan in 1718.

Ulrica Eleanora, his sister, was now raised to the throne and by ample concessions Sweden succeeded in making treaties of peace with the different powers. Her most powerful enemy, the Czar, was the last pacified, and then only by having confirmed to him the important provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, Ingria and Carelia; he at the same time paying to the Swedes an indemnity of two millions of dollars.

Peter, in 1721, assumed the title of "Emperor of all the Russias," a title which all his successors have worn, and which answers to that worn at the same time, by the house of Hanover in England. He made an expedition to the Caspian, intending to attack Persia, but returned after the achievement of founding a city in his eastern possessions. During Peter's life, his wife, Catharine was crowned, and, on his death in 1725, she succeeded to the government of the empire.

In the eighth year after the termination of the "eight years' war," which we have seen ended in the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, or in the same year in which occurred the earthquake at Lisbon, swallowing up in the same hour 30,000 persons, namely in 1755, commenced the "seven years' war," a war, indeed, no less destructive, but perhaps more so than that.

Although, as we have seen before, Francis, duke of Lorraine, was elevated to the imperial dignity, yet he appears to have been not much more than a nominal emperor, his wife, the empress Maria Theresa, being the acknowledged head. And now for this war, Austria allied herself with France, Russia and Sweden against Prussia, which for her part allied herself with England. The first of these coalitions must excite in the mind of the most sober thinker the idea of wonder, in consideration of its awful strength, but, as will be seen, after seven years of war it failed to accomplish its object and the terrific living colossus was shoved back into his place and confined there by the terms exacted in the treaty by the two

powers, which in a later day effectually restrained the first Napoleon.

This war was undoubtedly incited by Maria Theresa against Frederick II of Prussia, because of her reflecting that, contrary to his agreement with her father he had possessed himself of Silesia. With the intention, therefore, not only of getting this back but of making reprisals by a partition of Prussia among her own coalition, she allied herself with France, which might now be called the hereditary enemy of her house. The war had not long begun when the French took Minorca. The king of Prussia invaded Saxony and compelled the elector, Augustus, to abandon Dresden, whereof he took possession. Having then invaded Bohemia he obtained a victory over the Austrians at Lowesitz.

In the next campaign the French under marshal D'Etrees invaded and conquered Hanover, notwithstanding it was defended by the duke of Cumberland at the head of 40,000 Hanoverians and Hessians. In the succeeding campaign, 1757, it was reconquered. The kingdom of Prussia was now in a perilous condition, an army of 180,000 Russians threatening to invade it. The Swedes were in arms ready to invade Pomerania, in order to regain that country, and the empress Maria Theresa had increased her army to 180,000, intending to attack Prussia on the side of Austria. Frederic, therefore, found it necessary to make four divisions of his army, each of which was to enter Bohemia at a different point and all to join in the neighborhood of Prague. After three divisions had united Frederick offered battle to the Austrians, who, under command of Marshal Daun and Prince Charles of Lorraine, were encamped near Prague, and so vanquished them that they took refuge within the walls, which Frederic now closely invested. Frederic learning of the approach of marshal Daun with another division of the Austrian army advanced to meet him with part of his force, and, giving him battle at Kolin, was compelled to retreat and also to raise the siege of Prague and evacuate Bohemia. The French, Russians, and Swedes were now in Bohemia, but the military genius of Frederick was found equal to the occasion. Having collected another army he gave battle to the Austrians and Russians at Rosbach and obtained a complete victory. He then marched into Silesia, where he met the Austrian army under prince Charles, encountered it and was again victorious. Meantime the Russians having found it necessary to retire into their own territory, the Prussian force, which had been opposed to them,

being left at liberty, turned against the Swedes and recovered many of their conquests in Pomerania.

The next campaign the king of Prussia began by besieging Olmutz; but after four weeks found it necessary to proceed against the Russians, who had invaded Brandenburg. At Zorndorf he obtained over them a complete victory, compelling them to retreat into Poland. Frederic was, however, afterwards defeated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen, but the battle was indecisive; for he still retained Silesia and allowed them to derive no advantage from it. Marching next into Saxony, where the Austrians had besieged Dresden and Leipsic, he compelled them to raise the siege of both cities. Thus ended the campaign of 1758 triumphantly for the Prussians, the British being successful at sea.

The next campaign opened with a reverse to the Prussians, the Russians having advanced upon Silesia and possessed themselves of Frankfort on the Oder. The Prussian monarch led his army against the combined Russian and Austrian army under Gen. Laudon, which was posted at the village of Cunnersdorf. Here ensued a most sanguinary engagement; and, notwithstanding the almost Herculean exertions of the Prussians, the Austrians and Russians prevailed. Frederic, at one stage of the battle, being under the impression that victory was his, wrote to his queen a congratulatory letter, saying: "We have driven the Russians from their intrenchments; expect within two hours to hear of a glorious victory." His mental triumph was but of short duration, and in a few hours after another note orders the queen: "Remove the royal family from Berlin. Let the archives he carried to Potsdam — the town may make conditions with the enemy." Yet Frederic manœuvered so skillfully that the Russians did not at this time hazard an attack upon Berlin; and he soon again was able to oppose them in the field with a formidable force.

Meantime the British and Hanoverians, under prince Ferdinand engaged and completely defeated the French at Minden. The king of Prussia having learned that a Russian army was to join the Austrians in Silesia, in order to prevent this junction drew them into an engagement and defeated them. The main Russian army on learning this recrossed the Oder, but sent a corps into Brandenburg, where they joined the Austrians *and possessed themselves of Berlin*. Frederic marched into Saxony and at Torqua defeated the Austrians under Marshal Daun. By this victory nearly the whole of Saxony reverted to Prussia and Frederic established his winter quarters there.

The death of George II, which occurred about this time (1760) did not affect the alliance between England and Prussia; for George III, being determined to preserve his Hanoverian possessions continued in the same line of policy. The success of the British arms in America now caused to be formed a "Family Compact" between the kings of France and Spain, the result of which was war between Spain and England. Portugal, by refusing to join in the compact against England became also involved in this war. In Silesia the king of Prussia continued the war, while his brother, Prince Henry, commanded the forces in Saxony. The Russians and Austrians again, in 1761, took Berlin; and throughout this campaign the measures of Frederic were wholly defensive. Besides the capture of much sea-craft the British fleet took Belleisle on the coast of France.

In 1762 died the Empress Elizabeth, of Russia, the youngest daughter of Peter the Great, an event which relieved Frederic of an inveterate foe. Peter III, her nephew, succeeded, who instead of opposing allied himself with the Prussian hero, now called "Frederic the Great." Sweden also, having changed her policy, entered into alliance with him, so that he now found himself at liberty to turn his whole force against the Austrians. Another revolution, however, soon occurred in Prussia. By his numerous innovations in the internal affairs of the empire, as well as by his alliance with Frederic, Peter III had caused great discontent among his people. To the evils which thus surrounded him domestic dissensions were added, and his empress Catharine, headed a conspiracy of the disaffected from the clergy, nobility and army. This resulted in the dethronement, imprisonment and probable murder of Peter, and in the elevation to the throne of his wife, Catharine II. She, in regard to the war, did not follow the policy of either Elizabeth or her own husband; but, recalling the Russians from the service of Frederic, she preserved her nation in a strict neutrality.

In 1763, Frederic with increased energy, continued the war; having recovered Silesia, he invaded Bohemia and Franconia. At sea and in America the British were successful. Between England and France and Spain negotiations were entered into and a treaty concluded *at Paris*. By this treaty Great Britain received Canada in its whole extent, all the western side of the Mississippi, except New Orleans and its territories, the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon and Florida. In the partition of the West Indian Islands,

Great Britain made to Spain some concessions. The treaty of Paris having been concluded, another was soon after made, in the same year, at Hubertsburg, between Prussia, Austria and Saxony which ended the "Seven Years' War." By the terms of this treaty *Silesia was finally ceded to Prussia; all conquests were restored; and each nation was confined to its boundaries as at the beginning of the war.*

By this terrible war not only was Europe devastated, but the dependencies in Europe and America of several of the powers engaged, which this extended it through, made the area of its devastations extend over more than half the circumference of a wide zone of the globe. And this awful destruction of human life and untold amount of suffering was brought about to satisfy the insane envy or the inordinate greed of a few monarchs, who had already more than they could use of the earth's surface and still coveted to possess more. If, as has been said, their multitudes followed them to the slaughter, and could have avoided doing so, while we sincerely pity their fate, we can only say that if they were sane they deserved it. All this which took place about the same time as the partition of Poland shows plainly the spirit by which were actuated the dominating races of Europe in that age and takes us down in effect to the American and French revolutions.

Thus the power of empire wended its way westward, as according to that Scriptural prophecy in Dan. II, until manifestly showing the dominancy as situated, not now so much in the legs nor yet in the feet as in the toes, which were "part of iron and part of clay," or part monarchies and part democracies; part, too, pertaining to the old iron constitution of Catholicism and part to the more liberal and flexible systems of Protestantism.

After the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, the German empire, whereof we may consider Austria the exponent, no longer understood itself as being a fief of the See of Rome (as is indicated by the emperors no longer receiving their crown from the pope); but as standing henceforth for the Roman empire proper; as standing, I say, for the Christian Roman empire, so far as now remained to the Christians of the empire of Constaninople, as the Exarchate, etc. But we have seen under a former head that after about the year 1000, or from the time of Robert, King of France the son of Hugh Capet, —the last named of whom we understand as identical with Otho II, emperor of Germany, — that from this period I say, the German and French polities and lines

of rulers became distinct from each other in his two sons, Otho III. and Robert I. respectively, with perhaps an idea generally implied of superiority of the German as the imperial polity *per se* of the empire of the West, thus leaving the French, in some slight sense, a provincial polity. This idea of superiority on the part of the German empire to France must needs have been understood during those four and a half centuries, which intervened between Robert, son of Hugh Capet, and Louis XI., who came to the throne of France in 1461. His father was Charles VII., who is said to have been crowned by the "Maid of Orleans," while France was in the possession of Henry V. of England. By which it is seen what a position, politically speaking, France was in when Constantinople was taken by the Turks. But from this time forward France revived perceptibly. Even Charles VII., after Henry V. of England had died, and during the minority of his son Henry VI., may be said to have come into possession of the whole of the patrimony of his ancestors. In the latter part of his reign, too, the feudal policy, which had now for the four and a half centuries spoken of been found so injurious to the French people, and so effective in weakening the French government, began perceptibly to decline. Louis XI., his son and successor, in his attempts to humble his great vassals, produced a war, known by the name of "the War of the Public Weal," which, however, ended in a treaty favorable to the feudatories, a treaty which Louis soon infringed. On the death of Charles, King of Burgundy, with whom Louis had been at war, the latter added some of the Burgundian territory to the French dominions. Yet, as a King, Louis XI. has the reputation of having been to the people at large a friend. Occasionally tyrannizing over them himself he allowed no one else to do so, and, it has been truly noticed, that one tryant has always been found a less evil than many. He was succeeded in 1483 by his son, Charles VIII, who married Anne, the duchess of Brittany, *by which that province, the last of the great feudatories of France, was annexed to the crown.* This result was achieved two years previous to the accession of Henry VII to the English throne; and after this time the English made no invasion of France excepting that by Henry VIII., which took place early in his reign and was ineffectual.

At the epoch 1453, therefore, when the empire of Constantinople fell to the Turks, may be dated the beginning of an empire of France *per se*, I mean as independent of any implied idea of its being inferior to the German, or of its being subject to the En-

glish, that is, strictly speaking to the Normans, whether feudatory, as in France, or monarchical, as in England. During the period spoken of, it is true, great energy had been put forth by France as in the crusades; but these enterprises largely, while they aroused and developed the spirit of the nation beyond its proper capacity, impoverished it, at the same time, to a like degree.

France, therefore, from the epoch of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, may, perhaps, be thought of as occupying the prophetico-political place of the German empire before that date; that is, considered as to its historical line of rulers from that time France may be thought of as the left leg, and, considered territorially, as the left foot of Daniel's image of empire; while the right leg would be, from this time, the line of German emperors, most of whom pertained to the house of Austria, the right foot being Austria-Hungary, etc., considered territorially. The positions of the feet being given, as here, indicate what nations are symbolized by the toes of the image; the "great toes," as some have thought, having been wonderfully energized in the recent centuries; — and also indicate our age now to be that of the "Son of Man" (See Dan. II., VII), that, in truth, "the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

In order to trace the rise of the Dutch Republic, from which has arisen the kingdom of Holland, it is expedient for us to go back to the reign of the emperor Charles V.

The old Netherlandish states or provinces, which were reckoned seventeen in number, pertained to the old German empire, and, at the time of the accession of Charles V., to the house of Austria. The death of Ferdinand, king of Spain, in 1516, was followed by the elevation of his grandson Charles, then 16 years of age, to the throne of that kingdom. From his mother, Joanna, he inherited the kingdom of Spain; from his father, Philip, "the handsome," the territories of Austria and the Netherlands. About two years after Charles' elevation to the Spanish throne, the emperor Maximillian left the imperial throne vacant, which presented an object of competition between Charles and Francis I. of France. Both of these presenting their claims the German electors chose Charles as being heir in the male line, and he was crowned under the title of Charles V.

On the abdication of Charles in 1556 he resigned the sovereignty of Spain and the Netherlands to his son Philip, his brother Ferdinand, as shown before, being elevated to the imperial throne in his

stead. Philip married Queen Mary of England in 1555, and she dying in 1558 he returned to the continent, stopping in his possessions in the Netherlands to quell some disturbances. But these with the wars generally which had agitated the continent having been for the present pacificated by the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, Philip went into Spain. The Netherlands which had early received the doctrines of the reformation and in which the free government of their cities had tended to foster a spirit of liberty the Inquisitorial persecutions, now begun to be actively carried on by Spain, drove into open revolt. To suppress this rebellion and reduce the Dutch to submission the Duke of Alva was now sent by Philip with a considerable force of Spanish and Italian soldiers. The Dutch leaders in this revolt, the Counts Egmont and Horn, he caused to be executed. William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who succeeded them in command, enlisted in the service a body of the German Protestants; but possessing no fortified place and unable to bring Alva to an engagement he was compelled to disband his army. Executions now became so numerous as to drive many of the Dutch to expatriate themselves in England and elsewhere. Their privateers which had been used to dispose of prizes in the English ports, being, on the remonstrances of the Spanish court excluded, this caused them to seek a harbor of their own; and they, accordingly, fortified the Brille, a port in Holland. The spirit of the Dutch now reviving and many towns taking sides with the Prince of Orange, Alva, foreseeing the duration and probable result of the war, petitioned to be recalled. This was granted, and, on his return to Spain, he is said to have boasted, that during the five years of his command in the Netherlands 18,000 heretics had suffered by the hands of the public executioners.

Requesens, who was sent by Spain as governor in his stead, tried the efficacy of milder measures, but the principles of the reformation had long ere this (1574) taken deep root, and the inhabitants smarting under their recent oppressions, continued the war with various success.

The sovereignty of the Low countries the Dutch now offered to Elizabeth, queen of England, but she declined it though she aided them with men and money. At length, in 1576, a treaty, called the Pacification of Ghent, was concluded, which stipulated that all foreign troops should depart from the country and the inquisition in the Netherland's should be abolished. But Requesens, dying soon after, Don John of Austria, who succeeded him, violated the

treaty and the war was renewed. Slight differences among the States had for some time prevented united action against the common foe. The prince of Orange, now exerting himself, to produce unanimity for the common cause procured a meeting of deputies at Utrecht, from seven of the states; Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Guelderland, who signed the articles called "the Union of the Seven United Provinces." Such in the year 1579, was the beginning of the Dutch Republic.

The States now doubting their ability to withstand the force which the duke of Parma, now in command of the Spanish forces was bringing against them again offered the sovereignty to Elizabeth, and, on her again refusing it, they offered it to the duke of Anjou, of the reigning family of France. The latter, however, they soon began to suspect of tampering with their liberties and he felt himself obliged to return to France, where he died shortly after. The prince of Orange endeavored all he possibly could to forward the interests of the states, but to the stroke of an assassin, instigated to the deed, it is said, by a reward offered by Philip, he finally yielded his life. His son, Maurice, was by the states appointed to succeed him as their general, in 1584. Having reduced Ghent and Brussels, the duke of Parma besieged Antwerp, the richest and most populous city then in the Netherlands; and though the inhabitants made every effort to save the city they were finally obliged to capitulate. At the critical moment, when the States were about to sink, under their prolonged efforts, Elizabeth seeing her interests to be common with theirs, actively espoused their cause, and sent to their assistance a considerable force in command of the earl of Leicester, at the same time sending Sir Francis Drake to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies, Leicester, failing to be as effectual, as was expected he should be, was recalled and Lord Willoughby appointed in his place.

The duke of Parma was now obliged to lead his army into France in aid of the Catholic party; and he was also required to direct the operation of the "Invincible Armada," so that he had to leave the affairs in the Netherlands without his personal attention. On his death Mansfield was appointed his successor. Maurice of Nassau, at the head of the States' forces, now took possession of Breda, and with the aid of the English led by Sir Francis Vere, took possession of Gertruydenberg and Groningen. In 1594 they gained a decisive victory over the Spaniards at Turnhout in Brabant; and three years later, in 1597, the Dutch and English squadrons made a joint attack

upon the Spanish fleet in the bay of Cadiz; destroyed it, and took the city. All these results caused Philip to meditate peace, but as the States would not accept of any terms less than their independence, he, therefore, concluded "to transfer his dominion" over the revolted provinces to his daughter, who was affianced to Albert duke of Austria. Albert, after his marriage, tried by persuasion and promise of lenity to have the provinces submit, but they, disregarding his promises, resolved upon liberty or death. He thereupon issued a decree prohibiting them from all intercourse with Spain, Portugal and the Spanish Netherlands. Though this was designed to injure their commerce it proved to have the contrary effect; it somewhat changed their courses of trade but did not diminish their profits. Both parties now having strengthened their forces engaged in battle at Newport, near Ostend, in West Flanders, in the year 1600 in which the Dutch and English gained the victory. Albert, however, having again assembled a large army invested Ostend, which after a memorable siege of three years and a loss of 70,000 men capitulated. But, meantime, Maurice, had captured seven towns in Spanish Flanders, which more than counterbalanced the loss. The court of Spain, after prosecuting the war two years longer, still retaining possession of the provinces, in 1606 treated with the seven which had seceded from Spain, "as an independent nation." There was hereupon concluded a peace of twelve years, during which civil and religious liberty was guaranteed to the States. Thus was the independence of Holland acknowledged by Spain before all the world one year before the first effectual settlement of the old thirteen States of North America.

By the uncommon enterprise and perserving industry of the Dutch their commerce was extended and their wealth and territories increased. During this period the East India company was established. In 1609 Henry Hudson, an English navigator, sailing in the service of the Dutch, discovered the Hudson river. The Dutch settled the country around it and in 1614 founded New Amsterdam, afterwards called New York, and in 1615 Albany.

I have related before how that in 1619 Frederic, elector palatine, was assisted in his war for the crown of Bohemia by 8000 Dutch; and how that in 1653 the Dutch were engaged in a war with Cromwell. In eleven years later, 1664, Charles II. engaged in hostilities against the Dutch, hoping, it is said, by this course to make himself popular with the English, whose jealousies were aroused on account of the competition of the Dutch in their

foreign trade. Secondly, he wished to be restored to his nephew, William prince of Orange, the office of Stadtholder, which had in the early days of the republic been acknowledged, but had recently been abolished. From her commerce, wealth and general industries Holland was now "a first rate power." John De Witt, who was leader of the republican party, had before entered into an alliance with France. The English, dispatching squadrons both to Africa and America, took possession of the Dutch settlements. It was now that New Amsterdam was taken from the Dutch and called New York, after the title of the admiral James duke of York, who was afterwards James II. Now was there waged, in 1667, a naval war between the Dutch and English with alternate success, until a treaty of peace was signed at Breda.

During the years of the war between the English and Dutch Louis XIV., king of France, then a comparatively young man, is said to have been making some preparations to enlarge the French territory by the addition of the Spanish provinces on its northern frontier; and circumstances on the death of Philip IV. of Spain, had, he thought, left this an easy matter for him to accomplish. Notwithstanding his renunciation at his marriage, he now brought forward claims in right of his wife to the country he meant to conquer, and accordingly entered the Spanish Netherlands at the head of 40,000 men. The Spanish authorities there being unprepared to resist, Louis took possession of the towns as he went along; and his rapid successes, alarming the other powers, the English, Dutch and Swedes united against him in a league, called "the Triple Alliance." Louis now consented to negotiate, and the ambassadors of the different powers, meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle, formed a treaty of peace, which left to the French monarch the conquests he had made, but required him to relinquish all other claims upon the Spanish provinces. Upon Holland, however, Louis intended to revenge himself at some future time, on account of the part she had taken in obstructing his ambitious views, and to this end he sought to detach England from "the Triple Alliance." Louis, having effected this by a secret treaty he entered into with Charles II., then effected the same thing in the case of the Swedes; and while the Dutch were flattering themselves in the prospect of the long peace which the terms of the Triple Alliance afforded them, invaded and conquered the duchy of Lorraine in order to make himself a safe passage into the united provinces.

Charles II. now having obtained from his parliament means to

carry out his engagement with Louis, in a spirit as treacherous as that with which he had entered into the engagement secretly with him, ordered an attack upon a Dutch merchant fleet coming from Smyrna with a cargo valued at two millions sterling; and, soon after, he openly declared war against Holland.

Relying upon the faith of treaties the Dutch were not now prepared to even hold out against the combined French and English fleet and a French land force of 120,000 men; nor was there unanimity among the people arising from dissensions which existed among the political parties. William, Prince of Orange, who was cousin-german to Charles II., being the son of Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I., king of England, was now appointed commander in chief of the Dutch army. Dewitt, a politician, whose party was now in the minority, sought to inspirit the states to some great naval operation, and acted nobly in equipping a fleet, which under Admiral de Ruyter came up with the combined English and French fleets, as they lay at anchor in Solbay. De Ruyter having attacked them obtained, however, no decisive advantage, and retreated to the coast of Holland, whither the combined fleet pursued him. Meanwhile the French army under Louis and Turenne, marched northward, reaching the Rhine; Nemignen and Arnheim they took and besieged Utrecht. With his small army the Prince of Orange retreated before them, and, in a few weeks, all the provinces, except Holland and Zealand, had submitted to the invader. The city of Amsterdam and the province of Holland were now so thoroughly aroused that all the able-bodied men were put under duty and pay. Ships were stationed in the harbor and the Dutch to save the city opened their sluices and canals, consigning their villages and fields to destruction. But while preparing to resist they yet sought for peace; and finding their overtures rejected they, with as remarkable fortitude as the Tyrians displayed against the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar II., determined to leave their native land, if they could not defend it, and to settle in America. The people, in a frenzied state of mind, feeling the necessity of an acknowledged chief, and blaming the two De Witts, by whose influence the office of Stadtholder had been abolished, now put these two men to death and invested the prince of Orange with that dignity. About this time the combined fleet had advanced to the coast of Holland, having on board the army designed to complete its conquest; but the Dutch were given occasion to thank an overruling Providence, when it was carried back to sea and prevented by storm from landing the army.

Now the German emperor, the king of Spain and the elector of Brandenburg, perceiving the grasping ambition of Louis, formed a coalition against him to aid the states. The Prince of Orange retook Naerden, and, joining his forces with those of the emperor under Montecuculi, they besieged and took Bonn. They then subdued the principal part of the electorate of Cologne, thus cutting the communication between France and the United Provinces, and compelling the French to evacuate their conquests and retreat. In the following year the parliament of England compelled Charles II. to renounce his unprincipled and disgraceful French alliance and make peace with Holland. He had, however, attained his object, especially in the making of his nephew stadtholder and in the acquisition of plunder.

But the French monarch, still continuing the war, in the year 1674 brought into the field four armies, and began the campaign by the subjugation of Franche Compte. At the head of another French army the Prince of Conde encountered the prince of Orange at Seneffe in Brabant and fought an indecisive battle. The French under Turenne were more successful against the Germans. They conquered the palatinate wherein great cruelty is laid to their charge.

It is said that Louis, now beginning to fear the effect of the combination against him, bribed the king of England to prorogue his parliament, lest it might necessitate him to enter the confederacy against himself; and this incident may tend to show what sort of characters these two men, Louis XIV and Charles II, were?

The imperial general, Montecuculi, was, in the next campaign, opposed to Turenne and by his skill prevented the French from making much progress. Turenne, however, soon lost his life by a cannon ball, Louis being thus deprived of his ablest general.

Chiefly through the skill of Du Quesne the French were now victorious on the ocean. In 1678 a treaty of peace was signed at Nimeguen, "the Dutch retaining their former territories." Contemplate, therefore, the immense amount of blood and treasure and sufferings implied in the six years of this war, — and for what purpose? The Dutch at the end, retaining their own territories, to despoil them of which Louis had undertaken the war!

At this time, 1684, died Colbert, the prime minister of Louis, who had protected and patronized the Huguenots; and was replaced by Louvois, who, being a bigot, incited Louis to religious persecution by which he revoked the edict of Nantes. This Edict,

published by Henry IV in 1598, granted to the French Protestants *the enjoyment of their religion and the right to hold public offices*, rights which before had been denied them. Now, it is said, the Protestants being commanded to declare themselves converted by an appointed day, then, of those who refused, the leaders were broken on the wheel, while the common people were hanged. It is said too that the penalty of death was enacted against all who attempted to emigrate, yet that, notwithstanding, fifty thousand families abandoned their country in 1685. This statement of a large emigration of people from the country at this time is probably correct; they expatriated themselves rather than recant. All this is probable from the general notice that the power of Louis began henceforth to decline, by reason of the amount of skilled labor which France had lost in the emigration and of the hatred which the expatriated Protestants infused into the hearts of the neighboring peoples against the existing French government.

Of the princes of the German empire a league was formed at Augsburg for preventing the further encroachments of France; and with them Holland, Spain, and finally England united. Louis prepared vigorously to withstand this powerful combination of enemies; and having an army in the field first made an effectual move. The dauphin invested and soon took Philipsburg on the Rhine. The French now proceeding to overrun and devastate the Palatinate found ultimately this mode of warfare to be not for their interest, as it raised for them many new enemies and made the old ones more inveterate. In 1691, Louis was victorious in Italy over the duke of Savoy, and his general, Luxembourg, triumphed over the Dutch and Spaniards on the plains of Fleures. In his naval operations he was this year also successful; among other feats his admiral, Tourville, having defeated the English and Dutch fleet off Beachy head and made a descent upon the English coast.

In the next campaign William, of Orange, now King of England, who, on account of the settlement of British affairs, was unable to take an active part in the preceding campaign, now resumed command of the English and Dutch forces in Flanders. Beyond the capture of Mons by the French, and their arms being successful on the *side* of *Spain*, there was in this campaign no decided advantage obtained on either side. Louis in the following spring (1692), took Namur after siege; Luxembourg being stationed so as to prevent the English King from assisting the besieged. The French fleet were defeated by the English off Cape La Hogue; and William defeated their army in a battle at Steinkirk.

In the campaign of 1693, the imperial forces, under command of the prince of Baden, obtained a victory over the Turks who were now in alliance with the French; but in the following year (1694) the Turks recaptured Widdin, took Belgrade and possessed themselves of all Upper Hungary. The French under Luxembourg meanwhile surrounded King William, who with his army occupied the town of Neerwinden. Long and obstinate was the contest here, which ultimated in a dearly bought victory for the French; who afterwards also took Charleroi. The French forces in Spain under Marshal Noailles, and in Piedmont under Catinat, prosecuted the war with success. With the exception of the recapture of Namar by the English king no event of great military importance took place during the three remaining campaigns of this war. At length, in 1697, by the mediation of Charles XI, now king of Sweden, the parties all expressing themselves desirous of peace, a congress assembled at Ryswick to arrange terms. Of this treaty the basis was *the restoration of all places taken during the war;* William being acknowledged by France as King of England.

Shortly after this treaty was signed, but in the same year, a battle was fought at Zenta between the imperial forces under Prince Eugene, of Savoy, and the Turks commanded by the Sultan, Mustapha II. The Austrians here obtained the victory with great loss to the Turks in dead and wounded and those drowned in trying to escape. By this event peace was restored between the Ottoman and German empires, a treaty to this effect being signed at Carlowitz.

This general war, therefore, which may be said to have lasted from the league formed at Ausburg, in 1686, to the peace signed at Ryswick, in 1697, or actively for nine or ten years at least, at the expense of an untold amount in blood suffering and treasure, was ended, as we see so many other long wars were "by the restoration of all places taken during the war." What insanity, what wickedness on the part of those monarchs, who wantonly brought them on to gratify their own whims and vanities. There certainly appears not in those monarchs, who caused such useless and destructive wars, and who should have been examples of sober godliness in word and deed to their peoples, that self-denying character of the Christ of whom they professed to be the followers. Did they not in professing to follow him, in their works deny him, being disobedient and self-willed, and to such a self-denying and actively godly life, as His Gospel calls for, utter strangers? But the treaty of Ryswick had hardly been concluded when there be-

gun, in the same year, "the thirteen years war of the Spanish succession." This arose from Charles II, the then ruling monarch of Spain, having no child who should become heir to his throne, and in order to preserve "the balance of power," and not allow Spain into the possession of either of the claimants for it. Louis XIV, the elector of Bavaria, and the Emperor Leopold, having each his claim, England, Holland and France formed a "treaty of partition," *dividing the territories of the Spanish monarchy among the different claimants.* To this "treaty of partition," however, the emperor refused to accede. Through the influence of the pope, Charles II, then willed his kingdom of Spain to Philip, duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, who on the death of Charles, by the consent of Louis and his desire to aggrandize his own family, was crowned with the title of Philip V. The German emperor, dissatisfied with this result, soon made himself master of much Spanish territory. England and Holland, having to no purpose endeavored to arrange an amicable adjustment, entered into a treaty with the German emperor, called the "Grand Alliance," whose objects we have seen before in treating of the rise of Prussia to the position of a kingdom.

On the death of James II, the deposed king of England, which occurred at this time at Paris, Louis XIV. acknowledged his son as king of England, and gave him the title of James III. This gave such offense to William that he recalled his English embassador from France and entered with ardor into preparations for war. While thus engaged William died, but Anne, who succeeded him on the English throne, continued in his line of foreign policy, and on the same day, England, Holland and the German empire — the German princes generally being in this league,— declared war against France. This war begun in 1702, was ended on the peace of Utrecht in 1713, with the accession to the Dutch republic of the provinces of Luxembourg, Namur and Charleroi. This is enough to state here as to the result, all the terms of the treaty having been stated under a former head.

In five years after the peace of Utrecht that is in 1713, we find Holland engaging in the "Quadruple Alliance," which, having in view the preservation of "the balance of power," provided that the empire of Germany should renounce all claims to Spain and its colonies; and that the king of Spain should give up all pretensions to the provinces of that kingdom already ceded; and, among other provisions, that the duke of Savoy should exchange Sicily for Sardinia.

The Spanish court, having refused the dictation of this alliance, a declaration of war ensued, when Philip V, alarmed at the consequences of resistance, dismissed his prime minister and acceded to the terms of the quadruple alliance.

After the accession of the house of Brunswick to the throne of England in 1714, the kings of this house being the hereditary rulers of Hanover, there continued, if not a perpetual alliance, yet a state of peace and mutual sympathy between Great Britain and the Dutch United Provinces, which has tended to their mutual advancement politically and religiously. The fact of their Stadtholder, William of Orange, having attained to the position of King of Great Britain, had the effect ultimately of augmenting their political importance and the number of their territorial divisions from seven to ten.

The present kingdom of Italy was established by Victor Emmanuel, king of Sardinia. This man seems to have been of a like liberal mind, religiously and politically speaking, as was his father Charles Albert. The latter in 1848 gained the confidence of the Italians generally by having given to his own Sardinian subjects a liberal constitution. In 1849 he abdicated in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel, who, as we know, turned out to be a man of considerable natural ability and energy. The present King Humbert appears also to be aiming to be of a truly patriarchal character to his people. There is much good for all such men to do.

Prophetic Reference of Rev. XIII., 11–18, to the Reformed Systems.

Under a former head I have shown this prophecy to have been directly fulfilled in the papacy in its connection with the Franco-German and the Anglo-Saxon Norman monarchies: And now it is very plain that these are the same continued in Protestantism, that is, the same continued with their religious polities changed. The word reform, which means to change a thing as to form rather than as to substance, to set the same thing forth in a somewhat different way, will help to explain the present connection. What the Protestant reformation did principally was that it changed variously the polities of those nations which came out from the religion of Rome; but as that religion was much interwoven into the State polities, during the period of the pope's acknowledged supremacy over those states, it can be seen that the

polities both civil and religious of the nations in which the reformation took place had to undergo a considerable change. The civil polities the reforming nations produced made them nationally independent of Rome; their newly formed systems of religion were patterned after the Roman Catholic system whence they came out. The papal Exarchate and the Franco-German and Anglo-Saxon Norman monarchies being images, more or less, of the Christian Roman empire system at Constantinople, then the Protestant reformed systems of church and state polity being images of the former are images of images of the latter.

But the Protestant reformation was principally a religious change. The symbolic prefiguration as seen by the prophet coming up out of the earth (Rev. XIII., 11.) means that the change originates in or from the church; the earth, land, island, etc., in the prophecy meaning the church. As I have explained under the former head it refers primarily to the pope, considered also as a temporal sovereign, that is, considered as supreme over church and state; and, secondarily, it refers to any man who unites in his person supremacy over church and state, as acknowledged in dominion and sovereignty. This symbolic prefiguration has two horns "like as a lamb; indicating primarily the religion symbolized as having two principal sacraments. But "he speaks as a dragon," which for one thing may indicate the profundity of his theological learning as well as his (serpentine) knowledge of worldly affairs. The lamb being a symbol of Christ, he having two horns like as a lamb indicates him to be a professor of the religion of Christ, and speaking as a dragon that he is not a true exponent of Christ's life and doctrine as set forth in the Gospel. There is self determinateness and absolutism of character implied in the symbolic prefiguration; there is also a character worse than hypocritical, for while he appears somewhat like a lamb he speaks as a dragon; while he appears outwardly as Christ he is really Anti-Christ. As the reformed state and church systems are images of the Papal Exarchate, so each Protestant sovereign, comprising in himself state and church power, is an image of the Exarch-bishop, at least so far as his possessing the dual sovereignty is concerned; and so the symbolic prefiguration, in Rev. XIII, 11, stands for each. But this does not imply that such sovereign may not deny himself, deny the world, and live and act out the life and spirit of Jesus Christ. There is no reason why he should not live the life of self-denial and active godliness. By their works they are to be known

Verse 12: "And he exerciseth all the power of the first being before him, and causeth the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first being whose deadly wound was healed." "And he exercises all the power of the first, etc., before him" means that he exercises the same kind of power, spiritual and temporal; He exercises this before him (ενώπιον, literally before the face or in the view of) means that he exercises his power contemporaneously with him, with his knowledge but independently of him. Though there were no telephones in use at the outbreak of the reformation yet so intimately was Rome connected with all parts of Europe that its first sound was heard therein from the heart of Germany. The head of the church was kept well informed, especially as to spiritual affairs, throughout his vast empire. In 1401 Sawtry, a preacher, was burnt to death in England, and in 1415–16 John Huss and Jerome did with the Papal sanction suffer the same death in Bohemia, because they maintained the doctrines just before promulgated by Wickliffe. So in 1518–19 the See of Rome was kept well informed of Luther's proceedings, from the time of his first opposition to Tetzel to his excommunication by the pope in 1521. Should not Luther's voice have been meantime stilled in death had he not had a protector in the elector of Saxony? All the Roman Catholic ministry throughout Christendom were the pledged or sworn liege men of the pope: he, therefore, ruled everywhere wherein their influence was exercised. The reformers, therefore, might be said to have done all they did before the face of the exarch-bishop from the start to the full accomplishment of the reformation and from that day to this in their reformed systems of government, in their church and State sovereignties (which are after the manner and spirit of his own exarch-bishoprick) they have carried on their own governments openly, independently and above board, in his sight, "before his face." "And (he) causeth the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first being whose deadly wound was healed." This, under the former head, referred to the Roman empire at Constantinople, but in this case it refers to the exarch-bishoprick at Rome. The system of the Papal exarchate must, therefore, in the interval between Pepin and Charlemagne and the Protestant reformation have had some remarkable diminution, loss or decay in some sense and by some means; from which condition it was recovered in some sense or by some person or means.

We have seen under a former head that the Carlovingian dynasty

succeeded in France to the Merovingian, which last named was the first German dynasty recorded to have ruled in old Gaul. Of the Carlovingian dynasty Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, who was son of Pepin D'Heristal, mayor of the palace, was the first crowned king. He was crowned king of France, not by the pope but by the bishop of Mentz. He it was who conquered by his French arms from the Lombards the exarchate of Ravenna, and gave it to the pope, making him thereby a temporal sovereign, while the kings of France of that line were recognized as Patricians of Rome. This gift was confirmed to the pope by Charlemagne, the son and successor of Pepin in the year 774, while the latter is said to have been himself crowned king of Lombardy by the pope. While it does not appear clear that it was with "the iron crown of Lombardy" that Charles was now crowned or with a crown made of some other material, it is nevertheless, said by some (although other historians do not notice it) that he was crowned by the pope king of Lombardy and was recognized not only as king of France but as Patrician of Rome besides. But when Charles was crowned at Rome, in the year 800, pope Leo then used "the golden crown of the empire," which doubtless he had made for the occasion; but had, as would seem from what some say, to steal it on to his head as Charles was kneeling in the act of prayer, Charles being altogether too modest a man to allow himself to be adorned with such an appendage, he being, as to simplicity of life and manners, a true descendant of the Teutons. But pope Leo appears to have had it all in his own way this time, for he took Charles unawares, while he was deeply engaged in the act of devotion, and placed the golden crown upon his head. Charles could not then, be he ever so modest, deny that he had been crowned. On this occasion Charles confirmed to the pope all the gifts of his father and himself before given.

But in the interval of four generations of the Carlovingian dynasty, that is from the death of Charlemagne to the downfall of the dynasty in the time of the son of Charles "the simple;" in this interval, I say, owing to the inability or indisposition of some of those kings to prevent it, most of the territories of the exarchate were lost to the pope. For seventy years before this transfer of dynasty took place, the sovereignty of Italy, — though of course only nominal, — was the object of contest between its most powerful and ambitious nobles; and, besides, its northern parts were desolated by the Hungarians, while its southern coasts were subject

to the inroads of the Saracens, who had made themselves masters of Sicily.

Of the Italian nobles the dukes of Spoleto and Tuscany and the marquises of Pavia, Susa and Friuli were the most powerful. The extensive duchy of Benevento had been divided into the principalities of Benevento, Salerno and Capua. "Calabria and Apulia were still subject to the emperor of Constantinople, while Naples and Amalfi were republics under his protection." "Rome was subject to the pope," with somewhat more of the exarchate yet attaching.

It was at this time that the pope earnestly sought the assistance of Otho or Hugh the great the now acting emperor of the German empire in the stead of Louis V, son of Charles the simple. The acting emperor now marched into Italy and received at Milan the iron crown of the Lombards, and at Rome, from the hand of the pope, the golden crown of the empire. He thus received in his person the title of emperor of the Romans, which before this had been extinct for about seventy years." Thus had a "deadly wound" been given to the sovereignty of the exarch-bishop of Rome and to that of his firstborn son, the Carlovingian dynasty; and thus was this head, again wounded, healed by the acting king for the last of the old dynasty, but reckoned the first real king of the new. If the reconstruction of the Western empire by the first two Carlovingian dynasts and the pope was called the Roman empire revived in the west, this operation of Otho the great in relation to the pope, may be called the Roman empire of the west restored in 962–989.

Otho the great began the subjugation of the empire by compelling the nobles, who largely in that age, imbued with the feudal spirit, aspired to independence, to submit to his authority; and by balancing their power in conferring upon the clergy the rights of temporal princes. When he entered Italy in 961 the most powerful prince he had to encounter was Berenger II., who as well as his father before him, was styled "king of Italy." His father, Berenger I., from being duke of Friuli was in 924 styled king of Italy, Otho subdued Berenger II. and his kingdom, deposed the licentious pope John II. who had favored Berenger, and placed Leo VIII. in the papal chair. From the licentiousness which characterized some of the popes of this age, Otho, deeming it necessary that the civil be superior to the ecclesiastical power, revived an old claim put forward by some of the Carlovingian dynasts, namely, "that the emperor should have the power of nominating the pope and of giving

investiture to bishops." But not long after his return to France his Italian subjects rebelled, and on the death of Leo VIII., contested the emperor's right to nominate his successor. He, however, by the force of his arms, compelled them to submission in 964; after which (he having rendered Bohemia tributary, "compelling its inhabitants to receive Christianity," and having defeated the Hungarians as well as the Danes in the beginning of his regency) the remainder of the days of that energetic regent, Hugh the great, was tranquil.

Louis V., whom I find to be identical with Charles "the Simple but whom on preceding pages I have occaisonally spoken of in accordance with the language of the historical Romance as "son" of this Charles, and who had for his wife a sister of Athelstan the Anglo-Saxon King, died, as near as I can fix it by a comparison of the histories, in 996 A. D. and was succeeded in Germany by his son Eudes, *i e.*, Otho III. and in France by his son Robert; and it is with these two brothers the two distinct lines of rulers for France and Germany begin, in round numbers at 1000 A. D.

The interval between 754, when Pepin gave to the pope the sovereignty of the exarchate, and 964, when Otho the great restored to him what may be said to have been restored of it, comprehended a period of 210 years, during which, with the exception of about seventy years, the popes may be thought of as having administered the government of most of the exarchate. After this the attainment of the papal chair became an object of great ambition by rival candidates, and after the year 1000 the Papacy waxed so great as to become the most powerful monarchy on the earth.

It can, however, be now easily understood from the foregoing what was the nature of "the deadly wound;" what the nature of the object wounded; and what is to be understood by the wound being "healed." In speaking of the reformed powers, who "caused the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first being whose deadly wound was healed," it refers to the heads or leaders of the reformed nations, which ultimately attained to church and State systems of government of that order, during a certain stage of their progress. Luther, the leader of the reformation in Germany, was at first a monk and had, as a matter of course, to have pledged obedience to the pope of Rome; and even after he had started in his reforming career he remained for some time in submissive obedience to the pope. It is generally the Lutheran doctrines which are established in the governmental systems of

church and State in Germany. John Calvin also whose doctrines, as distinguished from the Lutheran, the other main branches of the Protestants have followed and which have been established in the State and church system of Great Britain, was originally a Catholic priest in the enjoyment and use of a benefice. Of course he, as Luther, had pledged obedience to the See of Rome, and to the doctrines, rites and rules of the Roman Catholic Church, and had inculcated the same obedience to others so long as he remained in connection with that system himself. In fact most of the leading reformers on the continent had arisen from being Catholic priests or monks or teachers of some sort in that faith and must needs have pledged themselves to obedience to the pope and church at the start and inculcated this obedience to their people so long as they remained in the system and in obedience to their pledge. And so Henry VIII., the leading reformer in England, who came to the throne in 1509, in twelve years later, or in 1521, published his "Defense of the Seven Sacraments," for which he was titled by the pope "Defender of the Faith." And although he separated from Cardinal Wolsey, on account of his disagreement with him relative to the spiritual supremacy, as early as the year 1525, yet it was not till 1534 that he openly proclaimed his own spiritual supremacy. He lived yet thirteen years and all his life he professed adherence to the Catholic Church and punished as heretics those who dissented from its doctrines, as well as those who, after he had assumed it publicly, dissented from his assumption of spiritual supremacy. All these reformers in their beginning, inculcated religious obedience to the Papacy, in a like way as the pope himself and his ministry in the Exarchate inculcated civil obedience to the empire at Constantinople during the two centuries, 553–753. In the Protestant reformation we are considering principally a religious change or transfer; in the change of the Exarchate from the Goths to the Eastern Empire in 553 and from the Goths or Eastern empire to the pope, through the medium of Pepin in 754, we are considering principally a civil change. There was obedience to the existing powers inculcated in both cases; first civil obedience to the emperor was inculcated to the people of the Exarchate and the Latin subjects generally of the eastern empire by the pope and his ministry; and, secondly, religious obedience to the pope and the Roman Catholic Church was inculcated to their peoples by those who ultimately became the Protestant reformers in the early part of their career: So that these latter did cause the earth (the church)

and them that dwelt therein to worship the first being whose deadly wound was healed. By the "Carlovingian dynasty" was the first deadly wound, which Rome received from the Goths, Hunns, and Vandals, completely healed; by the "Conradian dynasty" was Rome's second wound (now inflicted by her own Italians) healed.

Verse 13th: "And he doeth great wonders so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men." Now are we getting into the age of gunpowder. In our present application of the prophecy to the history the reader must fix his mind upon those new chiefs of church and state with their established and statepaid ministries, which were yet nominally subject to Rome, but would soon act for themselves independently of it.

By the English under Edward III, in the battle of Cressy in 1346, artillery was first used. The invention of gunpowder is ascribed to Swartz, a monk of Cologne; but Roger Bacon, an English philosopher of an earlier day, in a work he wrote on Alchemy, describes the mixture and its explosive force. Small arms, such as the carbine and matchlock, did not come into use until about a century after the battle of Cressy. The knights regarded shooting as a barbarous mode of attacking an adversary; but experience has proved the invention of fire-arms to have rather tended to the civilization of the world. Heavy ordnance, costing labor and money in its transportation, an advantage not before had was given to the invaded over the invader, which tended to keep nations peaceful. The steel-guarded giant, who, by his physical strength, could deal stronger blows than his neighbors, by this new mode of warfare came soon to lose that prestige to which his moral courage and intellectual ability afforded him no claim. The results of war came to be more easily calculated and disputes to be more often settled by peaceable means. The inventions which increase the hazard of those who fight tend to diminish the number of wars, as they make people more disposed to settle their difficulties peaceably as by arbitration, mediation or the like. These new inventions were well introduced at the time of the opening of the reformation, by which the age of protestantism may be said to be an advance towards civilization, as appears in so many ways since its rise contemporaneously with the discovery of America. The population of Christendom, in any age since the reformation, has had more physical and mental energy; has been as a whole, better fed and better clothed and

better disciplined, than has its population as a whole, in any Christian age before it.

But the prophecy, doubtless, has rather reference to the artillery from the pulpit, the spiritual artillery, if we may so speak, than to either the Greek fire as spoken of in the case of the former applications of it, or to the modern ordinance and small arms, as in this latter. For if it be asserted in explanation of this prophecy that the Catholic church, through its constituted ministry, can produce miracles, such as the bringing down of literal fire from the air in people's sight; then it is folly to deny that miracle-working ability to the Protestant hierachies also, since they are but reformed systems of the Roman Catholic, having derived their ordination, to which some of them attach great importance, therefrom. If, therefore, the power to work miracles be asserted to pertain to the one for certain reasons they give, it may, for the same reasons exactly be asserted to pertain to the other.

Verse 14th: "And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by those miracles, which he had power to do in the sight of the being: Saying to them that dwell on the earth that they should make an image to the being, which had the wound by a sword and did live." The word here translated "miracles" is, in the original "signs," the same word being in the Gospels also often translated miracles. If the power to work miracles exist it appears it can be used for a bad purpose as well as for a good one, that is, it may be used well or badly abused; for we find Paul in 2nd Thessalonians, ch. 2, speaking of the "powers and signs and lying wonders," wherewith, in all deceivableness, Antichrist should seek to establish his prestige over the minds of the people. These signs, then, according to our present application of the prophecy, the constituted hierarchy of each of those systems, which were just coming out in the reformation, had power to do contemporaneously with the exarch-bishop of Rome; before his face, in the sight of his ministry, and independently of them. The prophecy as yet, however, contemplates those hierarchies that are proceeding to reformation, rather within than without the Roman Catholic system; so that those signs and wonders are rather done within the old system, by those intending to come out than without it by them after they had come out from it; for continuing it represents him as "saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the being that had the wound by a sword and did live."

Here each leader or head of the new systems addresses particu-

larly those of his own branch of the reformed faith, and advises them to organize a system of church and state polity so corresponding to the Papal that it might be called an image thereof. It indicates a second stage of the progress of the reformation, the first being really within the Roman Catholic church. It indicates the course pursued by the German reformers, when, for example, the elector of Saxony determined to sever all connection of his government with the see of Rome, and organize a governmental polity of his own independent of it; and when, as early as the year 1527, the elector, John Frederic, ordered a code of laws relating to the contemplated form of ecclesiastical government, the method of public worship, the rank, offices and revenues of the priesthood, etc., to be drawn up by Luther and Melancthon and promulgated by heralds throughout his dominions: "The example of the elector of Saxony was followed by all the principal States of Germany that embraced the reformation:" — As well as it indicates the course pursued by the reformers in Britain, when the independent church of England began to be formed, after Henry VIII. assumed to himself spiritual supremacy in 1534. It is true that Henry VIII. always professed to be a Roman Catholic, while he lived; but it is nevertheless true that from the time that he assumed spiritual supremacy over his own dominions the English church system began to be formed, which eventually, as to forms and doctrines, so resembled the Roman Catholic Church system, as with the Lutheran, to have been called in the prophecy an ἔικων or image of it. Of course all the reformed systems must originally have been patterned more or less after the Roman Catholic system; but they could be resemblances of that only as to some things; the Lutheran church and State systems of Germany and Scandanavia and the Calvanistic church and State system of England, — but especially the latter,— being the complete images of the Papal church and State system of sovereignty. And now being images of the latter they must needs have been images of images of the Christian Roman Empire at Constantinople of which the Papal sovereignty was an image.

The word ἔικων denotes a physical image or figure, something that has or has not been produced by the ingenuity or handicraft of man. It has a figurative sense also, but here it has its literal signification. For the new establishment clerical ranks with their habits, church rates and rituals, rites and ceremonies, etc., all had to be invented or defined and determined, and many of them were introduced with great parliamentary debate and popular opposition

in England during many successive years. The two or three creeds with the two sacraments and some other doctrines of the church of Rome the Protestant churches retained.

The reformed church systems were completed gradually; that of England during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth being brought to about the same state at which it still remains; but on principles considerably different from those established by Henry VIII., namely on the principles of Calvin, as distinct on the one side from those of Rome, and on the other from those of Luther.

Verse 15th: "And he had power to give life to the image of the being, that the image of the being should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the being should be killed." The explanation I have given of this verse under the former head applies here also. It simply means that those systems of church and State government, with their monarchs as supreme, in dual power, at their head, were established by law in Germany and England; that such privileges as the protection in life and liberty with freedom of competition in business, etc., were implied in them to those citizens who would obey them and live in accordance with their requirements; but that, on the contrary, they implied and expressed such penalties for disobedience and non-conformity as imprisonment, torture, confiscation, a prohibition of competition in business, death, etc.

"And he had power to give life," etc. Although the word here translated "life" is in the original "breath," still life is in this connection a good translation. His having "power to give life" points, doubtless, to the recognized supreme head of the church and State in the system, then, to his deputies or ministers. The persons and institutions favored by him possessed the most life, energy, enterprise. The passage may here refer also to an occult power. When the reformed church and State systems became fully established they enforced obedience to them and compliance with their requirements no less effectually than the Roman Catholic authorities were accustomed to do in the case of their own.

"And cause as many as would not worship the image of the being should be killed." The system of church and state once established as the law of the land, there is no other way left to the citizen than that of conformity, compliance, obedience to that law. There is here a unity of government, in a unity of law; there must needs be a unity of conformity, of obedience, to that law, to that government, let that law and government be of what character they

may, else there is outlawry, rebellion on the part of the citizen. This must be so as long as a law is established and in force in a country. Punishment may not arise to the nonconformist or the disobedient so much from the will of the actually existing governors as from the terms of the law itself. This put in force necessitates the cruelty to the nonconforming. The unity of church and state, established as the law of the land, the citizen has no free will; never comes to full growth mentally as in a free democracy; always remains a child, whose part is to follow, to obey; not to exercise his own private judgment on matters whereon the law has decided; and, in speaking concerning such things, to express no judgment of his own, which may be contrary to or at variance with that established law. Hence is seen how necessary it is that legislators should exercise great deliberation and self-denial, in the framing and enactment of laws; that they should enact no law which is not for the best interests, mentally, physically, morally and religiously of the whole people, whom the law is designed to effect and, further, that they should enact no law which might effect injuriously any tribe of mankind which are not likely to effect the enacters or their people otherwise, that might be considered injurious, than in a fair and free competition for subsistence in the ordinary lines of business. The same God and father of all brings into existence all human beings and yet some legislators, not reflecting that they owe their own existence to God to whom all things really belong, act so unjustly as by their acts or enactments to enslave those human beings while yet unconscious in their cradles, or yet unborn. Men should be full souled, noble-hearted, full-breasted with love to their kind; and speaking in relation to this "land of the free and home of the brave" it would appear that for a century or two yet to come our legislators should not permit themselves to be selfish or exclusive in their enactments.

Verse 16th: "And he causeth all both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in the right hand or in their foreheads." Under the heads of small and great, rich and poor, free and bond are included all the inhabitants of a country. This verse is, therefore, correctly rendered: "He (i.e. the sovereign authority) causes all the people in the specified jurisdiction to receive from the constituted ministries or deputies a mark in the right hand or in the forehead. As to what was the nature of the mark which was to be put in the right hand or in the forehead there

has been by the learned much research. Many good people have thought that the mark in the right hand refers to the ring put on to the finger in the marriage ceremony, and the mark in the forehead to the sign of the cross made thereon by the priest in the ceremony of baptism, in some of the reformed churches as well as in the Roman Catholic. This sign of a cross, however, being made merely with the tip of the priest's finger leaves no apparent mark and only denotes that the baptized person is received into the church, or, as this is called into the kingdom of Christ; and that the person baptized is intended to be the servant or soldier of Christ, when, having come to the years of discretion, he is able to judge for himself. As to the ring placed on the finger of the right hand in marriage it is certain it does not refer to the mark; for only a proportion of the people get married in any country; but the mark referred to in the prophecy has to be universally received by all the people in the jurisdiction of the authority requiring it to be given. Some men too have expressed the opinion that the conditions of this prophetic mark in the right hand were fulfilled in Lutheran Germany in all having been obliged to subscribe the Lutheran "Confession of Faith" with the right hand or to swear to the same with the right hand uplifted; and in Calvinistic Britain by the people being required to subscribe the "Act of Uniformity" in the reign of Charles II, and other documents at other times. In neither of these cases, however, do the circumstances answer to the conditions; for only a certain portion of the people and these all adults, would be required to subscribe or to swear; while all the people of the country, young and old, free and bond, male and female, were required to receive the prophetic mark in the right hand or in the forehead. The protestant systems were as rigid in their requirements in regard to conformity as either of the old systems at Rome or Constantinople was. According to the "Westminister Confession of Faith," the Anabaptists, because they refused to receive the mark, in the right hand or in the forehead, were decreed to be rooted out of his Brittanic Majesty's dominions. "Moreover, the civil and ecclesiastical powers ordain and command that the said Confession of Faith be subscribed by all his Majesty's subjects of what rank and quality soever under all civil pains." This is about as all inclusive language as the Scriptures generally use to express a whole population. But though this be so it is yet plain that children are not included in it, and these in the Catholic and En-

glish churches are christened in their infancy, receiving the sign of the cross in the forehead; as well as in the Protestant churches the adults, in partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, receive the bread and cup in the right hand. The above may indeed be one sense of the mark to be received in the forehead; and the prophetic language appearing to require but one of the marks, — that in the right hand or that in the forehead, — the oath or subscription with the right hand may be one of the senses of the mark. This oath or subscription with the right hand was common to all the Catholic polities old and new, that is, Graeco-Roman, Papal and Protestant; these required a pledge of allegiance from all their subjects, from the infant that was pledged for at its Christening by its god-parents to the old man or matron that were near to death's door, who were on certain emergencies or public conditions still required to subscribe or swear or pledge themselves to the system in some way.

Both the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches practice infant baptism, the English church, as a rule, only among the Protestants in common with the Roman Catholic, putting the sign of the cross on the forehead of the infant; which appears to have the effect of individualizing the English church among the Protestant systems as distinctfrom the Roman Catholic. This, too, taken in connection with other characteristics of their national religion may have a spiritual signification; for I have noticed in the writings of Emmanuel Swedenborg that when once, in his excursions through the celestial regions, he visited heaven, he found the English nation all in a place by themselves. This, I take it, only points to individualization of the English nation in regard to some characteristics of their church and state polity as distinct from the other Protestant polities.

As said before in the Roman Catholic church the infants universally receive the sign of the cross on the forehead in baptism, but in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in the present age at least, the laity are permitted to communicate only in one kind, the priest, in this case, putting a wafer upon the tongue of the communicant.

Verse 17th: "And that no man might buy or sell save he that had the mark or the name of the being or the number of his name." The explanation of this, with the exception of that of "the name and number" is contained in what has gone before under this head. It means simply that no one could have a legal standing in the state and so could not legally carry on business therein, who did not

comply with and conform to the requirements of the church and State polity. This dual polity is one in such a way that the state cares for the church and the church for the State; the citizen who offends the one offends the other also; so that there is no way for the citizen to live in the state, but by conforming to its established laws and obeying their requirements. The compliance with this law, in the polities we are considering by infant baptism, by oath, subscription or the like, as we have seen, constitutes the mark (χαραγμα) which is the first letter (χ) of "the name," which letter is somewhat like a cross; but not quite that as we understand the form of a cross. The first letter of the name is then in English ch. which is to be understood as the mark; and in Rev. XIV. 11, this mark is called "the mark" (i. e. the first letter) "of the name," and chapters XV. 2 and XIII, 17, inform us that the number is that of the name, while the last verse, viz. 18th of the chapter we have now considered shows the number in Greek to be χξς whose numerical equivalent can be given in any language, but whose literal equivalent in one word in English is Chxist, and which is so specious a resemblance of the genuine name Christ that the worldly and fashionable, and those who are indifferent as to their own soul's salvation, and that of the world never notice the counterfeit. This is the name given by the Holy Spirit in the prophecy to that being, which had the two horns like as a lamb and spake as a dragon. If in this symbolization the Holy Spirit did not mean to show the union of the church of Jesus Christ with the State in government, as inconsistent with the principles and doctrines of Christ enunciated in the Gospels, then I have not yet arrived at the depth of his meaning in this case. There is no doubt but that a man may through grace practice self-denial and active godliness in any position in which he may find himself, even though this be deemed exalted in a worldly sense, but in doing this he will show himself an exponent of the life, spirit and example of Jesus Christ rather than of those examples which the world sets forth and follows after. In taking this course a man will have to be prepared at any time to give up all that the world deems great even to the position of sovereign of church and State, rather than be of a contrary spirit to Christ or act contrary to his principles as enunciated in the Gospel.

But lastly, and in confirmation of what has been before said, it is stated in verse 18, that the number of the being is the number of MAN, not only of a man as it is translated in our common version of the Bible, but of man. We remark there is a parallel

passage in Rev. XXI. 17, where the same word, ἀνθρώπου is used also without the article in describing the dimensions of the new Jerusalem. If man represent the dimensions of the symbolic being, man also represents the dimensions of the new Jerusalem, or redeemed man.

And as the dimensions of the new Jerusalem are the dimensions of man, not only of some particular man, but of mankind including male and female; so the character of the new Jerusalem is the character of the angel, which represents redeemed man, man though not freed from, yet exalted above human frailties, man living in the world but not of it, understanding what he is, and keeping his inferior nature in subjection; and thus the true Christ is exhibited in the perfecting, and the perfected human character. This is the gospel's idea fulfilled. But no human being, or being in any conceivable form, is to be worshipped. The infinite and invisible God, which is neither an object of the sense, nor of the imagination, is alone to be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

As the Jews limited the favor of God to their peculiar mark and their number, so did the reformed systems, and so did all the Christian world to their peculiar mark or profession; therefore, the character and doom of both are well described by the phrophet: "But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish the drink offering to that number. Therefore, will I number you to the sword; and ye shall all bow down to the slaughter; because when I called ye did not answer; when I spake ye did not hear, but did evil before mine eyes, and did choose that wherein I delighted not; — for (this) the Lord God shall slay thee, and call His servants by another name." *

If our readers will now turn to the XVIII. chapter of this book of Revelation they will notice that the dominions of the second being are included in the mystic Babylon, that sitteth upon many waters; which waters are explained to be (ch. XVII., 15), peoples and multitudes, and nations, and tongues, over which the woman ruleth.

These powers combining both the civil and religious branches were to be overthrown by secular and spiritual warfare; for in ch. XIX, 19, 20, 21, it says: "And I saw the being and the kings of the earth and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse," that is, the agencies of truth personi-

* Isaiah, ch. LXV. 11, 12, 15.

fied, " and against his army. And the being was taken and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the being and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth; and all the fowls were filled with their flesh."

The being and false prophet being cast alive into the torments means that after those powers are subdued secularly and to a considerable extent spiritually, they shall still exist in the world wantingly, and suffering affliction while they are in subjection to the powers of truth, and obstinately persisting in their wicked doctrines and practices.

The sword which proceedeth out of his mouth has reference to the word of truth spoken by all God's true agencies for the conversion and enlightenment of mankind; and which is otherwise called the sword of the spirit, the word of God; God's true doctrine. And the white horse on which the rider is, denotes victory full and complete ultimately for the truth!

Chapter XIV.

I will have henceforth generally to ask my readers to refer to the text in their Bibles, while I give them a fair explanation thereof and give them the meaning of my authority where the original differs from the common reading as heretofore.

V. 1: The conspicuous object here is the Lamb with his 144,000 followers or redeemed standing upon mount Zion and having his father's name written upon their foreheads. These are the sealed of God, whom God knows as his children, and who know God as their Father, their spirits witnessing with his spirit that they are his children. Their standing upon the high and holy place, mount Zion, is symbolic of the redeemed from among men after the manner of the temple, as compared with the city in XI. 1, 2.

Vs. 2 to 6 inclusive: See Bible:

There is a general jubilee here after the manner of that we met with in Chapter VII. 9–14.

The voice of many waters and the music of harpers signify the rejoicings of a great multitude. This is in the heaven and as regards the r eligio-political heavens it would indicate rejoicings over the

civil and religious liberty that had been attained by the movement called the reformation in its various phases, continental and British. The first jubilation of the Christians after their attainment of the Roman empire was 1260 years before this. In the celestial heavens this would be a rejoicing of the angels over the good which God had effected for mankind.

The "new song." This new song varied in different politics, but as regards religion it meant the religion of Christ freed from the shackles and stiffness of pharisaic interpretation. These jubilants interpret as the spirit of the Lord and an understanding enlightened and chastened by divine grace gives them ability: For they live in an age enlightened by education; and they are born of the Lord's spirit and live as becometh saints; and where the spirit of the Lord is there is perfect liberty; not necessarily carnal liberty, but all that is worthy of the name of liberty. "They sing as it were a new song before the throne and the four living creatures and the elders." For 1260 years they had been singing the mass in Latin; now they are not so straight-laced: they sing in English, in German, in French, in the Scandinavian languages, etc. They manage to express their praises to God in their own mother tongues and in words whose meanings they understand. This is speaking of the political heavens, but in the celestial heavens we reasonably conclude the angels have a vast comprehension of human languages and affairs. Nobody in the political heavens could understand this song but the 144,000 who were singing it. God knows his and they know him. I know my sheep, says Christ, and am known of them and they hear my voice and follow me.

"Not defiled by women." A woman is a symbol of a church, a good and true woman of a true church; a bad woman of a false church. These 144,000 had not been members of corrupt churches; they belonged to the class rather of witnesses for Christ, now they are evangelists. They have lived the life of holiness and active godliness.

"Redeemed from among men." Bought from among men by the blood of Christ these people properly estimate their earthly house of this tabernacle as not belonging to them to do with it as many a thought suggested by the world, the flesh and the devil might dictate, but belonging unto Christ who has bought it back from the old Adamic state to live and reign with him in his heavenly state. Such are the persons of whom James (Ch. I, 18)

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speaks. "Of his own will begat he us by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures."

"And in their mouth was found no guile:" which is correspondent with their new birth; and all this, as intimated in Psalm XXXII. 2, arises to them from the grace of God, for it is through grace they are saved. Through grace they live a life acceptable to God and stand in his presence, hymning their jubilee anthem at last.

Vs. 6 and 7: See Bible.

In this angel flying in the midst of heaven having the everlasting gospel to preach is symbolized the missionary enterprise, consequent upon the accomplishment of the Reformation. The angel flies in the midst of heaven. This angel commands the whole reformed church. The heaven referred to here especially is the politico-religious one of the reformed systems, with that corresponding in the celestial heavens.

In the old times of christianity they did much missionary business; from the year 33 to 325; then from this to the year 800; and from this to the year 1500, in the particular ways in which they did it; and even since 1534 the Jesuits have done much missionary work. But in this angel the reference is particularly to the missionary enterprise of Protestantism, referred to. In the holy waters of Ezekiel XLVII. 1–13, it seems to me the whole of the Christian missionary enterprise is referred to. See also, Jno. VII. 38. This angel proclaims the Gospel for all nations. The Gospel is a message of God's infinite love to man (see Ephes. III. 9): and it is designed for all peoples of all languages. So God had provided that, in accordance with the proclamation of this angel, to-day the New Testament is printed in nearly all languages; and it is sent free to the peoples by shiploads so that all who will may have it and learn the way of life free of expense.

"Saying with a loud voice" — "the hour of his judgment is come," etc.: This shows you the time of this angel is at "the end of the age:" He calls to the people to awake and worship God who made heaven and earth, etc. His loud voice shows that he speaks with authority. He symbolizes the innumerable preachers, colporteurs and even ten cent contributions to the promotion of the Gospel at home and in foreign lands. Let every one know, who contributes five cents for the spread of the Gospel at home and abroad, and for the promotion of true education, that this mighty angel with stentorian voice winging his way through the heavens is

deeply interested in such an one, and will say good things of such. "For the hour of his judgment is come." That is, the time is come when God shall judge the world through his saints, whom he has given to possess the kingdom. In this condition the saints, like Deborah, sit under their own oaks, or each under their own vines and fig trees, judging the world, and no man maketh them afraid. The full meaning is here not that they shall judge as according to creed or to State and Church rule, nor that while they are sometimes quietly meditating judgments, in a strictly unbiased way, the tithe man may present himself all booted and spurred and whip in hand to collect money for the clerics, who, on this supposition, would be supposed to do their judging; but it means that the people would live under a polity, called Republicism, where they generally would be so moderately educated as to be able to judge on most ethical subjects and would be free from many responsibilities which a government of Church and State entails upon the masses.

"Worship him that made heaven and earth," etc. God made the world through his son and redeemed the race of man by the same. This race of man, he, having redeemed, sanctifies through his holy spirit. And so, although a person might think that this voice (v. 7) referred to an age characterized by unitarianism, yet the command is given to worship God, which, in the Gospel, or evangelistic way, is understood to be trinity in unity, which makes this matter clear.

V. 8: "Babylon is fallen:" the church is fallen morally. It does not refer to the literal fall of a city: but indicates a fallen spiritual and moral condition of the church: corrupt doctrines; hypocritical and cruel practices, etc. And why is Babylon fallen? "Because she made all nations drunk with the wine of her fornication." She made all nations partake of her spiritual fornications and corruptions. She went forth sword in hand for ages and compelled them to do it; and those who would not do it she cut off their heads or burned them at stakes. These are the answers the Bible and history record about Babylon's doings. If the church had only promulgated the pure Gospel of Christ without any mixtures or additions and had lived and caused men to live according to that she should not have fallen and so should not be subject to the penalty for apostasy as here announced; but fall she did in the east and west and here is her penalty announced as a judgment.

Vs. 9–13: See Bible. "The third angel:" This angel is in

connection with the preceding two; but he has a specialty to announce, and must be heard, for he is an ambassador from the highest. This angel has it as his mission to show that it is wrong in the sight of God to worship the beast or his image or to receive his mark in the forehead or in the right hand. In verses 10 and 11 he pronounces a very dolorous judgment against such as are knowingly guilty of any such sins or crimes. The angel of verse 8, who announces the fall of Babylon, and he of 9, 10, 11, who announces such terrible judgments against those who remain in her, do not, either of them, call upon the people to come out of her: Their mission is, first (verse 9), to show the world at large what condition that old church is really in; and second (vs. 9–12), to show what punishments will overtake those who remain in the connection and practice of that old system. In regard, therefore, to the symbolization of the beast and his image and his mark, when people come to know the originals of these symbolizations they will of course avoid them; for God makes himself so plain here that no one can misconceive his meaning. To be tormented with fire and brimstone (v. 10) forever is a fearful contemplation. Dear reader, remember this, and walk through life in the strait and narrow way, fighting shy of the Scylla and Charybdis of the systems indicated by the beast and his image and his mark.

"And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever," etc. (v. 11.): in which is a reference to Isai. XXXIV. 10. What a fearful denunciation against the wicked and the disobedient: Yea, against the disobedient! V. 12. "Here is the patience of the saints," etc., which has been often referred to before, as indicating the course of life of God's saints and witnesses, indicating that those who break with such systems as God by his particular and outspoken proclamations has disallowed, and resolved to live and worship aside from them will have to exercise faith and patience, taking as their model and preceptor Jesus Christ.

V. 13: "A voice from the heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth; Yea, saith the Spirit that they may rest from their labors and their works follow with them."

The time was come to make this announcement: There is no seal to be put upon this; it is to be published, that in the saints dying they rest from their labors, and their works follow with them. Hence is seen the importance of being in the faith so that they need not be afraid to die when, in God's providence, death

overtakes them. Such are blessed and their works follow with them. Reader, remember this that it is important to live aright and honorably before God and man, for when you are called to die your works follow "with you:" Such is the meaning of the original. And how fearful a thing it is to have to reflect that you have lived wickedly or disobediently before God and dishonestly, dishonorably or hypocritically before man! For in this case also your works followed with you.

V. 14: See Bible: Now comes the Son of Man! Three great embassadors have preceded him in this chapter, with also the voice from heaven pronouncing the blessedness of the Lord's dead! "One like unto a son of man sitting upon a white cloud" is certainly an appearance of the Christ again on earth. The white cloud symbolizes great multitudes of Christians, true witnesses of Christ, as Paul (Hebs. XII. 1) speaks of a great cloud of witnesses; and Jude (v. 14) speaks of the Lord's coming in ten thousands of his saints. The cloud being white shows such a phase of Christianity as God approves, and this is doubtless, through the grace of God, a result of missionary and republican movements, symbolized in all the authoritative heralds from verse 6 to this verse 14.

"Having on his head a golden crown." This, in the original, is stephanos, not a diadem. The man on the cloud does not symbolize earthly rulership, unless it be of what is understood as of a spiritual nature. It indicates an age and polity wherein the religion of Christ is highly honored, in its pure evangelical sense and far and wide upon the earth as a result of missionary enterprise.

"And in his hand a sharp sickle:" which indicates a judgment: God is preparing to lop off from his true vine all those gnarled branches which have never brought forth fruit, but only stood in the way of other good fruit bearers. V. 15. "Another angel came out of the temple," which indicates another connected phase of this same movement: "Crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud:" This is the voice that is coming and has long come to us from the eastern hemisphere: "Come over here and help us not only in Macedonia, but all around in Asia and Africa, to cast off, to lop off, those old incumbrances of State and Church; of paganism in all its phases; of Mohammedism with all its oppressiveness; and of all things which do not pertain to a pure Gospel religion and a well regulated democracy."

"Thrust in thy sickle and reap, for the harvest of the earth is ripe:" Judgment surely! The harvest has to be cut! The old

useless branches lopped off and cast into the fire: the good and ripe fruits that are ready to drop must be garnered and kept unto everlasting life. There is a reference here to Joel III. 13: Jer. LI, 33; and Matt. XIII., 39.

V. 16: See Bible: The judgment here is accomplished, the work of its kind is done. The good sheaves are garnered; the old, gnarled, and incorrigibly disobedient brambles are gathered up and cast into Gehenna. The Lord will not keep his anger forever; the wicked may expect the great assize in due time!

V. 17: "And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle:" This symbolizes a movement out of connection with the preceding, which all were more or less connected with the man on the white cloud. There is a sign of judgment here to be exercised in reference to some particular polity or polities now monarchical. In saying that much evil has proceeded from monarchy we do not say that some good has not proceeded from under it. See how much well directed and zealous missionary effort has proceeded from the Protestant nations since the reformation.

V. 18: "And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire, and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying: Thrust in thy sharp sickle and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth for her grapes are fully ripe."

By the clusters of the vine of the earth state-church hierarchy is symbolized; of one state church or of more. The earth, in this case may symbolize England, France or Italy or those in general, with which may be Turkey. The vine of the earth would mean the state church; the Greek church is established under Turkism; England has a state church as also Scotland, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, etc. Now a change takes place in this state church as we see in the two following verses:

Vs. 19–20: "And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth and cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God.

And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the wine press even to the horse bridles by the space of 1600 furlongs."

This symbolization may be in part applicable to the religio-political changes which took place in Italy and France in 1870. At that time there were sweeping changes made in these countries in these respects, changes which a continuance of over twenty years now shows us may be permanent. But the change referred

to here appears to be a result mainly of evangelical preaching by which and from a change in the nation's mind, arising from various causes besides, a national established church would suffer disestablishment; another and simpler system of religion, not, however, in union with the state, taking its place. For, while the established church, which is here supposed to be disestablished, calls itself Catholic and, therefore, within the great city, Babylon, yet it is to be trodden without the city and so have all that savored of "Angelican-Catholicism," for example, together with its worldly wealth, pressed out of it. That the blood came out of the winepress up to the horse's bridles for the space of 200 miles simply indicates a victory for the Gospel with perhaps a transference to the state of what the vanquished party called its property: See Ch. XIX, 14. The vanquished party here will doubtless be soon all in line with the vanquishers, or the Gospel army by whom the victory has been achieved, and will go abreast with them in the same simple line of Gospel thought and of simple and humble manner of life. There will exist no high titles there of Lords' spiritual or high and mighty clerics; for the spirit of the new order of things will induce such a frame of mind in the disestablished, as that they will not in general desire such empty titles, which are so at variance with the spirit and manner of Christ. This general change will doubtless go hand in hand with evangelistic and other education in Turkey by which the Greek church people of the empire will become liberalized spiritually and the Mohammedans be brought under Christian influences — which is what has place in that empire ever since the treaty of Berlin in 1878 — and by which a new and better state of things for the Oriental peoples generally will ultimately result for a permanence. This chapter XIV., as you see, symbolizes events generally pertaining to the post-reformation period: From its intricacy arising from the number of successive missions from heaven to earth, relating to changes in terrestrial polities, it might be thought a difficult chapter to interpret; but I have no doubt the Lord has enabled me to give a proper interpretation of it in the foregoing.

Chapter XV.

V. 1: "And I saw another sign in the heaven, great and marvelous, seven angels having the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God."

It is the chief political heavens of Europe that is here symbolized. "The seven last plagues:" Blessed thought; the phrase

"last" plagues has to the ear of foolish, suffering humanity a pleasant sound. It is the most encouraging word in the verse. The Roman empire, ancient and modern and the nations which have arisen out of it, have been so afflicted with plagues, plagues of war, of pestilence, of earthquake, of famine, etc., till a person would think there was going to be no end of the plagues. Seven plagues there are to be, however, as here indicated, which are still due on account of sin; but in the rest of this XVth chapter there is an encouraging and soul-inspiring episode, as would seem, before those pesky, though richly-deserved plagues, are proceeded farther with.

Vs. 2–5: See Bible: "A sea of glass mingled with fire and them standing thereon:" That is, those Christians reposed upon a firm, consistent and transparent faith, impregnated with the burning love of Christ in their hearts; and with harp in hand and harmonious voice they ascribe great praise to God for his all-prevailing grace exercised so effectually in their behalf. The image, mark and number being here mentioned shows you that this symbolizes a state of things subsequent to the reformation and consequent upon it and its affiliated movements. Their standing *upon* the sea (peoples, etc.) indicates them to be preachers; and their having gotten the victory over the mark, image, etc., shows them to be evangelists, and not of any state-established church. As regards the celestial heavens this indicates the rejoicing of the holy angels over all the good that was, through the grace of God, achieved for man in this result.

"Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptized into the true faith of the Trinity;" 380 A. D. (Dec. and Fall III. 80); and, in this year, he issued his edicts against all heretics or dissentients from his orthodox creed, as also for the suppression of paganism. Now, if you add 1260 years or the time, times and a half, to 380 A. D., the date of the publication of these laws, which were always afterwards the laws of the church, you will have 1640 A. D., the date of the assembling of the Long Parliament in England, which, in its course, assumed the sovereignty of the nation (as the Assemble National did afterwards in France) and culminated in the commonwealth (1653–1670).

Vs. 5–8: See Bible: "The temple of the tent of the testimony in the neaven," would suggest the holy of holies in the temple which contained the ark of the covenant. This suggests again a covenant keeping God. The temple here symbolizes first, the divine or

celestial heavens, where God and the angels dwell, and, second, there is a slight reference to the chief political heavens of Europe. The symbolization suggests that those seven plagues were to be visited upon the nations of Europe as retributive for their treatment of the witnesses of Christ during 1260 years or a time, times and a half.

"Seven angels clothed in white linen and having their breasts girded with golden girdles:" which indicates them to represent the witnesses who suffered for Christ, the number seven representing every one of these and their white linen garments showing their complete justification before God as regards any imputation of sin. The golden girdles about their breasts indicate their supereminently Christ-like qualities of heart: the gold of their girdles pointing to this as well as to the fact that it is "gold tried in the fire." These are the holy ambassadors now commissioned and sent by God to cause all those plagues, which follow to those wicked nations.

One of the four living creatures (v. 7), it does not say which one, gave them each a golden vial, full of the wrath of God. These vials were golden and precious, as containing the justice retributive for the sufferings of the martyrs. The living creature which gives them the vials symbolizes an apparition of Christ.

V. 8: The political heavens of Europe, especially referred to, were in a very unsettled state in the periods of the outpouring of the vials, as to who were the real and *de facto* heads therein: "and no man was able to enter into the temple till the seven plagues were fulfilled:" that is, no one could attain to the proper headship of the empire or kingdoms referred to, so as to be recognized by the nations as the proper political heads, until it was generally agreed upon by the disputants in the particular cases that such was the proper one. The political temples were in effect shut for business until God's work of retributive justice should be done.

Chapter XVI., v. 1; See Bible:

Here the seven angels receive their command from the holiest place (ναου) to proceed to pour out their vials of wrath upon the earth; that is upon the nations for which they are intended.

V. 2: "The first angel poured out his vial upon the earth:"

That is, first, Italy, the nation where the earth (the church)

was centered *perse:* secondly, England, where was centered the model "character" church of the reformed; thirdly, France, which pertained to the image set up by the Holy Roman (German) empire; and, fourthly, Prussia, another reformed system of Church and State.

The following I extract from Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates:" "30,578 persons died of the plague in London in 1603–4 A. D.; and 35,417 in 1625; 60,000 in Lyons, France, in 1632 A. D.; and in Naples, Italy, in 1656 A. D., 400,000, and 14,000 at Rome, all in six months. In London, England, '68,596, some say 100,000' in 1664–5 A. D." "In two years (1709–1711) the plague swept away 250,000 from Prussia. Parents fled from their infected children and children from their infected parents. The accounts of it are heartrending." Tuttle's Hist. of Prussia, 1, 321–2.

Speaking of the plagae of 1665 in London, Barnes says: "The shops were shut, whole blocks stood empty, and grass grew in the streets. Houses in which the pestilence raged were marked with a red cross, and the words "Lord have mercy upon us." All night long the carts rattled through the streets, with a tolling bell and the burier's dismal cry, "Bring out your dead." No coffins were used; no mourners followed their friends, and deep trenches served for graves. To add to the horror of the scene a strange, wild looking man constantly stalked up and down the deserted city, calling out ever and anon in a sepulchral voice, 'Oh, the great and dreadful God., Before the plague was stayed 100,000 persons had perished in the capital alone, and large numbers in other places." *The Great Fire* of London broke out in the following year. It raged three days and swept from the tower to the temple, 200,000 people were driven to the open fields, homeless and destitute." 1666. Barnes Gen'l Hist., p. 507. The other Historians, including Dickens, say the plague of 1664–5, extended all over England, and if so there must have been an awful mortality that is not recorded, doubtless fully coming up to that of Italy in 1656. The English wars between the king and parliament 1642–5.

When David was given as his choice (2 Sam. XXIV. 13–17), on account of his sin of numbering the people, seven years of famine; or to flee before his enemies three months; or to have the country visited three days by a pestilence, he chose the latter evil and there fell of Israel 70,000 men from Dan to Beersheba. There is no doubt that some plagues are adjudged by heaven on account of certain national sins.

V. 3: "And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea," etc.

That is, this vial affected the continent of Europe. Under this head I would reckon four wars, all of which were more or less connected with each other: 1st. The 30 years war including that of Frederic, the Elector Palatine, with the emperor, 1612–1648. 2nd. The war of Louis XIV. of France with Flanders, 1667–8. 3rd. The war of Louis XIV. of France with Holland, 1672–9. 4th. France against Europe in the war of the Palatinate, 1688–97. See as to those wars, Barnes Gen'l History, pp. 480–6 and 490–1–2. Willard's Univ. Hist. and the general histories of those countries and times.

V. 4: "And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood."

The "rivers and fountains of waters" in this case symbolize the sources of civil and ecclesiastical power, supreme over Church and State. Under this head come the four following wars: 1st. The war of the Polish succession 1704–1709: France, Spain and Sardinia against Russia and Austria. Willard Univ. Hist., pp. 404–5. 2d. The war of the Spanish succession, 1701–14: France and Spain against Austria, England and Holland; Barnes Gen'l Hist. 493–4. 3d. The war of the Austrian succession, 1740–8; in general France and Spain against Austria and England; Prussia, under Frederic II., fighting single-handed against Austria for the possession of Silesia. Willard, pp. 405–8. 4th. "The seven years war," a sequel to the war of the Austrian succession, 1756–1763; Austria, Russia, Saxony, Sweden, Poland, and France against Prussia and England, in which these last had the result in their favor. "Maria Theresa was determined to recover Silesia, and, by the help of her great minister, Kaunitz, formed an alliance of France, Russia, Saxony, Sweden and Poland with Austria against Prussia. George II. of England, in order to save his beloved Hanover, alone supported Frederic. No one imagined Prussia could meet such tremendous odds. The result of the seven years war was to leave Silesia in Frederic's hands. He was felt to be one of the few great men whose coming into the world changes the fate of a country. Prussia from being a petty kingdom that nobody feared, was raised to be one of the five great powers of Europe. She was now the rival of Austria." Barnes 529–30. In studying the courses of those four great wars in the general histories of those times and countries you will see how

it could have been said literally by the prophet that the rivers and fountains became blood, so that very often the armies were compelled to drink water mixed with blood.

Vs. 5–6–7: "And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art and wast and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy. And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments."

This language clearly intimates these wars to be retributive upon all those nations concerned in the persecution and slaying of the witnesses or heretics during 1260 years. These seven plagues are in answer to the prayers of the martyrs to Church and State law during 1260 years succeeding primitive times. Every one of their prayers was heard, every item of their sufferings taken account of and recompensed upon the nations of their persecutors. See ref. in Deu. XXXII. 42–3.

Vs. 8–9: "And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire. And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory."

This symbolization includes in its original the French revolution and the death of the king and queen. The vial is poured out upon the sun. The sun of the Holy Roman (German) empire ceased to shine in 1806, and it has not shined since except as the empire of Austria-Hungary. "And it was given unto him (the angel) to scorch men with fire." This points to an extraordinary use of fire-arms, large and small. It may not have any reference to the burning of Moscow in 1812. "Men blasphemed the name of God and repented not to give him glory," which is simply a commentary on the French revolution: See also Ch. IX. 20–21. This symbolization covers all the countries of the Franco-German empire, also now taking in Poland, Russia, Egypt, all the theaters of the operations of the armies of the Assemblé, the Convention, the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire of the French. See the general histories on the French Revolution, as that of Thiers. These books I have mentioned, viz., Barnes Gen'l Hist. and Willard's are all that are required for ordinary readers and easily obtainable.

Vs. 10–11: "And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness; and they gnawed their tongues for pain, and blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds."

"Upon the seat of the beast:" This symbolizes the decline of the empire of the first Napoleon, and the final setting of its sun after Waterloo. The kingdom was then full of darkness, the political sun having ceased to shine. "Blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores." France had now for many years been the Hercules of Europe. It had to support large armies and must have been well exhausted as to men and money after the battle of Waterloo. Besides, the whole nation must at this very time have been a vast hospital, now especially as to the large cities where the wounded men would be under the physicians' care. It must have been a dolorous scene altogether, a country without money, and full of wounded men: and not quite enough of food for the families owing to the neglect of agriculture during those years of war and excitement (1789–1815). Besides being in this exhausted condition, France was, in 1815, compelled to maintain for five years a foreign army in eighteen of her fortresses on the north and east, and to pay a sum of seven hundred millions of francs to her conquerors. She was not at that time half able to feed her own people; and I would judge it unjust or inconsiderate of the allies to have at that time taken the money and food that the French people themselves needed, the masses of whom should scarcely have been held responsible for the doings of the Corsican.

This vial influenced France, and Europe, if we may so speak, down to the establishment of Napoleon III. as president of the republic; for the three kings, Louis XVIII., Charles X., and Louis Philip, who covered the 33 years intervening between 1815 and 1848, the French people seem to have regarded as representatives of foreign power and not theirs. This is shown by the vote given for Louis Napoleon, especially in 1851. After this last date the national confidence seems to have been re-established, as is shown in the marks of prosperity which appeared to every one visiting the great exposition at Paris in 1867.

Vs. 12–16: "And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the East might be prepared.

And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs (come) out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast and out of the mouth of the false prophet: For they are the spirits of devils working miracles, (which) go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty. Behold I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments lest he walk naked, and they see his shame. And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon."

The scene is now changed from the western to the eastern empire of the Romans. "Upon the great river Euphrates:" That is the Turkish power. The reference is to a part of the same people, symbolized under this name in Ch. IX. 14, but now in a different condition. "The water thereof was dried up:" That is its people and forces gradually diminished. I quote the following from Mr. Barnes, who himself quotes from some one else without naming his authority: "The system of organized robbery, known in Europe by the name of the Turkish government, has changed into a wilderness one of the fairest regions of the world. Population in spite of the amazing wealth, of the soil, is steadily declining and has already sunk to less than one-third of its numbers under the Romans. So powerfully does the increasing desolation affect the mind that recent travelers have expressed the apprehension that the human race must become extinct in the Ottoman dominions. Enormous tracts which formerly supported in comfort a numerous population are now abandoned. The once populous land is covered with ruins, often hid from view by the rank vegetation of the fertile wilderness. Between Angora and Constantinople, forty or fifty villages have become extinct during the present century. Towards Smyrna, two hundred villages have been forsaken since the middle of last century. Smyrna itself has declined in thirty years from eighty thousand inhabitants to forty-one thousand. During the present century Candia has sunk from fifty thousand inhabitants to ten thousand. A traveler in the northern portions of the empire found, in a ride of seventy miles through what he regarded as an earthly paradise, not so much as a single inhabitant. Approaching Constantinople from the north, one rides almost to the gates of the city without any trace of a road through wild grass which reaches to the horse's girths. Nine-tenths of Mesopotamia lie unused by man. In the rich provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia only one-twentieth of the soil is cultivated. Never has the goodness of Providence been so utterly frustrated, during long centuries, by the vileness of man." Gen'l Hist. 596–7, note. See Isai. XLII. 15; Jer. L. 38; LI. 36.

"That the way of the kings of the east might be prepared." Christ, in Matt. VIII. 12, refers to the Jews as the children of the kingdom; those to whom the kingdom properly belonged; but they rejected it. Those who received him, and those who do receive him in all ages, are the true children of the kingdom. "Fear not,

little flock, for it is your father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom:" Luke XII. 32. And Peter 1st Epistle II. 9, calls the Christians "a royal priesthood:" And John in Rev. 1, 6, while speaking of Christ as "the prince of the kings of the earth," says as follows of him in relation to Christians: "And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father." And in Ch. V. 10, the redeemed in heaven in their ascriptions of praise to Christ says of him: "And hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth. And, again, the prophet, in Rev. XX., sees the martyrs for Jesus reigning with Christ 1000 years in the Millennium. Of such kind of kings, therefore, are "the kings of the east" here referred to, namely, true Christians. It refers to a time under the seventh vial, the next after that we are investigating now, when Christianity shall prevail in the Turkish empire: And who will say that it is impossible that the Turks themselves may become Christians, and so be, in the main, the original of this symbolization under the name of "the kings of the earth?" I, for one, would be sorry to pronounce it impossible; for the door of Christianity is open to the Mohammedans as it is to all other religions which are yet outside of it. The privilege is offered to all those now to become kings and priests as it was by Christ himself. Like the laborers to the vineyard they may come in at the eleventh hour. All may now, as in the time of primitive Christianity, come and drink of the waters of life freely and become kings and priests to the Lord.

"Three unclean spirits like frogs." As symbols frogs denote armies or destroyers as in Psal. LXXVIII. 45, Ex. VIII. 6. But here these are called the spirits of demons working miracles, who go forth to gather the kings of the earth (the Christians of the western empire), and of the whole world (the people of the eastern empire also; See 1 Jno. V. 19) to the battle of the great day of God Almighty, otherwise called the battle of Armageddon. Since before this 19th century there has been usually existing in Europe a triple alliance or "Dreikaiserbund" of some kind to maintain what is called the balance of power. The symbolization of frogs suggests at least that the powers so symbolized are not altogether on the side of right and truth. The year following the battle of Waterloo the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia signed at Paris the league of the holy alliance. Of this Taylor in his history, says: "The professed object of this triple alliance was to preserve the peace of Europe on the principles which God in his

revelation has pointed out as the source of tranquillity and prosperity. But the parties understood by these principles the maintenance of despotic power, and made their engagement a pretext for resisting the efforts made subsequently by several nations to establish constitutional freedom." V. 15 merely gives fair warning to the people that Christ comes unexpectedly and suddenly as a thief; that he is coming now in great political movements and that people should be prepared and not be taken by surprise and without preparation.

V. 16: "And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon."

There has been much written as to which word in verse 16 is subject of the verb "gathered." It is, however, not any word in this verse, but it is the vial-angel, v. 12, which has charge of this execution; just as in v. 8, it was given to the fourth vial-angel, after he had poured out his vial upon the sun, to scorch men with fire. This was a war principally between Russia and Turkey for the possession of those holy places in Palestine for which the crusaders had fought and for a better treatment for the Christians of the Turkish empire, whose cause now Russia championed. But France, England and, eventually, Italy, not judging it to be for their interest that Russia should possess the eastern empire, combined to assist Turkey in its war against Christians, as they believed that the Turks in possession of Constantinople could or would not thwart them in their interests and plans as Russia might, if there. And so there were five nations which were parties to the great Crimean war, viz., Russia, Turkey, France, England, and Italy. This war begun evidently about a religious question as said, and it is seen to have been very general, the whole empire of Rome, the east and the west, being engaged in it. The Crimea, or Sebastopol, became the slaughter-house of the nations in this war, 750,000 being by some said to have lost their lives in or by it. See the general histories on this war of which Rambaud's history of Russia is perspicuous, also Peale's popular collection. The operations of this war, considering the number and the strengths of the nations engaged in it, were confined to a remarkably small space, viz., mainly about Sebastopol in the Crimea, so that it might strictly be said that the sixth vial-angel finishes up his execution by gathering them together into a place, called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon, and in the more modern tongue

Crim Taghtary, and there having the work of mutual destruction done.

"Megido," says Calmet (Dict. Vol. II.) "famous for the defeat of king Josiah, 2 Kings, XXIII. 29, 30." As the pious and monotheistic Josiah is defeated and slain by the idolatrous and polytheistic Pharoah Nechoh; so the pious enterprise of the Russian nation in behalf of the oppressed Christians in the Turkish empire is here thwarted, and for the time, slain by the opposition of three nations also professedly Christian. In 22 years later, however, after another bloody war, 1877–8, Russia succeeded eminently, in effecting her beneficent design of which the whole Turkish empire now, especially the Christians, is the beneficiary. The idea intended to be conveyed in the word Armageddon, which Cellarius calls *campum præliorem capacem*, "a capacious battle ground," as well as in the "three unclean spirits like frogs" will from the whole foregoing clearly enough appear.

Vs. 17–21: "And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done. And there were voices and thunders and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth so mighty an earthquake and so great. And the great city was divided into three parts and the cities of the nations fell; and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath. And every island fled away and the mountains were not found. And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven; (every stone) about the weight of a talent; and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great."

"Poured his vial into the air:" This affects the whole political heavens of the Roman empire, east and west, and the world. It embraces the following wars: The Franco-Sardinian war with Austria in 1859; the French war with Mexico, 1861-7; the American Civil war of 1861-65; and the Indian mutiny 1857–9; the Prusso-Austrian war of 1866; the Franco-Prussian war of 1870; the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–8; and the Zulu and Afghan wars of 1879.

Paul calls Satan the prince of the power of the air, and, there has been no lack of wickedness on the part of those despotic governments in which only class interest was in general considered in the enactment and execution of laws. The effect of the pouring of this vial into the air was quite general; the air envelops the earth so that not only the Roman empire of the east and west but the both hemispheres or four quarters of the globe were considerably affected by it.

"And there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven from the throne, saying, It is done." Here is a decision rendered at headquarters. The highest authority says, it is done. There is a decisiveness characteristic of this sentence. And there is a remarkable decisiveness characterizing the result of all the wars under this vial. Indeed, the results are all characterized by an incisive decisiveness. Notice the final result of the Franco-Sardinian-Austrian war in a free and united Italy; of the war of the Indian Mutiny in an English empire of India; of the Franco-Mexican war in a free Mexico; of the American civil war in a free country for all men, black as well as white; of the Prusso-Austrian and Franco-Prussian wars (1866 and 1870) in transferring the hegemony of the conferedated German empire from Austria, a papal power, to Prussia, a reformed, progressive and educational power; and in making France a republic; of the Russo-Turkish war (1877–8) in making in effect all administration of the Turkish government subject to the supervision of the Christian powers of Europe. You will say that God meant a general rectification of matters under this vial. That he did is evident. Christ said on Calvary, "It is finished," he now says, "It is done." I ask you, therefore, what more is required for the existence of the Millennium than an international law of arbitration or even a general and everlasting practice of settling international differences by arbitration without such a law? The nation henceforth which would be the first to propose war for the settlement of any disputed question should be ashamed of itself and abhorred by all good people. In the "thunderings, lightnings," etc., v. 18, you can hear the boomings of the guns and see their flash at Solferino, Sadowa, Gravelotte and Gettysburgh with other such phenomena accompanying if not to follow; and in the "earthquake" can you not see all the movements which culminated in a united, progressive, educational Italy, freed from papal and Austrian control; with a hopeful republican France and a progressive, educational Germany? Although Austria in 1806 lost the hegemony of the holy Roman (German) empire to France, yet among the German states themselves, after 1815, Austria was understood as the leader until the events of 1866–70, etc., gave this hegemony to Prussia. "The great city was divided into three parts," etc.

Referring to the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which gave a legal standing to the three religions, Calvinism, Lutherism and Catholicism, I find the Prussian-German empire, as late as 1886–7, after a

long contest had with Rome in regard to the "Falk laws," etc. (1873–1877) in effect confirmed the legal status of these three religions in the empire.

"And the cities of the nations fell." The great city having become divided into three parts indicates that those three divisions into which the one church became divided would have a like legal status as the one church had, while it remained a unit. But the other churches, many of which there came to be of different names throughout the empire, would not have this same legal status, however they might be tolerated. "And great Babylon came into remembrance before God to give unto her the cup, etc., of his wrath." Considering Babylon here as meaning, primarily, the Catholic Church, we recognize in the course of events we are here contemplating the complete supplanting of its power by Protestantism and liberal and educational Catholicism in united Italy. On September 20th, 1870, on the French overthrow at Sedan, Victor Emmanuel entered Rome, which now became his capital. Pope Pius IX. was allowed to retain the vatican with its dependencies, in which he has been "left in peace to play the part of a persecuted prisoner." Victor Emmanuel and Pius IX. both died in 1878 and the history of Italy since this time has been mostly confined to internal affairs.

Before this Sardinian government came into place in Italy that country was in a deplorable state in regard to education. It has been described as a "desert, broken every here and there by an oasis of matchless fertility and luxuriance. The learning of the learned was high and the ignorance of the ignorant profound. As late as the census of 1861 it was found that in a population of 21,777,331 there were no less than 16,999,701 who were absolutely unable to read. It was thus no light task that was presented to the department of education; and the progress that has been attained does honor to its activity." "Elementary education is gratuitous and by the law of July 15th, 1877, the compulsory principle was brought into operation as far as the condition of the Communes allows," etc. Encyc. Brit. Edit. 1891. It seems clear, therefore, that this Sardinian-Italian government is quite as forward in the matter of education of its people as the German government is of its people, and is doubtless doing as worthy a work in that direction as is the latter. When it gets its people educated up to a certain point it may possibly adopt the reformed religion and then again, after a while, become a republic. That government is

certainly entitled to our good will and active sympathies! Considering "great Babylon" as meaning, secondarily, also the State and Church reformed systems there may be some of this prophetic denunciation yet to be fulfilled.

"And every island fled away and the mountains were not found." These "mountains," or governments, and "islands," civil or religious institutions under those governments, were, of course, all lost and merged under the new regimes of united Germany and united Italy, and republican France. "And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, v. 21, every stone about the weight of a talent." The weight of the talent is 114 pounds and fifteen pennyweights. Although there are sometimes heavy hail-storms in the neighborhood of the Dardanelles, as recorded, for example, by Commodore Porter in his "Letters from Constantinople and its Environs," vol. 1, p. 44, yet we learn nowhere of natural hailstones of the weight of 114 pounds, those recorded by Porter weighing "half a pound to a pound." The hailstones of the weight of a talent evidently point to the operations of heavy artillery, perhaps, primarily of some northern nation, whence the hail is supposed to come. In those Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars of 1866 and 1870 there was a very remarkable artillery practice. If men see the prophecy of the seventh vial wholly fulfilled in these they have right to be thankful, but if only partially fulfilled they should pray that there be no more of it, and at once set themselves for arbitration as the only proper way of settling international differences; for the continuation of the (artillery) plague of hail will make men blaspheme God.

An Explanation of Chapter XVIIth of Revelation, showing its Fulfillment in the Franco-German-Papal Empire; Under which Head are Reviewed the Crusades; the Inquisition as Established and Operated, especially in the Old World; and as to the Rise and Dominion of the Papacy.

As this chapter represents the unity of the Roman Catholic system with the pope at its head in all the ages of its state and church operation; and as, in the periods of the Crusades and of the Inquisition, its power was most remarkably developed, I will begin this treatise (1) with a brief account of the Crusades; will follow this with (2) an explanation of the chapter itself; will then (3) develop the doings of the Inquisition; and will (4) end it with an account of the rise of the system as to its Roman center and its Gothic and Anglic circumference.

As the church advanced into the Middle ages, going farther from the primitive times, the simple and spiritual worship of the early Christians became insensibly exchanged for frivolous rites and idle ceremonies; now the possession of relics of the saints or good people that had gone before, and the pilgrimages made to holy places became objects of great desire and faith and substitutes for personal piety.

Of all pilgrimages that to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem was considered the most meritorious, and was performed by multitudes of devotees from all parts of Europe. After Jerusalem had fallen into the possession of the Saracens, these pilgrimages, though attended with more difficulty and danger, were still continued. The intelligent and gentlemanly caliph, Haroun Al Raschid, afforded protection to the Christian pilgrims, even presenting to Charlemagne the keys of the holy sepulchre. The Abbassides, his successors in the caliphate, pursued the like tolerant course. But when the dynasty of the Fatimites from Africa came into power, the Christians began to experience from them severe persecution. In the reign of Hakem, the third caliph of the Fatimite race, there was much persecution of the Christian cause; many Christians suffered death; many of their churches were demolished and the destruction of the holy sepulchre was attempted. In the reigns of the succeeding caliphs, however, there came to be a more tolerant spirit, and pilgrimages became again very frequent; but reflection

on experience has concluded this tolerance may have arisen at least partially from policy, as the tributes required of the pilgrims greatly assisted in the repletion of the Mahometan treasury.

In the year 1094 pilgrimages were found to be more numerous than at any time previously; multitudes of every rank and sex thronged the roads to Jerusalem. From the Fatimites the holy land had now passed into the possession of the Turks; and the pilgrims, who, with toil and suffering, had made their way to the most distant parts of Christendom, often found themselves, on their arrival at the holy city, debarred from entrance thereto by demands which they were unable to meet, thus being deprived of the object for which their journey had been undertaken. Multitudes of the pilgrims perished from want, comparatively few being able to accomplish a return to their homes. But those who did return brought accounts to their people of the sufferings they had been compelled to endure by the Turks. The effects produced by these reports show how powerfully religious faith now animated the masses of the people; and the stupidity with which the people rejected the Savior, when on earth, has been accounted no more remarkable than the zeal and enthusiasm which they now displayed to recover his sepulchre. And a consideration of how the first Crusade was eventually carried out may show, that, if this intense feeling had existed in the minds of the people one hundred years before, it could hardly have been carried into action. But, meantime, the institution of knighthood and the spirit of chivalry had arisen, which, connected with Christianity, introduced at least a more energetic and enterprising order of things.

In the eleventh century chivalry arose in Normandy. Neglecting here the question as to who they were that were originators of it I may say that the priesthood sanctioned, in its origin, the institution of knighthood. Each member of the order had the power of conferring it on such candidates for it, as had proved themselves worthy thereof by virtuous deed and valorous exploits; and knighthood soon became an honor whereto kings and princes aspired. The institution, in its origin, was connected with religion; a conscious loftiness of purpose, and a firm persuasion of the favor and protection of heaven bore the knight almost above humanity. Nothing which could augment and preserve their physical powers did they neglect. From early youth they inured themselves to incredible labors and privations, which made them strong and capable to endure; and, for self-preservation against the arms in

use, they cased their bodies in steel armor, so heavy that a man of moderate strength to-day could hardly lift its weight. They rode upon good horses, well accourted and cared for. They were distinguished by their good manners, *courtesy controlled by candor*. To maintain truth in word and act was a part of the knight's vow. Of his religion or the lady he loved he was not ashamed and never spoke lightly of the one or the other; but later, when knighthood became prevalent among the higher classes generally, the latter phase of its character was much abused by the supercillious respect which was paid to the females of the upper classes. Christianity had, of course, shown woman's true place in society, and that she had an equal share with men in the grace of God and an equal hope of immortality. From Christ and his apostles men had received special directions in regard to the treatment of the weaker sex, which had the effect of moderating their tyranny and restraining their licentiousness. The priesthood in connection with the feudal system, co-operating with these directions, produced a new phase in modern civilization. This was domestic society. The hereditary baron in his walled castle surrounded by serfs and menials, was a petty sovereign; and, since he was too haughty to associate with his underlings, but for the society of his own family must have been reduced to solitude. His wife and daughters, well instructed and nurtured by the church, came thus to be well known and appreciated, as the dispensers of domestic happiness. Woman being now beheld in her proper position, her nature and character being softened and refined by Christianity, seemed, to the outside beholder especially invested with a new and holy radiance. It was no wonder that those men of finer manners, such as knighthood found or made, should have displayed such appreciation as almost amounted to idolatry!

The Crusades.

Peter the hermit was a Frenchman, a native of Amiens. He had been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where his enthusiasm had been fed, and his resentment against the Mahometans enkindled. Having related his experience to the pope, Urban II., he with his approbation went through Europe declaiming on the sufferings of the pilgrims and calling on Christian warriors to have pity upon their brethren, to go up to battle in the name of the Lord and no longer suffer the holy sepulchre to be possessed by infidels. Among the people he produced a great ardor for the object which he advo-

cated; the enthusiasm spread from city to city from country to country. Urban II. convened a council at Placentia, where ambassadors presented themselves from Alexius Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople. He had previously sent to beg the aid of the western powers against the Turks by whom his city was threatened; and the ambassadors now reiterated the danger of delay.

In the autumn of the same year, 1095, a second council was convened at Clermont to make a final decision. At this council were present an immense number of priests, princes and nobles. Urban addressed the assembled crowds, depicting with persuasive eloquence the horrors of infidel oppression, the duty of arming in the defense of the holy cause and the reward which would accrue to the faithful. Overwhelming was the effect of his oratory. Unanimously the crowds sent forth the shout, "God wills it." "God wills it." "It is the will of God," replied the pope, "and let this memorable word, the inspiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be forever adopted as the battle-cry, to animate the courage and devotion of the champions of Christ." On the right shoulder of the outer garment of the crusaders the sign of the cross was stamped; the absolution of their sins was by the pope pronounced and the people separated to prepare for the war.

In the following year, 1096, the 15th of August was set for the departure of the pilgrims, but so eager were the lower orders to depart and so incapable of appreciating the necessity of preparation that large numbers under the command of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Pennyless set out early in the spring. Walter was a man of considerable military experience and genius, but the most of those under his standard were undisciplined and unmanageable. Peter's army were, if possible, still more unmanageable and licentious. Of these first armies many had fallen, especially in skirmishes with the Hungarians and Bulgarians, before they reached Constantinople. Having arrived at the Hellespont they crossed the Bosphorus, but, in their progress through Bythinia, nearly the whole fell an easy prey to the Turks. Walter fell in battle and Peter returned to Constantinople.

While, however, these undisciplined multitudes were hurrying to their own destruction, and this not without bringing much injury to peoples of their own race and religion, the chivalry of Europe, under their most able and warlike commanders, were making active and full preparations for a more regular and efficient warfare. The most celebrated chiefs of the first crusade were

Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine; Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother of the French king; Robert, duke of Normandy, son of William, the conqueror; Robert, count of Flanders; Raymond, count of Toulouse; Adhemar, bishop of Puy; and Bohemond, count of Tarentum, son of Robert Guiscard. It was under the banners of this South European Norman chief that Tancred his kinsman, and the pride of European chivalry, marched. These different armies, under the command of their respective chiefs, took different routes to Constantinople.

The army of Hugh of Vermandois was the first that reached the dominions of Alexius Comnenus.

Here having arrived Hugh expected to find welcome and entertainment, but instead thereof he was arrested and imprisoned. Although when he asked aid from the west he would gladly have received a few thousand troops, yet now conscious of his weakness, and consequent upon the experience he had had with the passage of the armies of Peter and Walter, Alexius was averse to such formidable armies, even though under friendly banners, appearing in his dominions. "It seemed," says the princess Anna Comnena, the historian of the empire of this age, "as if all Europe, loosened from its foundations, was precipitating upon Asia." Godfrey having arrived Hugh was released, but not till he had done homage to the emperor of the east.

Alexius was, however, not on the whole, ill-disposed to the crusades; but he wished to preserve his own dominions uninjured; and also, since he saw the expeditions should and must move on, he determined, if possible, to convey from Constantinople one army before the arrival of another.

The several armies of the crusaders met under the walls of Nice in Bythinia, and laid siege to this city, now the capital of the Seljoukian Turks. After the commencement of the siege Robert of Normandy arrived, and also Peter the Hermit with the small wreck of his army. Assembled here the number of the crusaders is computed at 600,000 armed men. While the crusaders were engaged in siege of his city Solyman, the Turkish sultan, having assembled his armies from the distant parts of his dominions, appeared on the mountain in view of the Christian camp. A battle soon ensuing the Turks were defeated, and, after a few weeks, the city surrendered.

With vigorous and unremitting effort Solyman raised another army, and when, after the surrender of the city, the crusaders

commenced their march, he again gave them battle and was again defeated. In this battle great numbers on both sides fell. Now saving themselves by retreat, the Turks proceeded to desolate the country through which lay the route of the crusaders. Thus the difficulties of the march were increased and numbers of crusaders died on the way from various causes. Halting for but a brief time at Antiochetta they next proceeded to Antioch, which, having unsuccessfully stormed, they besieged. For seven months did this siege continue with little prospect of success, when one night the commander of one of the towers, acting treacherously to his own standard, admitted a party of the crusaders within the city. The Turks, awakened by the noise of the crusaders' signals without the walls, rushed to arms, and a sanguinary contest continued through the night. To the army without their friends within threw open the gates, and in the uncertainty and confusion which arose from the darkness many Turks as well as Christians fell by the hands of their brethren. The light coming on fanaticism wrought great cruelties and excesses. The city remained in possession of the crusaders, but the citadel was still occupied by the Turks. The small supplies of provisions, found within the city by its present occupants, were soon exhausted; and before they could take measures for procuring more a large army, under the command of the Persian Emir, appeared before the walls. The Mahometan powers far and wide were alarmed by the reported success of the Christians and Solyman had done all he could to arouse them to a defense of his kingdom.

The crusaders in their turn were now besieged; the Persian Emir and Solyman, having joined their forces, were now set down before Antioch with 300,000 men. In the Christian camp a horrible famine prevailed; their horses were slain for a supply of food, while within their view the Turkish camp displayed an abundance for necessity and luxury. Reduced to the utmost distress the superstition of the soldiers was called into aid. The priests, let what will have been the cause and object, declared to the soldiers they saw visions from heaven, encouraging them to persevere and promising them victory. A monk asserted that the place, where the lance which pierced the Savior's side was buried, was revealed to him, with directions to procure it, and that with it in possession victory was assured. Search was undertaken, and, after a pit was dug, the monk descended into it and returned with the lance. The courage of the soldiers was revived and after the customary rites

of the church had been over on the following morning they advanced full of assurance against the infidels, though with much diminished numbers. Though the battle was on the side of the Turks obstinately fought, yet the crusaders were persistent, and, a cry going up among them that the saints were seen fighting on their side, gave them resistless energy: On all sides they rushed upon the enemy, who fled in confusion. The Turkish camp now falling into the victors' hands abundance succeeded to famine.

At Antioch the crusading chiefs delayed yet two months, when a pestilence visited their camp by which they lost many of their followers. In October, 1099, they went forward and at length arrived in sight of the holy city. In the midst of mutual dissensions which had arisen the knights wisely practiced with each other Christian forbearance and directed their whole mind to their common object. The army now reduced to a comparatively small effective force they made vigorous preparations for the assault of the city. Movable towers and all the implements of destruction known to the warfare of the eleventh century were put in use. Acts of valor not only heroic but almost incredible were made by the chiefs during the two days of the assault. The battlements being at length gained, they there planted the standard of the cross; and in the massacre which followed the blood of thousands stained the walls of Jerusalem.

The crusaders, the object of their expedition being accomplished in the delivery of the holy sepulchre, now bent their thoughts to the permanent establishment of their power in Palestine. Their most esteemed chief, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, they elected king of Jerusalem. He soon found that his new kingdom was not by any means a bed of roses; he saw that the Moslems were not intending to let him rest; and so, advancing from Jerusalem, he defeated a large army of them at Askelon. On Godfrey's death, after some discension, the crown was given to his brother Baldwin. Under his administration *the kingdom of Jerusalem flourished*. The Mahometan banner borne by Turks, Persians and Saracens, always succumbed to his army. Acre, Tripolis and Sidon were captured, and, in 1124, Tyre, by the aid of the Venetian fleet, was added to his kingdom. Thus had the crusaders broken the power of the Turks, a power, which, had the Christians remained at home, it is supposed, they would sooner or later have to had to encounter in their own countries.

A SECOND CRUSADE was undertaken in the year 1147 by Louis VII., king of France. This king was early in his reign involved

in war with his aspiring nobles, and although successful in subduing them yet his conscience was oppressed by the thought of his destruction of thirteen hundred persons, whom he caused to be burned in a church, wherein they had taken refuge, in the town Vitre. Reasoning on the vain addition which had been made to Christianity in the dark ages he concluded that his own deed, in the carrying out of another crusade, might not only balance the great crimes whereof he was guilty, but be even carried to the credit side of his maker's account current.

He, therefore, as well as the Emperor Conrad of Germany undertook the SECOND CRUSADE; but their armies melted away before the Mahometan arrows, and after a visit to Jerusalem, productive of no efficient aid to the Christians there, they returned with the wreck of their armies to Germany and France.

In the year 1187 the kingdom of Jerusalem, then under Guy of Lusignan, was in a state of extreme weakness. At that time Saladin, one of the greatest chiefs the Mahometans yet had, was advancing victoriously from all quarters to Palestine. At Tiberias he encountered in battle the king of Jerusalem, and was victorious over him. He soon after took Jerusalem, after it had been in the hands of the Christians eighty-eight years. In his capture of Jerusalem the conduct of Saladin was gentle and magnanimous; for the rich prisoners he accepted a ransom and the poor he allowed to go free. Extending his conquests he now made himself master of the whole of Palestine excepting the city of Tyre.

The news of the conquest of Palestine filled Europe with dismay. Pope Gregory VIII. at once proceeded to induce the monarchs to take up arms to recover the holy land. The monarchs themselves, recognizing the necessities of the occasion, hastened to heal their differences, where any existed, and to proceed unanimously in the common cause. The enmities of France and England presenting an obstacle to the absence of either monarch from his kingdom, Richard I. and Philip Augustus solemnly agreed to lay aside their differences and embark together in the holy war. But the first monarch to go forward in the THIRD CRUSADE was the German emperor, Frederic Barbarossa. In his march through the eastern empire he was subjected to all the annoyances which had injured the former expeditions. But Frederic with great resolution crossed the Bosphorus, defeated the Moslems, captured the city of Iconium, and spread the terror of his arms and the military glory of his name even to the court of Saladin. In the height of his renown, having

died from a cold contracted by bathing in the Cydnus, his troops advanced to Antioch, there to await the arrival of the other crusaders.

The kings of France and England, however, wisely deciding to avoid the evils incident to a passage through the eastern empire, embarked, Philip at Genoa, and Richard at Marseilles, and met again at Messina in Sicily. But, unfortunately, during their stay here, animosities arose between them, which threatened the destruction of the enterprise.

Philip, however, advanced to Palestine, and, aided by the remainder of Frederic's army, commenced the siege of Acre. At Cyprus Richard was detained, a terrible storm having dispersed his fleet, and stranded on that island vessels in which were Richard's sister Eleanor, and the princess of Navarre, to whom he was engaged to be married. The princesses and crews the king of Cyprus treated with rigor. Richard, in retaliation, landed an army and in two battles subjugated the island and took the king prisoner. He then, having married the princess Berengaria, joined the crusaders before Acre.

But Philip Augustus, displeased with the delay of Richard and also with his marriage, by which his sister Adelais was disappointed, returned to France; leaving, however, 10,000 men under command of the duke of Burgundy. Near Azotus Richard obtained a victory over Saladin, which is attributed to his personal prowess, as the crusading army was nearly defeated when this result was achieved. He then captured Cæserea and Jaffa and advanced within view of Jerusalem: But being discouraged by the dissensions of the camp, his wasting numbers and diminished resources, he concluded with Saladin a truce for three years, on condition that Acre, Jaffa and the cities conquered by the crusaders should remain in their possession and that the Christians should have free access to Jerusalem.

Some think that had Richard been as discreet as he was brave he might have established the Christians firmly again in Palestine. He was one of the strongest of men and the most courageous of knights. Of almost giant size and strength, cased in the metallic armor of the times, his might in the battle-field made him an host in himself. One day, learning that his garrison at Jaffa was in jeopardy, Richard hastened with a small body of troops to relieve it, rushed with his men into the thickest ranks of the enemy, overcame everything that opposed him, and rescued two of his brave knights who had been taken prisoners by the Saracens. On one occasion, as he was surrounded by a band of the enemy's soldiers, he single-handed cut his way through them. With such admiration and ter-

ror did he impress his enemies that fifty years afterwards his name is said to have been used in the east to frighten unruly children.

It is said of Saladin that on one occasion, perceiving his men to flee, he inquired the cause; and being told that the English King had himself driven them from the city, asked, "Which is he?" He was pointed to a little hillock where Richard and his men had halted. "What," said he, "on foot among his servants. This is not as it should be;" and immediately he sent him a horse.

After the return of Richard and the death of Saladin which occurred a year later, the Christians of Palestine enjoyed a season of repose. Saladin is represented to have been the most humane and sagacious prince that ever filled a Mahometan throne. When he perceived his death to be near, impressed with the worthlessness of earthly grandeur, he ordered the standard which had been borne in his victorious marches to be removed and a shroud to be substituted in its place. This he commanded to be carried through the streets, the carriers proclaiming: "Behold what Saladin, the mighty conqueror, carries with him of all his dominions!"

Saladin was nephew of Shirkoh, a general of Kurdistan in the service of Noureddin, the Caliph of all the provinces between the Tigris and the Nile. At the command of Noureddin he had accompanied his uncle in an expedition into Egypt, and on the death of this uncle was promoted to his place. Saladin at length threw off his allegiance to Al Malel, the successor of Noureddin. He made himself master of Egypt, invaded and conquered Aleppo, Damascus and Diarbekir; Arabia, as well as Tripoli and Tunis, acknowledged his authority. Such he was when he proceeded to wrest the kingdom of Jerusalem from the Christians, the result of which proceedings we have seen to his death.

As preliminary to the fourth Crusade I may say that the eastern empire, already long before stripped of its Asiatic possessions, was now further curtailed by the secession of Bulgaria, a state which had for more than two centuries acknowledged its supremacy, but now declared its independence. A prince of the Comnenian dynasty at Constantinople was ruling in Cyprus, but Richard of England conquered him and gave his kingdom to Guy of Lusignan, the late king of Jerusalem.

Alexius Angelus had usurped the throne of Isaac Angelus, his brother, at Constantinople, and consigning him to prison life, deprived him of his eyesight. Alexius, junior, the son of Isaac, having escaped, went to Rome to implore the aid of Pope Innocent

III., and there sought to engage the western potentates to employ their arms in the restoration of his father.

It happened at this time that many of the nobles of France and Germany, the flower of the knighthood of the west, were assembled with their followers at Venice with the design of procuring conveyance to Palestine for a FOURTH CRUSADE. Alexius proceeded to Venice and besought, on behalf of his much injured father the aid of the gallant knights. Dandolo, the aged but still energetic doge of Venice, warmly seconded his request; and the result was that a large body of the crusaders, whose leader was Baldwin, count of Flanders, embarked with the Venetians for Constantinople.

The crusaders, having destroyed the defending fleet, rode triumphantly into the harbor of Constantinople. Being at least 20,000 in number well equipped warriors, they besieged the city, which is said to have had a population of 400,000 people. After one attempt at a sally Alexius Angelus fled secretly from the city, when the nobles released the blinded Isaac from prison, placed him upon the throne and opened the gates to the besiegers. The conditions of the succor promised by young Alexius were *the submission of the eastern empire to the pope, aid in the holy war, and a contribution of 200,000 marks to his deliverers.* At these conditions the nobles were displeased and especially irritated at the thought of their having to surrender the independence of their church to the pope.

They refused to fulfill the conditions given by the young Alexius, and the Latins became dissatisfied and waxed insolent in their conduct. The Græco-Romans petitioned the senate to give them a more worthy emperor and offered the crown to all the senators in succession.

Now Alexius Ducas, surnamed Mazoufle, stirred up a revolt and treacherously obtaining possession of young Alexius, murdered him, and assumed the sovereignty. The aged emperor, Isaac Angelus, died of grief. Mazoufle, at first, having possession of the city endeavored to defend it against the Latins, whose demands he refused to satisfy. They besieged, and, having again captured the city, they plundered it, the most precious works of art being destroyed by the hands, not of barbarians, but the Latin soldiery.

Now in possession the victorious crusaders elected as their emperor Baldwin, count of Flanders: and to another of their leaders, the marquis of Montserrat, they gave the sovereignty of Asiatic Greece and the island of Crete. Baldwin was soon called upon to defend the empire he had conquered; his Thracian subjects having revolted he marched against them and was defeated and taken

prisoner. Under his successors, Henry, Peter, Robert, John and Baldwin II., this now Latin empire lasted 57 years (1204–1261), which was the length of time passed by their six successive emperors; when the government was again recovered by the Græco-Romans, Michael Palaeolgus, a man of exalted worth, having become emperor. Another such nobleman, Theodore Lascaris, founded a kingdom whereof Nice was the seat, upon that territory taken from the Turks by the first crusaders over one hundred and sixty years before.

Frederic II., the son of Henry VI., emperor of Germany, being yet a minor on the death of his father, in 1217, his uncle Philip, duke of Swabia, was appointed regent. The Sultan of Egypt having reduced the Christians of Palestine to great distress, they earnestly sought aid from their western brethren. In their aid went forward Andrew of Hungary in conduct of the FIFTH CRUSADE, an expedition, which eventually proved fruitless. The pope, however, in order to engage Frederic in the cause of the eastern Christians, gave him, on his coming of age, in marriage, Yolanda, the daughter of John of Brienne, the titular king of Jerusalem, with that kingdom as her dower. But Frederic, notwithstanding his engagement, manifested a reluctance to depart, until the pope's patience becoming exhausted, he pronounced his excommunication. Upon this Frederic renewed the wars of the investitures, which had now for a time been discontinued between the Guelphs and Ghibelines, compelled the pope to leave Rome and overran his territories. He then proceeded to carry out his engagement and so started for the holy land on the SIXTH CRUSADE, without, however, the sentence of excommunication having been revoked. Still his crusade was remarkably successful. *The Sultan of Egypt ceded to him Jerusalem with several other cities* whereof he now, of course became titular king: and before his return he concluded with the Sultan a truce for ten years. Pope Gregory IX. interdicted his ecclesiastics from crowning Frederic king of Jerusalem; but he took himself the crown from the altar and placed it upon his own head. How Frederic was afterwards treated by the popes I have recorded elsewhere.

Louis IX., the son of Louis VIII., king of France, being a minor on his father's death, his mother, Blanche of Castile, a lady of a vigorous mind acted as regent. He led on the SEVENTH CRUSADE, in 1226, for the benefit of the Christians of the east now in distress. Against Egypt, as being the key of the position, he first directed his arms; but his army, reduced there by pestilence, was defeated

by the Moslems and himself made prisoner. For the city of Damietta, whereof his army had obtained possession he was exchanged. He then, having passed four years in Palestine, returned to France. He was not long home, however, before he fitted out another expedition and departed upon the EIGHTH CRUSADE which was the last of those expeditions, in company with Edward I., the son of Henry III., king of England. On his way Louis invaded the kingdom of Tunis, for the purpose of converting its Mahometan monarch and people to the Catholic faith; but both himself and the bulk of his army succumbed to a pestilence which then ravaged that country.

At the summons of the pope Edward I. went on this expedition, in company with his queen Eleanor of Spain to the holy land. But having arrived there he found himself to a great degree helpless without the assistance of the army of Louis, which he had calculated upon, but which had disappeared in the pestilence on the way. Yet Edward found in Palestine various occasions for the display of his bravery, as did also his wife Eleanor. At one time he is said to have come near falling the victim of a poisoned arrow, a Moslem having stabbed him in his tent. But his beloved Eleanor sucked out the poison, nursed and tended him so that he recovered slowly from its effects; 1270–1274. This was the Edward who having returned from Palestine to England conceived the design of uniting under the one English government all the island of Britain.

EXPLANATION OF CHAPTER XVIITH OF REVELATION.

Rev. Ch. XVII., 1–3: "And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying: Come hither; I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication." Thus far we have the simple idea presented of a symbolic woman, sitting upon many symbolic waters, committing symbolical fornication with the kings or rulers of the earth; and symbolically intoxicating the inhabitants of the earth with the wine of her fornication. In the last verse of this chapter, v. 18, this symbolic woman is explained to be the great city which (lit.) hath a kingdom over the kings of the earth. The city of Rome, we know, was long acknowledged the mistress of the world, as having been conquered and ruled by her sons. Thus Rome had a dominion or kingdom over the rulers of the earth, a real substantial one. The Roman Catholic religion claims, and has for many centuries claimed, a dominion over all earthly kingdoms and dominions,

which dominion it has wielded no less effectually than the old city of Rome did her temporal power. While the Catholic Church, as established at Constantinople, always acknowledged the Emperor as its supreme head, which headship, as well of the Church as of the State, the Emperors claimed even over Rome itself, until the final extinction of the Empire by the Turks in the fifteenth century; the Catholic Church, as it grew up and was established at Rome and in the western provinces of the Empire, on their gradually falling off and seceding from the central government at Constantinople, acknowledged the bishop of Rome as it supreme head. This supreme headship the bishops of Rome assumed to themselves, when they gradually became free from the power of Constantinople, and were favored and supported by the rulers that sprung up in the western provinces, especially the rulers of France and Germany. The fundamental and general doctrines of the Greek and Latin branches of the Catholic Church are the same; they differ mainly as to the headship of the Church; and this difference sprung up insensibly with the gradual aggrandizement of the bishop of Rome, which culminated in his assumption of superiority, not only over all his brother bishops of the Empire, but, as it were, over the Emperor himself, and all earthly rulers. In the year 1452, the year immediately preceding that on which Constantinople was taken by the Turks, a union of the two branches of the Catholic Church was effected, and the act of union subscribed in the Church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, by the representatives of both. There still continued, however, differences of opinion between them as to minor points. There are also some differences between the two Churches, which, doubtless, arise mainly from the difference of headship or government which, we know, possesses the power of originating or setting aside certain institutions in the Church. Thus, while the clergy of the Greek branch of the Catholic Church exercise the right of marriage according to their discretion, somewhat after the manner of the primitive Christian clergy, those of the Latin branch are prohibited by their peculiar laws from marrying, and the law with respect to the celibacy of the clergy was established in the Church of Rome by the decree of Pope Gregory VII., about A. D., 1075.

Verses 3–6: "So he carried me away in the Spirit into the wilderness, and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet color, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication; and upon her

forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH." Here we have the compound idea presented of a scarlet-colored wild beast (θηρίον) having seven heads and ten horns, and a woman gorgeously apparelled in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold, precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and a conspicuous name written on her forehead, seated upon him. This compound idea represents the Church and the State which, in the case of the Roman Empire, we have had represented under a simple symbolical idea of a wild beast (θηρίον). This wild beast also had seven heads, which indicate the seven electorates of the German empire, during one stage of its history; from the seven electors of which the emperor was accustomed to be chosen, when an election was necessary. But this chapter itself offers an explanation of the seven heads. In verse 9, it says: "The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth." And in verse 15, it says: "The waters which thou sawest where the woman sitteth are peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues;" for in verse 1 it is said that "the great whore sitteth upon many waters." The city of Rome is built upon seven hills; it has always been denominated the "City of the seven hills." The woman, in verse 18, being said to be that great city "that reigneth over the kings of the earth" (which in the time of the delivery of the prophecy it certainly was), and the seven heads the seven hills upon which the woman sitteth, leaves no doubt that the City of Rome is especially meant to be designated also. But the empire designed here to be symbolized is that known in history as the Holy Roman (German) empire; and, in the symbolization its connection with the Catholic church, as its supporter, abettor and companion is designed to be indicated by the symbolization of a woman, which prophetically stands for a church, sitting on a wild beast, which (beast) is full of names of blasphemy. This empire was, for the most part, won to the old Roman empire by the missionary enterprise of the Roman Catholic church.

This beast is also characterized as having ten horns, which are not represented to be crowned, as those were which pertained to the beast spoken of in chapter XIII. But in verse 12 they are explained thus: "And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast." These kings being represented as having no power as yet means, that as kings, or rather kingdoms, they

were not in existence at the time the prophecy was delivered; and their receiving power as kings one hour with the beast indicates that their continuance, when they should arise, would be but short. Speaking historically, the time of the rising of these kings or kingdoms would show the time of the rising of the power here symbolized. The number ten would also in general symbolize the complete number of nations which would, in any age, yield obedience to the Roman Catholic Church. This beast is also of a scarlet color, and full of names of blasphemy. Purple or scarlet is the color worn by kings and emperors, signifying their office, and thus this denotes the beast to represent secular power. It was by Pepin, king of France, that the sovereignty of the Exarchate of Ravenna, in which Rome was included, was given to the Pope in the last half of the eighth century. This donation is said to have been granted in supreme and absolute dominion to the chair of St. Peter by Pepin, but the grant was only verbal; and the world beheld a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince: the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the possession and wealth of the palace of Ravenna, formerly the residence of the Exarchs. The inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto on the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom through the power of the French king, declared themselves also the subjects of St. Peter, and completed by this voluntary surrender the circle of the ecclesiastical State. That circle was enlarged to an indefinite extent by the verbal donations of Charlemagne, the son and successor of Pepin, in the same century, who in the first transports of his victory over the Italian Lombards, despoiled himself and the Greek Emperor of the cities and islands which formerly belonged to the Exarchate.*

But according to the prophecy there was to be much remarkable about this beast, and there is the utmost particularity in explaining, so that no one might mistake him. Verses 8,10,11: The angel says to the prophet: "The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the abyss and go into perdition; and they that

* For accepting this gift of temporal sovereignty the ambition and avarice of the Roman Pontiffs have been severely condemned. An humble Christian minister or bishop, it was thought, should have rejected an earthly kingdom which the Gospel did not authorize him to seek, and which it was not easy for him to govern without renouncing the virtues of his ministerial office. Perhaps an honest subject or even a generous enemy of the Eastern Emperor would have been less desirous to participate in the spoils of a barbarian conqueror; and if, as it is said, the Emperor of Constantinople, his lawful master, had entrusted Pope Stephen to solicit in his name from the French prince the restitution of the Exarchate, we cannot absolve the Pope from the reproach of treachery with which he has been branded. To the importunities of the Emperor, however, Pepin piously replied that no human consideration should tempt him to resume the gift which he had conferred on the Roman pontiff for the remission of his sins and the salvation of his soul. Hence we see that the Pope's true position in the scale of secular rulers is that he is the representative of the Exarch.

dwell upon the earth shall wonder whose names were not written in the Book of Life from the foundation of the world, when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is.—And there are seven kings; five are fallen, and one is, the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven and goeth into perdition." All this has reference to the governments of Rome at successive stages of its history since its mythical foundation; for back further than the history or the mythology takes him the prophet does not go in search for the different kinds of Roman Government, however many different kinds of rulers there may have existed for Rome, or the city now called Rome, of which we have no record in mythology or history. "The beast that thou sawest was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the abyss and go into perdition." This means that the Roman Imperium did exist, as all the world had reason to know; but at the period to which the prophecy now refers it could not be said properly to exist; and yet that it did at the same time exist in a certain sense, as represented in this Western Roman Empire. The beast is said to rise out of the abyss, that is, this combination of power was to arise out of an unsettled state of affairs, in which for some time there should be no settled government. Thus it was that this combination of government arose to Rome from the wars and commotions and the wide-spread disorder and desolation which prevailed at Rome and in the western part of the Empire. Rome was twice besieged and finally sacked by the Goths, under Alaric, in the year 410. It was sacked by the Vandals under Genseric, in 455; by Ricimer and Anthemius in 472; and during the reign of Justinian, 527–565, it was taken and retaken five times by the Goths; after which the Exarchs were appointed, who governed the Exarchate of Ravenna, which included Rome, for about two centuries, until the conquest of it by Pepin and Charlemagne, 750–800. The eunuch Narses, the general of the Emperor Justinian, was the first Exarch. He who reads the history of the Roman Empire of those times will understand that the symbol "abyss" (translated in our Bible "bottomless pit") is aptly applied to designate the state of affairs during that age in Rome, Italy, and the west. And in verse 3 of the chapter we are considering (XVII.), the place where this scarlet-colored beast is seen by the prophet to arise is represented as a wilderness, a scene of desolation and devastation far and wide. That was such an idea as the old Romans had of Germany, and of all the countries north of the Danube and the Rhine, viz., that of a wildernyss or an abyss. But this beast was to go into per-

dition. Perdition literally means "losing," and the going into perdition here means that this power after it had attained its greatest height, should gradually decay and wane till its final consummation. This we see to have been fulfilled to a large extent. The first great falling off from this system was in the Protestant Reformation; then we see it in the destruction and humiliation of those secular powers that so long supported the Papacy, as France and Austria, and in the loss of the civil power by the Pope himself lately. The first great blow which the Papacy received was from the defection of the Reformers in the sixteenth century, by which it lost such an immense power and prestige; and since that time it has been continually losing directly or indirectly in consequence of the power of those reformed nations; and it will continue to lose, as according to the prophecy, until its power is reduced to an almost insensible force secularly; after which it will appear to continue somewhat as the Jewish since the destruction of Jerusalem. The prophecy shows that this combination of power should wax and wane much as the moon does. "And they that dwell on the earth shall wonder whose names were not written in the Book of Life from the foundation of the world, when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is." This is the same reference as that in ch. XIII. 3, and here it can clearly be seen what the object was which attracted the attention of mankind away (or behind) from the great Roman Emperor in his palace at Constantinople: it was a combination of his principal subjects, ecclesiastical as well as civil, of which the most wondered at was the bishop ot Rome, who now had defected from him and set up a government of their own within his old dominions. But only those whose names were not written in the Book of Life (the Lamb's Book of Life), from the foundation of the world wondered at or worshipped this beast. God's children, the true and humble followers of the Lamb of God, do not wonder at or admire such objects, are not attracted by them. Knowing that what makes such objects wonderful in the eyes of the world is derived from the world's craft and wickedness and vanity.

The pilgrimages which were performed to the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul; the miracles which were wrought at these tombs, and at the tombs of the saints and martyrs in the seven-hilled city; as well as the great influence and power the Pope had acquired from the sacred and secular hierarchy of the Empire, were the principal causes of this great wonder at, or admiration of the beast. Kings and Emperors, and all who felt the burden of their sins, and possessed a sufficient amount of money to defray the expenses of their journey and their absolution, flocked to the holy City, as well to be

relieved of their sins by the Holy Father as to see the great wonders which were there exhibited. According to a vague tradition, two Jewish teachers, a fisherman and a tent-maker, had formerly been executed in the circus of Nero, and at the end of five centuries, their genuine or fictitious relics were worshipped as the Palladium of Papal Christian Rome. The pilgrims of the East and West resorted to the holy threshold; but the shrines of the apostles were guarded by miracles and invisible terrors; and it was not without apprehension that the pious Catholic approached the object of his worship. It was dangerous to behold, it was fatal to touch the relics of the saints; and those who, from the purest motives, presumed to disturb the repose of the sanctuary were affrighted by visions or punished with sudden death. The extravagant request of an Empress who wished to deprive the Romans of their sacred treasure, the head of St. Paul, was rejected with the deepest abhorrence; and the Pope asserted, probably with truth, that a linen which had been sanctified in the neighborhood of his body, or the filings of his chain, which it was sometimes easy and sometimes impossible to obtain, possessed an equal degree of miraculous virtue.

For a short time only the feeble successors of Charlemagne received their crown from the hands of the Pope; and the German Emperors, as mentioned before, for a period of about five hundred years (962–1452), received their crown in that way, and at the same time the title of Kings of Rome and Italy. They always, however, in coming to be crowned, appeared with an army before the gates of Rome, and received the imperial crown from the Pope, not as a voluntary gift on his part, but as that which belonged to them by right, which right they were prepared to assert by force, as well as that of their kingship of Rome and Italy. It was on account of his ghostly or ecclesiastical power and influence, rather than on account of his civil power, that the bishop of Rome was so much wondered at. He was also wondered at on account of this, that in his capacity of a civil ruler, he appeared the real and actual representative of the old kings and Cæsars of Rome; although he was in reality merely dependent upon the secular princes who were the real kings of Rome and Italy, and he the real representative of the Exarch of Ravenna, the lieutenant of the Eastern Emperor. From about the latter part of the fifteenth, or the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Pope's temporal sovereignty was more independent than at any previous period, though the Pope may from long ere this time be regarded as an independent temporal sovereign. "And there were seven kings" five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a short space." These seven kings, as

commonly explained were the seven kinds of government of Rome, as 1 Kings; 2 Consuls; 3 Dictators; 4 Decemvirs; 5 Military Tribunes; 6 Triumvirs; 7 Emperors; the German Roman Emperors making an Eighth, being a variation of the Seventh. But there are three other ways of explaining this: 1st in application to the whole Christian Roman empire. In the year 308 there were six diademed contemporary emperors, Constantine being one of these. The other five he survived, thus making a sixth. His son Constantine survived him only about three and a-half years, and his second son, Constans, was of the same class being a brother. 2nd: Applying it to the dynasties which the history gives to the Franco-German empire we have: 1 Carlovingan; 2 Saxon; 3 Franconian; 4 Hohenstaufen; 5 Hapsburg; 6 Lorraine; 7 Napoleon Consul of the Republic: The same as emperor is an eighth, being a variation of the seventh. Or, we might begin by applying five of these kings to the five kingdoms, into which this Franco-German empire was divided in the days of the emperor Arnulph as according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. These five sub-kingdoms being "fallen" or discontinued in time the German Roman empire remaining was a sixth. Napoleon, Consul of the Republic of the Franks, was a Seventh, and as the restorer of the Franco-German empire he was a Seventh-Eighth.

But as to the ten horns which were to receive power as kings, one hour with the beast; verses 13, 14, 16, 17 say: "These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; for he is Lord of lords and King of kings; and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful.—And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire. For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled." As to the time when these kingdoms arose which were symbolized by the ten horns, it appears, according to Mede and others, that in the year following that in which Rome was sacked by the Vandals and Italy was overrun by the barbarians, which would be the year 456, ten barbaric kingdoms arose in the western part of the Empire; and if this be so it serves as a time-mark to show when this power began sensibly to appear. There were many considerations which influenced these barbarians to profess the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and accept the bishop of Rome as their spiritual father. Mosheim says: "The incursions and triumphs of the barbarians were so far from being prejudicial to the rising dominions of the Roman Pontiff, that they rather contributed to its advancement.

For the kings who penetrated into the Empire were only solicitous about the methods of giving a sufficient degree of stability to their respective governments. And when they perceived the subjection of the multitude to the bishops, and the dependence of the bishops upon the Roman Pontiff, they immediately resolved to reconcile this ghostly ruler to their interests by loading him with benefits and honors of various kinds." * He also observes that "the declining power and supine indolence of the Emperors left the Pope's authority without control." It will, of course, be remembered that there existed frequently disputes between the bishops and clergy of the Roman world, and that their referring their cases on some occasions to the arbitration of the bishop of Rome, as to the highest tribunal, had given that bishop an acknowledged superiority over all the sacerdotal orders. Now, there is no doubt that the little horn mentioned in Daniel VII. 8, 20, 21, &c., as springing up among the ten horns, in which were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things, symbolized this combination of power which we are considering in this chapter. But whether the ten horns mentioned in Daniel as being on the head of the beast, and among which, and in the stead of three of which, the little horn springs up, or whether the ten horns, mentioned in Rev. XIII. 1, as being on the seven heads of the beast, mean the same as the ten horns upon the seven heads of the beast, of Rev. XVII., which we are now considering, is quite a different thing. In the first place, the representation in Rev. XIII. means the same as that in Dan. VII., only with this difference, that the one in Daniel symbolizes the whole Roman Empire, Pagan as well as Christian; while that in Revelation XIII. symbolizes the Christian Roman Empire, beginning with Constantine. Either of these representations, therefore, symbolizes the whole Roman Empire. But it is seen that the combination we are now considering is only a constituent part of the Roman Empire, as symbolized by the little horn, before which *rising*, three fell, as in Dan. VII.; and by the wounded head healed or *revived*, as in Rev. XIII. 3. In either case it is only a part of the whole, or a power arising out of part of the Roman Empire, but doubtless embracing the whole of it for a time, as resulted from the crusades, that is meant. While therefore, the ten horns of the beast of Dan. VII. and of Rev. XIII. symbolize all the nations that would, at any time, be included in the Roman Empire, the ten horns appertaining to this beast of ch. XVII. have a particular reference to certain nations which should at some time yield obedience tc the bishop of Rome, in his character of head

* Mosheim's Eccles. History Cent. V.

of the Roman Catholic Church. And their continuing to support the Papacy for only the short space of time, represented symbolically by an hour, might merely prove the characteristic fickleness and freedom of thought of the barbarian nations which arose on the desolations of Italy and the West, and which, professing obedience to the religion of the Roman Pontiff and to himself, were continually warring with the Emperor of the East, and with each other, and for the city of Rome during a great part of the time which intervened between their rise in the middle of the fifth century, and the conquest of Italy and Rome by Pepin and Charlemagne in the latter half of the eighth century. So many times was Rome sacked and pillaged by the Goths and Vandals, and others, during the four centuries which intervened between Honorius and Charlemagne, that, represented symbolically as a whorish woman, it might be said, they "ate her flesh, and burned her with fire."

But it being said in the prophecy that these ten kings, after having given their support to the beast during the space of a symbolic hour, they would turn round and maltreat the whore so effectually, it appears plain that the Germanic Confederation is meant, or the princes of the Germanic Diet, who afterwards would see fit to lead the van of the Protestant Reformation. It is very certain there is a particular reference to the nations in which the Reformation took place; at first, for the space of six centuries, supporting so ardently the Church of Rome, and fighting her battles in propagating her doctrines by the civil sword; gratifying the vanity of the Roman Pontiff by condescending to receive their imperial crown from his hands: and then turning round and opposing with all their might the Holy Mother Church, and the holy father with the same stoutness with which they had ever obeyed and supported them. "These have one mind and shall give their power and strength unto the beast," which is excellently represented in the unity of Catholic and orthodox mind which pervaded that august body of Catholic princes assembled in the Germanic Diet, supporting, for six hundred years, the power of the Church and the Pope. Three conspicuous nations fell before the Papacy during its gradual rise, which may correspond to the three horns which fell before the little horn, as according to Dan. VII. These were the Heruli, Goths and Lombards, the last-named of which were fast accomplishing the conquest of the Exarchate of Ravenna when they were overcome by Pepin, King of France, who handed over the Exarchate to the Pope by way of donation. The power of these three nations over Rome and Italy, or, at least, over the Exarchate, was so effectually eradicated after the conquests of Pepin and Charlemagne, as to have been fairly des-

ignated in Dan. VII. by the three horns being plucked up by the roots.* "These," that is, the horns, "shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; for he is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, and they that are with him are called and chosen and faithful." Happy they who are overcome by the Spirit of the Lamb of God. Happy they who deny themselves their perverse passions, their carnal lusts and their wicked inclinations and dispositions, and cultivate in themselves the meek and gentle, and peaceable spirit by which the Lamb is characterized. Thus being, thus doing, this is the Lamb of God. For many centuries did the princes and potentates of Christendom wage warfare in behalf of the Roman Catholic Church, until at length the day of the Reformation dawned and some light shone into men's hearts, some sparks of freedom kindled in their souls; and some threw off the shackles of their superstition and slavery, and resolved to become more free. It is men's right and privilege to become perfect in liberty; where the spirit of truth is, there is perfect liberty; where the spirit of superstition, of idolatry of any kind, or of man-worship prevails, there is the basest, the most burdensome, and the most abject slavery. Stand fast, therefore, and assert your freedom in the spirit of truth and godliness. "For God hath put in their hearts, to fulfil his will, and to agree and give their kingdom unto the beast until the words of God shall be fulfilled." God, by which term here we mean the infinite Deity, put in men's hearts to do just as they will choose; for it happens that where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty. Men are free moral agents: if they willingly believe lies and falsehood, and act accordingly, they do it of their own free will, and the devil assists them mightily in their course to perfection in wickedness. If they choose the good, and holy, and true, which they can do with infinitely greater benefit to themselves, by practising self-denial and cultivating all the character of godliness, God then assists them mightily to their perfection in godliness, God never incites men to do evil; the devil never to what is good. And, to sum it all up, men may learn that the Deity leaves them to be free agents, and that they are themselves the authors of their own sin and wickedness; and that by choosing and doing the good, they are the authors of their godliness, which God will delight in assisting them to perfect. The Deity may be said to put in men's hearts whatever disposition there may happen to be in them, for no disposition can exist

* Bishop Newton makes the three horns which fell before the little horn to be the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Kingdom of the Lombards, and the State of Rome. The application we have made is the correct one, for it is very easily seen that the Pope stood for the Exarch, and he, jointly with the western potentates, governed the State of Rome.

there without him, and he knows from the beginning all things that will take place. But that the true God, the Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, was not the author of much that this terrible system did in its progress, will become clear as we proceed. But God knew and could foretell what these men and nations would do, and how all things would result. The devil, the spirit of evil, is not wont to foretell much that is true; falsehood is characteristic of him; he is a liar, and the father of it. It happens in the history of religion, as well as in civil history, and in that of individual life, that the evil is mingled with the good in human character and action, and the one may be set over against the other, so as in some cases to balance each other, in some cases the one or the other preponderating. Will not human beings, therefore, begin to cultivate the spirit of godliness, developing all the graces of the true Christian character: at the same time that they cultivate firm and unwavering faith in the power and benevolence of the Deity, and the utmost confidence in His goodness, which greatly assists one not only in being good and doing good, but in all the labors, the circumstances, and the vicissitudes of life?

In this symbolical woman there is also an especial reference to the false and blasphemous practices of knighthood in the ages of chivalry, when there was such an unwarranted degree of respect paid to the female sex of the higher classes as to amount to a species of worship, and was thus dishonoring to the Deity and blasphemous in his eyes.* This is practised also in our own age to an unwarrantable and reprehensible degree; and God does not look upon such practices with allowance: nor will he be pleased to have his honor prostituted to human beings or to any visible things. Females of a considerate and a godly character will always be contented with a fair degree of attention and respect, nor can they ever conscientiously before God accept or countenance anything more. They should themselves become the first reformers of the false and reprehensible manners of the age in this respect, and not employ their arts in making men even more idolatrous, and they will thus become the benefactors of mankind, the restorers of true virtue among men, and the vindicators of the honors of their God; and for their pains they will reap contentment of spirit and an eternal meed of happiness, which the vanities of the world can never afford them. The Church of Rome, and certain other branches of the Church Catholic, have always made great use, an unwarrantable use, of the female agency in advancing their cause and supporting and upbuilding their

* See Hallam's "Middle Ages;" and Zimmerman's History of Germany, vol. III, ch. VI.

Churches. They should know that it is high time to give up the worship of woman, which has long prevailed widely, and to substitute or restore the worship of the true God, the infinite and invisible Deity alone, in its stead. Verse 6, Ch. XVII: "And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; and when I saw her I wondered with great admiration." This represents the Church of Rome, here symbolized by an intoxicated woman, as gloated with the blood of all those who during the long period of her ascendency she, through her agencies and supporters, caused to be put to death and persecuted variously for non-conformity with her principles or doctrines, for having any principles or doctrines, than those which she saw fit to communicate, or because she suspected that they had or cultivated principles or doctrines or cherished opinions which she did not approve. These persecutions and slaughters were carried on by that system of Church and State wherever it was established and wherever its influence and power extended for a series of centuries, as will be partially understood from what we have shown in Part First of the work and the few illustrations which follow.*

The Inquisition.

In the eleventh century Europe was greatly infested with heretics. They were reputed Manichæans, and spread through many countries. In Italy they were called Paterini or Catheri, that is, the Pure. In France they were called Albigenses, Bulgarians and other names, sometimes after the names of the countries in which they resided. Their dangerous doctrine was first discovered by a certain priest called Heribert, and a Norman nobleman; upon which Robert, King of France, assembled a Council at Orleans to devise methods for reclaiming those harmless people, not surely from the error of their ways; but they, remaining obstinate, were at length condemned to be burned alive. Their enemies acknowledged the sincerity of their piety, and confessed that they were blackened by accusations which were manifestly false. But they were deemed unsound in their speculations concerning God, the Trinity, and the human soul. Such also were the heretics of the succeeding ages, called Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, that is, free from obedience to the flesh, from the law of sin and death; the Massalians and Euchites, that is,

* It will be noticed that in treating this part of our subject, when we express any opinion or make any comment of our own it is in the most moderate language we can consistently use History is a stubborn thing; we allow it to speak for itself in showing the fulfilment of the prophecies, and we quote from (all things considered) the most reliable historians of these periods.

people who pray: the Bogomilans, such as call for mercy. In some countries the same class of people were called Beghards. Catholic writers have tried to enumerate the errors of these heretics, but they were considered too numerous; the fact is their faith and practice were contrary to the Catholic establishment in everything. Of course it would be endless to enumerate their supposed errors concerning baptism, the Eucharist, the sanctity of churches, altars, incense, consecrated oil, bells, bishops, funeral rites, marriages, indulgences, and the wood of the true cross.

Basilius was a reputed Manichæan and founder of the sect called Bogomilans. This aged and venerable man, being treacherously induced to unfold his doctrine to the Emperor Alexius, was condemned as a heretic, and barbarously burnt at Constantinople; which was but the beginning of sorrows to his harmless followers.

Peter de Bruys was another who, in the twelfth century, troubled the Catholic peace and supplied the heresy-hunters with fresh labor and blood. They say "he attempted to remove the superstitions that disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the Gospel." * He would baptize only such as were come to a full use of their reason. He rejected the notion of the real body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, the virtue of the wooden cross, and other instruments of superstition. He was followed by great numbers, and after a laborious ministry of twenty years, was burned at St. Giles, in the year 1130, by an enraged populace, instigated by the clergy. The next Catholic disturbance came from Henry, from whom came the Henricians. He travelled from place to place, declaiming, it is said, with the greatest vehemence and fervor against the vices of the clergy; at length being seized by a certain bishop and condemned before Pope Eugenius, he was committed to a close prison in the year 1143, where he soon after ended his days, leaving a train of heretics behind him in France to supply the ravenous priesthood with blood and carnage. In Brabant similar commotions were excited by the illiterate Tanquelmus, "who drew after him a numerous sect." Some of his enemies speak the worst things of him: others say these infamous charges are "absolutely incredible, that these blasphemies were falsely charged upon him by a vindictive priesthood." They say he treated with contempt the external worship of God and the sacraments, held clandestine meetings, and, like other heretics, inveighed against the clergy; for which "he was assassinated by an ecclesiastic in a cruel manner."

Arnold, a man of extensive learning and remarkable austerity,

* Eccles. Hist., Cent. XII.

excited new troubles in Italy. By his instigations, it is said, the people even insulted the persons of the clergy in a disorderly manner. He was, however, seized in the year 1155, publicly crucified, and afterwards burned to ashes; leaving behind him a great number of disciples to perplex the priesthood about their overgrown opulence, Papal revenue, and ungodly authority. Spain had long been teeming with heresy, even from the time that Mark, the disciple of Hierax, went into that kingdom. Sometimes these were called Manichæans, sometimes Priscillianists; and they flourished here under the last name during a period of more than eight centuries.

Robinson says: "This body of people knew no crime of heresy, (among themselves:) they supposed very justly that persecution was oppression, that killing for the faith was murder. If ecclesiastics had never created a virtue called orthodoxy, the world would never have heard of a crime called heresy." * Councils never could suppress heresy in Spain; but the Inquisition did. A great number of heretics resided in Spain until they were exterminated by that iniquitous institution. After this the valleys among the Pyrenean mountains between France and Spain became the sequestered habitation of heretics. To these retreats they fled from the destructive arm of persecution, and as they were driven from thence they spread through France, Germany, and other provinces of Europe, formed societies and were called by different names, but were more generally called Albigenses and Waldenses.

The Manichæans, Priscillianists, and all who sprung from the same original stock, agreed in one article of faith, and that was baptism. They all held that the Catholic corporation was not a Church of Christ, and they, therefore re-baptized those that had been baptized in that community before they admitted them into their societies; for this reason their most common name of distinction was Anabaptists. But by whatever names they might be called in different countries, all such as renounced the Papal superstition, and placed religion in the practice of virtue, were the common objects of persecution to the Catholic priesthood.

Mosheim, † in speaking of the Church in the tenth century, says: "The clergy were, for the most part, a worthless set of men, equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most abominable and flagitious deeds. The pretended chiefs and rulers of the universal Church indulged themselves in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulse of the most licentious passions without reluctance or remorse,

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* Eccles. Researches.

† Eccles. Hist., Cent. X.

and whose spiritual Empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants who have been the scourges of mankind." Robinson, speaking of the supreme rulers of the Catholic Church, the bishops of Rome in particular, says: "Of the sinners it may truly be affirmed that they were sinners of size; for it would be difficult to mention a crime which they did not commit."* Mosheim says again: "The history of the Roman Pontiffs that lived in this (tenth) century, is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious and complicated crimes, as all writers unanimously confess."†

This is the description and the character of that spiritual Empire, that Christian Church, most improperly so called. It is the character of that symbolic beast and woman widely-ruling that sat upon many waters, ruling the nations, with whom the kings of the earth committed fornication, and with whose wine of fornication, the inhabitants of the earth were made drunk. She was intoxicated with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.

Yet, all non-conformists who would not be made drunk with the wine of the filthiness of her fornication, must needs be called "heretics" the only fit objects of revenge and destruction.† In the progress of this power "all places of worship were taken from heretics, and they punished for holding conventicles, though they held them in forests, and dens and caves of the earth." But in this spiritual Empire the ruling party, from the beginning, "declared themselves the only Christians, for they believed the Trinity; and all the rest were heretics, bound over to present and eternal perdition." "Nothwithstanding," says Robinson, "thousands set all penalties at defiance, and lived and died as their own understandings and conscience commanded them, in the practice of heresy and schism." ‡

"In the year 1210, these non-conformists had become so numerous and so odious that Ugo, or Hugh, the old bishop of Ferrara, obtained an edict of the Western Emperor, Otho IV., for the suppression of them. Five years after, Pope Innocent III. held a council at the Lateran, and denounced anathemas against heretics of all descriptions, and against the lords and their bailiffs who suffered them to reside on their estates." Men of continual employment were now in quest of heretics; bound by an oath to seek for them in towns, houses, cellars, woods, caves, and fields, and to purge the provinces of the enemies of the Catholic faith. Besides, in every city a council

* Eccles. Researches. † Eccles. Hist. ‡ Eccles. Researches.

of inquisition was instituted, consisting of one priest and three laymen. As early as the year 1233, that infamous court, called the Inquisition, had a permanent establishment in Spain and France, which, in its progress, intensified to the utmost degree, the crimson color of the bloody beast, and the infernal rabble by whom it was executed. In the kingdom of Castile and Aragon, there were eighteen Inquisitorial courts, having each of them its counsellors, termed *Apostolic Inquisitors*, its secretaries, serjeants, and other officers. And beside these, there were twenty thousand *familiars* dispersed throughout the kingdom who acted as spies and informers, and were employed to apprehend all suspected persons, and to commit them to trial to the prisons which belonged to the Inquisition." "By these familiars, persons were seized on bare suspicion, and in contradiction to the common rules of law they were subjected to the torture, tried and condemned by the Inquisitors, without being confronted by their accusers, or with the witnesses on whose evidence they were condemned." "The punishments were more or less dreadful, according to the caprice and humor of the judges. The unhappy victims were either strangled, or committed to the flames, or loaded with chains and shut up in dungeons during life. Their effects were confiscated, and their families stigmatized with infamy." "Authors of undoubted credit affirm, and without the least exaggeration, that millions of persons have been ruined by this horrible court. Moors were banished a million at a time; six or eight hundred thousand Jews were driven away at once, and their immense riches seized by their accusers, and dissipated among their persecutors." * "Heretics of all kinds, and of various denominations, were imprisoned and burnt, or fled into other countries. "This horrible court," says Robinson, "is styled by a monstrous abuse of words: The Holy and Apostolic Court of Inquisition." Newton says: "It is enough to make the blood run cold to read of the horrid murders and devastations of this time; how many of these poor innocent Christians (i.e heretics), were sacrificed to the blind fury and malice of their enemies! It is computed by Mede, from good authorities, that in France alone were slain a million." †

In the year 1725, the inquisitors discovered a family of Moors at Granada in Spain, peaceably employed in manufacturing silks, and possessing superior skill in the exercise of this profession. The ancient laws supposed to have fallen into disuse were enforced in all their rigor, and the wretched family were burned alive.†

On the entry of the French into Toledo during the Peninsular

* Eccles. Researches. † Newton on Prophecy: Diss. XXV.

war, Gen. Lasalle visited the place of the Inquisition. The great number of instruments of torture, especially those for stretching the limbs, and the drop-baths which cause a lingering death, excited horror even in the minds of soldiers, hardened in the field of battle. One of these instruments, singular in its kind for refined torture, and disgraceful to humanity and the name of religion, deserves particular attention. In a subterraneous vault adjoining the audience chamber stood in a recess in the wall a wooden statue made by the hands of monks, representing the Virgin Mary. A gilded glory beamed round her head, and she held a standard in her right hand. Notwithstanding the ample folds of the silk garments that fell from her shoulders on both sides, it appears that she wore a breastplate, and upon a close examination it was found that the whole surface of the body was covered with extremely sharp nails, and small daggers or blades of knives, with the points projecting outwards. The arms and hands had joints and their motions were directed by machinery, placed behind the partition. One of the servants of the Inquisition was ordered to make the machinery manœuvre. As the statue extended its arms and gradually drew them back, as if she would affectionately embrace and press some one to her heart, the well-filled knapsack of a Polish grenadier supplied for this time the place of the poor victim. The statue pressed it closer and closer; and when the director of the machinery made it open its arms and return to its first position, the knapsack was found pierced two or three inches deep, and remained hanging on the nails and daggers of the murderous instrument.

This infamous tribunal of the Inquisition is said, between the years 1481 and 1759, to have caused 34,658 human beings to be burned alive; and between 1481 and 1808 to have sentenced 288,214 to * the galleys or to perpetual imprisonment. In the Auto of Toledo in February 1501, sixty-seven women were delivered over to the flames for Jewish practices. This tribunal was exceedingly severe in its action against the Jews, who suffered in great numbers, and, as the heretics, they were condemned for very slight offences. A priest, who did not put up for being a zealot, wrote thus of the Jews: "This accursed race were either unwilling to bring their children to be baptized, or if they did they washed away the stain on returning home. They dressed their stews and other dishes with oil instead of lard; abstained from pork; kept the Passover; ate meat in Lent; and sent oil to replenish the lamps of their synagogues, with many other abominable ceremonies of their religion. They entertained no

* Histoire Abrégée de l'Inquisition.

respect for monastic life; and frequently profaned the sanctity of religious houses by the violation or seduction of their inmates. They were an exceedingly politic and ambitious people, engrossing the most lucrative municipal offices, and prepared to gain their livelihood by traffic, in which they made exorbitant gains, rather than by manual labor or mechanical arts. They considered themselves in the hands of the Egyptians, whom it was a merit to deceive and pilfer. By their wicked contrivances they amassed great wealth, and thus were often able to ally themselves by marriage with noble Christian families." The Inquisition entertained accusations against high and low, both Jews and Christians, upon pretexts the most frivolous as well as grave; and condemned by punishments, varying from death by fire to simple penance, delinquents who could not say they believed what to their mind was a lie. It accepted evidence, which even in its own day would not have been admitted in a civil court of law; and the pretexts upon which condemnation frequently proceeded were such as to make them marvellous even in a barbaric age. Tortures of the most exquisite and excruciating kind were practised on the accused to make them confess or to induce them to accuse others; and the hateful system of espionage and secret prison-houses were adopted by the Inquisition at every place where its courts were established. The evidence on which Jews were condemned would be simply ludicrous had it not been so terrible in its effects. An author of high standing remarks on this subject: "It was considered good evidence of the fact, *i. e.*, Judaism, if the prisoner wore better clothes, or cleaner linen on the Jewish Sabbath than on the other days of the week; if he had no fire in his house the preceding evening; if he sat at table with Jews, or ate the flesh of certain animals, or drank a certain beverage held much in estimation by them; if he washed a corpse in warm water, or when one was dying turned one's face to the wall; or, finally, if he gave Hebrew names to his children, a provision most whimsically cruel, since, by a law of Henry II., he was prevented, under severe penalties, from giving them Christian names." Such testimony being accepted, the number of the condemned must, of course, be legion: and in the interval between the beginning of January and the beginning of November, 1451, the first year in which the Inquisition was put into terribly active force, in Spain, there had perished by fire in Seville no less than 298 persons. Notwithstanding the plague which in this year visited Seville, sweeping off 15,000 of the inhabitants, the Inquisition still continued its fiendish work; so that by the end of the year, or up to the ensuing first of January, 2000 persons, many of them the most learned and respectable of the day, had perished at the stake in the province of Andalusia. Twice

that number having managed to escape, were burned in effigy, and 17,000 were condemned to lesser punishments; of which the least must have been a terrible infliction. Some few years after this, when one Deza came into power as Inquisitor-General in Spain, in the first 8 years he presided at Seville, he caused 2,592 persons to be burned alive, to say nothing about 35,000 condemned to various other punishments, short of death, but illustrating that the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel. When the Reformation began to be proclaimed, the work of the inquisitors increased, and several hundreds of persons were annually burned alive in various parts of Spain, as the consequence. But not only in Spain did the Inquisition carry on its work so devilishly: in her colonies, especially in South America and Mexico, the cruel office was set up, and the Indians who escaped the cruelties of the colonists as civil governors, experienced the rigorous punishment of them as religionists, and destroyed themselves in large numbers rather than fall into their hands. It is wonderful that there was no actual rebellion against the Inquisition in Spain, which continued for three centuries doing its terrible work of human destruction. Yet there was no upraising against it. Men hated but feared a tribunal, whose spies were all around, even in the bosom of the family, and which dealt its blows so secretly and suddenly, and with such awful effects. Nine hundred families were burned alive in the Duchy of Lorraine, in France, for being witches, by one inquisitor. Under this accusation it is said that upward of 30,000 women have perished by the hands of the inquisitors.*

Torquemada, that infernal arch-inquisitor of Spain, brought into the Inquisition, in the space of fourteen years, no less than 80,000 persons, of whom 6,000 were condemned to the flames and burned alive with the greatest pomp and exultation; and of that vast number there was not, perhaps, a single person who was not more pure in religion and morals than their fiendish persecutors. †

Does the Deity, then, whom the Inquisition professes to serve, take such intense delight in the sufferings of human beings? Has that Being, whose sun cheers the habitations of the wicked as well as the good, commanded such blood-thirsty monsters to act as his ministers of vengeance, to torment and destroy his rational creatures? Does the doctrine of the gospel, which they profess to believe, inculcate such practices? The very thought is absurd and blasphemous. If they would do as God requires of them, to do good and be good, live godly lives, no such institution as the Inquisition would ever exist, nor any other evil work. But it is men themselves, of

* Inquisition Unmasked. † Kaime's Sketches.

their own free will who inflict these sufferings upon their fellows. Man is the author, the agent, as he is the object of the cruelty. But some, perhaps, will suppose that *the devil* hardens man's heart, and prompts him to the perpetration of such infamous crimes as that of roasting his fellow-men over a slow fire. Well, that is a very true supposition in a certain sense. But really who or what is the devil? Why, he is the man himself, who acts according to his own will, and practices such unspeakable wickedness. Yes, my readers, man himself is that evil being, by what ever name he may be called; of which fact you have partial evidence in the foregoing statements. Can anything be conceived of, as more intensely evil than a human being who will seize and subject his fellow-human beings to such unspeakable tortures as those peculiar to the Inquisition, and then roast them to death over slow fires, as we see these men to have done? The foregoing statements are of facts which we may believe to have occurred, just as if we were eye-witnesses of every one of them. The blood of these tens of thousands who have been so cruelly and mercilessly sacrificed, cries unto us from the ground, to tamper no longer with hypocrisy and deceit, to lay aside that old theory of a devil, or any Being leading men to do evil, against their will and alleged as an excuse for their evil acts, and to make men stand on their own bases, and account them responsible for their conduct and acts. In a preceding part of this book we have shown that not only the globe on which we live is a concentration of spirit, but that man also is a spirit, and, behold, here we perceive in him the spirit of evil developed, we may say, to almost an infinite extent. The existence of cruelty in men evidences that the perpetrators of it are ignorant of the true God. They have no true knowledge of him, for if they had they would not be cruel. God is manifested in a human being patiently enduring for the truth, and for righteousness' sake amid all opposition from adverse influences, visible and invisible. And the devil is manifested in him who inflicts suffering undeservedly or wantonly upon the true and righteous man, or upon any human being. In short words God is manifested in the life and conversation of the truly good and righteous man; and the devil is manifested in the life and conversation of the evil and actively wicked man. And thus we have found a proper application for the term God, which means he that is good; and also of the term devil, which means he that is evil; and hence it is seen that the term Deity includes both of these, and infinitely more in its fullest extent, and as we have used it in the beginning of this book. In the New Testament the apostle John, in his 1st Epistle, says that "God is love;" and in the same Epistle, as well as in his 2d, that "love is the keeping of the commandments;"

and in another place of the New Testament it is said that "love is the fulfilling of the law;" therefore it is quite evident that God is manifested in the human being that keeps the commandments, or fulfills the law, which means the same thing; that is, in the man who truly is and does good, lives a life of godliness. But in the case before us, as we have said, man is the sufferer, and man inflicts the suffering. Man is the author and agent as well as the object of the suffering. When a man commits an offence against the laws of his country, the law looks to the man himself for satisfaction for it. It looks not after a supposed or an imaginary being, of whatever name; it looks after the real being, the direct perpetrator of the crime. The individual has committed an offence against mankind, and the latter looks to the individual himself for atonement for it. He would not be listened to, if, when brought before the Judge, he sought to justify himself by leaving the blame of his crime upon an imaginary being. Even so there is no necessity any longer of men blaming any other being than themselves for the evil they commit. The life of godliness implies a denial of pride and self; and here we repeat the true God is manifested in the character and conduct of the man who, in his daily walk and conversation, during his life long, evinces self-denial, long-suffering, humility, gentleness, meekness, truth and righteousness, who, in short, cultivates and displays all the true Christian graces, subjectively and objectively. Men can be good if they will. They can also be evil if they will. Will men not henceforth universally choose to be good? How amiable the character of the man or woman who displays the spirit of charity and benevolence to all around, and to all mankind! And many, many such we have in the world in our time. But how unlovely the character of one who displays the spirit of hatred and malignity to one's fellow-human beings to the extent we have seen it displayed in the case of the inquisitors, or to a far less extent! The Deity is everywhere present, and though unseen, his character, as indicated by the beneficent operations of nature around us, and by the testimony of good men of the past, condemns the hellish practices of the infamous agents of that superstition, whose character we have been reviewing.

The horrid practice of dragooning, which was used by the Romish church for converting supposed heretics, was another melancholy example of religious cruelties and fanaticism. In the reign of Louis XIV. of France, his troops, soldiers, and dragoons, entered into the houses of the Protestants, where they marred and defaced their furniture, broke their looking-glasses, let their wines run about their cellars, threw about and trampled under foot their stock of provis-

ions, turned their dining-rooms into stables for their horses, and treated the proprietors with the severest contumely and cruelty. They bound to posts mothers that gave suck, and allowed their sucking infants to lie languishing in their sight for several days and nights, crying and gasping for life. Some they bound before a great fire, and after they were half roasted let them go. Some they hung up by the hair and some by the feet in chimneys; smoked them with wisps of hay until they were suffocated. Women and maids were hung up by their feet and by their armpits, and exposed stark naked to public view. Some they cut and slashed with knives, and, after stripping them naked, stuck their bodies with pins and needles from head to foot, and with red hot pincers took hold of them by the nose and other parts of the body, and dragged them about the room until they made them promise to be Catholics, or until the cries of the wretched victims, calling upon God for help, induced them to let them go. If any endeavored to escape from those cruelties they pursued them into the fields and woods, where they shot at them as if they were wild beasts; and they prohibited them from leaving the kingdom on pain of the galleys, the lash, and perpetual imprisonment. On such scenes of desolation and horror the Romish clergy feasted their eyes, and made them a matter only of laughter and sport.* What fiendish crimes for those calling themselves civilized to perpetrate! Could an American savage or a New Zealander have devised more barbarous and exquisite cruelties!

In the Island of Great Britain the flames of persecution have sometimes raged with unrelenting fury. During the last two or three years of the short reign of Queen Mary, it is computed that 277 persons were committed to the flames, besides those who were punished by fines, confiscations, imprisonments, or otherwise. Among those who suffered by fire there were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen, and eighty-four tradesmen: one hundred husbandmen, fifty-nine women, and four children. Hunter, a young man of about nineteen years of age, was one of the unhappy victims of the Zeal of Queen Mary for Popery. Having been inadvertently betrayed by a priest to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation, he absconded to keep out of harm's way. Bonner, that notorious popish executioner, threatened ruin to the father if he did not deliver up the son. Young Hunter, hearing of his father's imminent peril, presented himself, and was burned to death instead of being rewarded for his filial piety. A woman of the island of Guernsey was brought to the flames without regard to her advanced pregnancy, and she was de-

* Enc. Brit. Art. "Dragooning."

livered of a child in the midst of the flames. One of the guards snatched the infant from the flames to save it, but the magistrate who superintended the execution ordered it to be thrown back, being resolved, he said, that nothing should survive which sprung from a parent so obstinately heretical.*

"Against the Waldenses," says Thuanus, a Popish historian, "when exquisite punishments availed little, and the evil was exasperated by the remedy which had been unseasonably applied, and their number increased daily, at length complete armies were raised; and a war of no less weight than what our people had before waged against the Saracens, was decreed against them; the event of which was that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled everywhere of their goods and dignities and dispersed here and there, than that, convinced of their error, they repented." The Waldenses and Albigenses being persecuted in their own country, fled into other countries. In Germany, they grew and multiplied so fast, notwithstanding the rage and fury of crusaders and inquisitors, that at the beginning of the (fourteenth) century, it is computed that there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia, Austria and the neighboring territories." Yet comparatively but few escaped the rage and fury of the bloody inquisitors.

It is, therefore, a just remark of Newton that: "If Rome Pagan hath slain her thousands of innocent Christians, Rome Christian (rather anti-Christian) hath slain her ten thousands. For not to mention other outrageous slaughters and barbarities, the crusades against the Waldenses and Albigenses, the murders committed by the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the massacres in France and Ireland will probably amount to ten times the number of the Christians slain in all the ten persecutions of the Roman Emperors put together." † But is it not astonishing beyond measure that any one should yet be so blind and so silly as to imagine that the pure Gospel of Christ could have been conveyed by such means? "That kind of religion," says Robinson, "which the Catholic always propagated ought to be considered as it really is, not merely a religion but a species of government, including in it a set of tyrannical maxims injurious to the lives, liberties, and properties of citizens in a free state, and all tending to render the state dependent on a faction called the Church, governed from age to age by a succession of priests." ‡ And such, we may remark, was that kind of priesthood by which the Catholic or Orthodox Church was organized and ruled from the beginning, according to their degree of power and influence. Simon the Sorcerer § bewitched the people, giving out

* Eccles. Researches. † Newton on Prophecy: Diss. XXV ‡ Eccles. Researches
§ Acts, ch. VIII.

that himself was some *great one;* when therefore, under his lucrative motives, he professed to be a Christian, he was *Antichrist* in the seed. Diotrephes * was a Catholic priest, Antichrist in the blade; he loved to have the pre-eminence; he could not really persecute, but he prated with malicious words against the *heretics,* John and his brethren, and cast them out of the Church. Councils are but a larger growth from the same diabolical root; they are rulers without dominion, Inquisitors without an Inquisition, and may be justly called Antichrist in the ear. Synods of three or four bishops framing creeds or canons for conscience, and attaching to a breach of them ideas of guilt, differ from the Inquisition only as a spark of fire differs from a city in a blaze." † Thus from prating they proceed to solemn anathemas, which happily cannot yet effect the ruin of the dissenter Great ones, however, go on to great words, and as their numbers and authority increase they grasp the effectual power by faith, and form an Inquisition in their dire decrees. Their language used to be when they could proceed no farther: "If any person, king, nobleman, prelate, priest, monk, or any of inferior rank, native or foreigner, shall at any time deny this creed or disobey these canons, may he be numbered with Judas, Dathan, and Abiram; may all his limbs be broken; may his eyes be plucked out; may his entrails be torn out of him; may he be smitten with the leprosy and other diseases from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot; and may he suffer the pain of eternal damnation with the devil and his angels." When the inquisitors burnt their thirty, sixty, ninety heretics at a time; stained the walls of their torture room with human blood; while they clothed the wretched sufferers with habits and caps on which were represented devils and flames,—what did they more than finish and color a picture of which the most ancient and sanctimonious Catholic synods had given them a sketch?—a picture, when finished, so dreadful that even the artists shuddered at the sight of their own work! An Inquisitor calls it: *Horrendum et tremendum Spectaculum!* A horrid and dreadful spectacle! "But liberal men," says Robinson, "have hardly words to express their abhorrence of it."

Near the beginning of the eleventh century, Boleslaus, king of Poland, entered into a bloody war with the Prussians, and "obtained by the force of penal laws and of a victorious army what Adalbert, bishop of Prague, could not effect by exhortation and argument. He dragooned this savage people into the Church." ‡

"Waldemar I., King of Denmark, unsheathed his sword in the twelfth century for the propagation and advancement of Christianity;

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* III. John, verses 9-10. † Eccles. Researches. ‡ Eccles. Hist., Century XI.

and wherever his arms were successful, there he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the Christian worship, which deserved to be propagated by better means than the sword." * These are the words of Mosheim, and he might with more propriety have said that their bloody religion deserved to be called by some other name than that of Christianity. But he continues his narrative in the same Catholic strain: "The island of Rugen submitted to the victorious arms of Waldemar in A. D. 1168, and its fierce and savage inhabitants, who were in reality no more than a band of robbers and pirates, were obliged, by that prince, to hear the instructions of the pious and learned doctors that followed his army, and to receive the Christian worship."

"The Finlanders received the Gospel in the same manner; they were also a fierce and savage people. After many bloody battles they were totally defeated by Eric IX., and were commanded to embrace the religion of the conqueror, which the greatest part of them did, though with the utmost reluctance. The founder and ruler of this new Church (of savage robbers and pirates) was Henri, Archbishop of Upsal, who accompanied the victorious monarch in that bloody campaign." But Henry, for his severe treatment of his new converts, was by them assassinated; and thus procured the honors of saintship and martyrdom from Pope Adrian IV. Can the heathen mythology furnish greater monsters than Dr. Mosheim's bloody Christianity; his pious, learned, tyrannical doctors; his fierce, and savage Christians; and his lordly archbishops, saints and martyrs? But let us pursue the track of these Catholic missionaries a little farther, and see what Gospel, or good news, they spread among the Livonians. Mosheim in his usual style says: "The propagation of the Gospel among the Livonians was attended with much difficulty and also with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed." "Mainerd, a regular canon of St. Augustin (having attempted the conversion of that savage people without success), addressed himself to the Roman Pontiff, Urbain III., who consecrated him bishop to the Livonians, and at the same time declared a *holy war* against this obstinate people."

"This war, which was at first carried on against the inhabitants of the province of Esthonia, was continued with still greater vigor and rendered more universal by Berthold, abbot of Lucca, who left his monastery to share the labors and laurels of Mainerd, whom he accordingly succeeded in the see of Livonia. The new bishop marched

* Eccles. Hist., Century XII.

into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raised in Saxony, preached the Gospel sword in hand, and proved its truth by blows instead of arguments." * Beyond all dispute he proved, by his unmerciful blows, that his religion and his Gospel were a brutal imposition upon the reason and rights of men. "Albert, canon of Bremen, became the third bishop of Livonia, and followed with a barbarous enthusiasm the same military methods of conversion. He entered Livonia in the year 1198, with a fresh body of troops drawn out of Saxony; and encamping at Riga, instituted there, at the direction of the Roman Pontiff, Innocent III., the military order of the knights sword-bearers, who were commissioned to dragoon the Livonians into the profession of Christianity, and to oblige them by force of arms to receive the benefits of baptism."

New legions were sent from Germany to second the efforts and add to the efficacy of the mission of these booted apostles; and they, together with the knights sword-bearers, so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered and tormented this wretched people that, exhausted at length and unable to stand any longer firm against the arm of persecution, they abandoned the statues of the heathen deities, and substituted in their place the images of the saints. Mosheim at length closes his account of the wonderful progress of the Catholic Gospel among the Livonians in his usual murky manner.

"But while they received the blessings of the Gospel, they were at the same time deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and possessions were taken from them with the most odious circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the knights and bishops divided the spoil." Such curses of Anti-Christ's kingdom, retailed out by Orthodox doctors and divines, have driven many men of honest principles to discard the name of Christianity altogether; and justly they might discard a religion that claimed even a distant relation to such a bloody, oppressive, and persecuting hierarchy. But the votaries of such a religion had no relation to the followers of Christ. The true and genuine Gospel of Christ never was preached with sword in hand, but with the power and energy of the Holy Spirit, which is a spirit of peace, long-suffering, meekness and mercy. And when the Gospel was preached by the true ambassadors of Christ, every human being to whom it came had full liberty of choice; and if they embraced the truth it was upon their own inward conviction and their estimation of its value, without any compulsion from any other quarter. Neither did the promulgators of true Christianity ever enact laws to bind those that did not believe; nor did they ever pros

* Eccles. Hist., Century XII.

ecute or practise war or bloodshed to promote their cause, or increase their number; nor compel any one to receive their testimony by any force, violence, or cruelty whatever. This is the truth and cannot be denied. But what shall be said when such booted apostles and lordly bishops with their sword-bearers, drunk with ambition and lust for dominion, are pushing on in every direction to extend the limits of their lawless empire, and spreading calamity and distress wherever they go?

Can any real friend of God or man, look on with indifference or try to amuse a distressed world with flowery tales about a divine Gospel, a benign religion, and a celestial light? Or, must not reason and conscience speak out and testify that all such evangelizing is the cursed deception of anti-Christian tyrants? Such awful scenes of merciless tyranny under the mask of a Christian profession are the most noted achievements of Catholic Emperors, Popes, bishops, and monks during the long reign of Anti-Christ. Many volumes would not contain a full account of all the arts of deception, the pious frauds, the bloody wars, and horrid massacres, the secret wickednesses and open crimes which have been practised in this kingdom under the sacred names of God and Christ, and under a cloak of pious motives and holy ends. But happily such monsters of iniquity are to be clearly known by their fruits, their own historians being witnesses. To say no more their holy wars with the infidel Saracens, as they called them may be sufficient to demonstrate that it was rather a worldly view of Christ's religion they had than that he has set forth in the Gospels.

As seen above, by the influence of the pope and the ecclesiastical and civil powers a vast army was raised in the eleventh century to wrest Palestine from the Mohometans. 800,000 men, each with a consecrated cross appearing upon his right shoulder, set out for Constantinople in 1096 A. D. It was, doubtless, the van of that army, or the part thereof which marched under Peter the Hermit which Mosheim describes as follows: This army was a motley assemblage of monks, prostitutes, artists, laborers, lazy tradesmen, merchants, boys, girls, slaves, malefactors, and profligate debauchees, who were animated solely by the prospect of spoil and plunder and hoped to make their fortunes by this holy campaign."* Dr. Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim, states from the best authority that "the first division of this prodigious army committed the most abominable enormities in the countries through which they passed, and that there was no

* Eccles. Hist., Century XI.

kind of insolence, injustice, impurity, barbarity and violence of which they were not guilty."

"Nothing perhaps in the annals of history can equal the flagitious deeds of this infernal rabble." "We pass in silence," says Mosheim, "the various enormities that were occasioned by these crusades, the murders, rapes and robberies of the most infernal nature that were everywhere committed with impunity by those holy soldiers of God and of Christ, as they were impiously called." And in this manner did the beast wax exceeding great; so that at the sight of his army and horsemen, which were like the sand upon the sea shore for multitude, it might justly have been said: Who is able to make war with him?

The habitable and most populous parts of the globe were the scenes of his ravaging power; and all whose habitation was upon the earth, or who contended for its honors, pleasures and preferments were obliged to worship him, whose iniquitous names and characters never were written in the Book of the innocent Life of the Lamb.

They worshiped the Bishop of Rome, not only by enriching him with their substance, but by conferring upon him such names and titles as Our Lord God the Pope, Another God upon earth, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, the same is the Dominion of God and the Pope, Lord of the Universe, Arbiter of the Fate of Kingdoms and Empires, and Supreme ruler over the Kings and Princes of the earth.* Agreeable to those blasphemous titles his votaries maintain that "the power of the Pope is greater than all created power, and extends itself to things celestial, terrestrial and infernal;" † "that he is not only bishop of Rome, but of the whole world, and is constituted judge in the place of God which he fills as the vicegerent of the Most High, ‡ that he doeth whatsoever he listeth, even things unlawful, and is more than God. He as God, sitteth in the temple of God showing himself that he is God. And he sitteth there as God, especially at his inauguration, when he sitteth upon the high altar in St. Peter's Church, and maketh the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that position receiveth adoration. Such blasphemies are not only allowed but are even encouraged and rewarded in the writers of the Church of Rome: and they are not only the extravagance of private writers but are the language even of public decretals and acts of the coun-

* See Eccles. Hist., Centuries XI., XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XVI.

† His. Redemption, p. 432. Note K.

‡ Dissertation on Prophecy, Vol. 2, p. 71, 72. Diss. XXII.

cils." So says bishop Newton. Thus was the bishop of Rome not only unauthorizedly and unjustifiedly worshiped, but he magnified himself against all authorities, saying that neither kings nor bishops, civil governors nor ecclesiastical rulers have any lawful power in church or state but what they derive from him; that both the kingdom and the souls of kings were under his dominion; and that he had power to bind them in heaven and upon earth.

Such was the remarkable combination of arrogance, assumptions, and wickednesses ineffable, which we see to have centered in the supreme head of this ecclesiastico-political empire, as the world had not before beheld. And this power was granted by all sorts and orders of ignorant, darkminded people, who thus for themselves established the dignity and supreme greatness of fallen man both in a spiritual and temporal view; from all which the greater or designing ones expected to derive some profit; in all which they expected to have a share. It is no wonder, therefore, that the spirit of prophecy, the Holy Spirit of God, should have selected such an impressive symbol to portray that hypocritical and ineffably wicked system as the beast, and the bold, bawd woman seated thereon.

Rise and dominion of the Papacy, etc.

As to the time when this power began conspicuously to appear, there has been much research among the learned. It is seen from the prophecy in Daniel VII., 8, that the little horn sprung up at first insensibly, and then gradually among the ten horns, until finally three of these gave it place by their being plucked up by the roots before it. These three horns were not only overcome by the little horn, but they were eradicated. The conquests of the religion of Rome will not satisfy to explain for the eradicating of these horns; it applies to conquests of the secular power and radical and permanent conquests at that. Now we know that the ecclesiastical preeminence of the bishop of Rome began, even within the times of the primitive Church, to appear above all the other bishops of the Catholic Church. This prestige remained to the Roman pontiff with a gradual increase from the time of Constantine to that of Charlemagne; though during a great part of that interval of 450 years, the city of Rome was trampled under foot, and Italy and the West desolated by contending armies. The first quarter of the seventh century may be taken as the time from which to date the temporal power of the bishop of Rome. True, the sovereignty was not conceded to him until the latter part of the eighth century by the secu-

* Eccles. Hist., Centuries XI.-XVI

lar power; but the circumstances of the times had made him in effect the temporal sovereign of Rome; and from and after the time of Pope Gregory the Great, may be dated the temporal sovereignty of the Roman bishop. This Gregory was one of the most renowned of the Popes of Rome, and he is, perhaps, notwithstanding some difference of opinion among the learned concerning it, the last one of their own order to whom they have given the title of saint. His character, uniting in itself a singular mixture of simplicity, superstition, and cruelty, seems to have suited him for his station and for the temper of the times. As soon as he had received the degree of deacon, he was sent to reside at the Court of Constantinople as the nuncio or minister of the Apostolic See, and he boldly assumed, in the name of St. Peter, a tone of independent dignity which would have been criminal and dangerous in the most illustrious lay subject of the Empire. He returned to Rome with a large increase of reputation, and after for a short time practising the virtues of a monk, he was dragged from the cloister to the Papal throne by the unanimous consent of the clergy and the people. He alone resisted or pretended to resist his own elevation; and his humble petition to the Emperor Maurice (he who, with his family, was killed by Phocas,) that he would be pleased to reject the choice of the Romans, served only to exalt his character in the eyes of the Emperor and the public. When the mandate was proclaimed, Gregory solicited the aid of some merchants to convey him in a basket beyond the gates of Rome, and modestly concealed himself some days among the woods and mountains till his retreat was discovered, as it is said, by a celestial light. In his rival the patriarch of Constantinople he condemned the anti-Christian title of universal bishop, which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to concede, and too feeble to assume; and Gregory's ecclesiastical jurisdiction was confined to the triple character of Bishop of Rome, Primate of Italy, and Apostle of the West; and the bishops of Italy and the adjacent islands acknowledge the bishop of Rome as their special Metropolitan. But Gregory made successful missionary inroads into Spain, Gaul and Britain; and it has been said that the conquest of the last-named country reflects less honor on Cæsar than on Gregory the Great. Instead of six legions he despatched forty monks with Augustin at their head for that distant island, and affected to lament the austere duties which prevented him from taking part in their spiritual warfare. In less than two years, he could announce to the Patriarch of Alexandria that his missionaries had baptised the king of Kent, with ten thousand of his Anglo-Saxon subjects, and that, like the missionaries of the primitive Church, they were armed only with spiritual and supernatural powers. But how

ever this may be, it seems certain, that this orthodox conquest was not obtained without blood; for Robinson, in his Ecclesiastical Researches, asserts that he and his missionary monk Augustin. were the cause of over two thousand Anglo-Saxons having been slaughtered. The heathen temples of Britain, the Pope permitted to be turned into Christian Churches, and the new converts were permitted to sacrifice in honor of the saints and martyrs, instead of their ancient deities, on the days that had been observed in honor of the latter.

The course which Gregory pursued towards the Emperor Phocas, after his usurpation and murder of the Emperor Maurice and his family in such a diabolical manner, may tend to justify the belief that Gregory was capable of such atrocities. Phocas, after his murderous proceedings, was peaceably acknowledged in the provinces of the East and West. His image, with that of his wife Leontina, was exposed in the Vatican at Rome to the veneration of the people and clergy, and afterwards deposited in the palace of the Cæsars between those of Constantine and Theodosius. As a subject and a Christian it might have been the duty of Gregory to acquiesce in the established government until a better could be, or was substituted; but the joyful applause with which, in his epistle to the new Emperor, he salutes the fortune of the assassin, has sullied with an indelible disgrace, the character of the saint. The successor of St. Peter might have inculcated with a respectable firmness the blood-guiltiness of the Emperor, and the necessity of his repentance; he contents himself with celebrating the deliverance of the people, and the fall of the oppressor; he rejoices that the pious and benignant Phocas had been raised to the imperial throne; he prays that his hands may be strengthened against all his enemies; and he expresses a fervent wish, which perhaps he intended for a prophecy, that after a long and triumphant reign he might be transported from a temporal to an eternal kingdom. We have already shown the proceedings of Phocas with respect to Maurice which seemed so pleasing, in Gregory's opinion, both to heaven and earth; and, according to the most impartial historians, Phocas does not appear less hateful in the exercise than in the acquisition of power. They delineate his portrait as that of a ferocious monster.

His credulity or prudence always disposed Gregory to confirm the truths of his religion by the evidence of ghosts, miracles, and resurrections; and the Catholic Church of succeeding ages has freely paid to his saintship the same tribute for virtue as he freely granted to the virtue of the saints of his own and the preceding gen-

erations. The historian Gibbon, in speaking of the Popes, especially of Gregory the Great, says: "Their temporal power insensibly arose from the calamities of the times; and the Roman bishops who have deluged Europe and Asia with blood were compelled to reign as the ministers of charity and peace. The Church of Rome was endowed with ample revenues in Italy, Sicily, and the most distant provinces; and her agents, who were commonly sub-deacons, had acquired a civil and even criminal jurisdiction over their tenants and husbandmen. The successor of St. Peter administered his patrimony with the temper of a vigilant and moderate landlord; and the epistles of Gregory are filled with salutary instructions to abstain from doubtful or vexatious lawsuits, to preserve the integrity of weights and measures, to grant every seasonable delay, and to reduce the capitation of the slaves of the glebe, who purchased the right of marriage by the payment of an ordinary fine. The rent of the produce of those estates was transported to the mouth of the Tiber at the risk and expense of the Pope: in the use of wealth, he acted like a faithful steward of the church and the poor, and liberally supplied to their wants the inexhaustible resources of abstinence and order. The voluminous accounts of his receipts and disbursements was kept above three hundred years in the Lateran as the model of Christian economy. On the four great festivals he divided their quarterly allowance to the clergy, to his domestics, to the monasteries, the churches, the places of burial, the almshouses, the hospitals of Rome, and the rest of the diocese. On the first day of every month he distributed to the poor, according to the season, their stated portion of corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, oil, fish, fresh provisions, clothes and money; and his treasurers were continually summoned to satisfy, in his name, the extraordinary demands of indigence and merit. The instant distress of the sick and helpless, of strangers and pilgrims, was relieved by the bounty of each day and of every hour; nor would the pontiff indulge himself in a frugal repast till he had sent the dishes from his own table to some objects deserving of his compassion. The misery of the times had reduced the nobles and matrons of Rome to accept, without a blush, the benevolence of the church: three thousand virgins received their food and raiment from the hand of their benefactor; and many bishops of Italy escaped from the barbarians to the hospitable threshold of the Vatican. Gregory might justly be styled the Father of his country; and such was the extreme sensibility of his conscience, that for the death of a beggar who had perished in the streets, he interdicted himself for several days from the exercise of sacerdotal functions.

The misfortunes of Rome involved the apostolic pastor in the

business of peace and war; and it might be doubtful to himself whether piety or ambition prompted him to supply the place of his absent sovereign. Gregory awakened the Emperor from a long slumber; exposed the guilt or incapacity of the Exarch, and his inferior ministers, and complained that the veterans were withdrawn from Rome for the defence of Spoleto; encouraged the Italians to guard their cities and altars; and condescended in the crisis of danger, to name the tribunes, and to direct the operations of the provincial troops. But the martial spirit of the Pope was checked by the scruples of humanity and religion; the imposition of tribute, though it was employed in the Italian war, he freely condemned as odious and oppressive; whilst he protected, against the imperial edicts, the pious cowardice of the soldiers who deserted a military for a monastic life. If we may credit his own declaration, it would have been easy for Gregory to have exterminated the Lombards by their domestic factions, without leaving a king, a duke, or a count to save that unfortunate nation from the vengeance of their foes. As a Christian bishop, he preferred the salutary offices of peace; his mediation appeased the tumult of arms; but he was too conscious of the arts of the Greeks (i. e., the Eastern Romans) and the passions of the Lombards to engage his sacred promise for the observance of the truce. Disappointed in the hope of a general and lasting treaty he presumed to save his country without the consent of the Emperor or the Exarch. The sword of the enemy was suspended over Rome; it was averted by the mild eloquence and seasonable gifts of the Pontiff who commanded the respect of heretics and barbarians. The merits of Gregory were treated by the Byzantine Court with reproach and insult; but in the attachment of a grateful people he found the purest reward of a citizen, and the best right of a sovereign." *

The time of Gregory, then, or a little before, appears to be about the first beginning of the exercise of temporal sovereignty by the popes, which sovereignty arose principally from the circumstance of Rome being separated from Ravenna, the seat of the Exarch, by hostile lands. The pontificate of Gregory the Great was from 590 to 604. The secular sovereignty was taken away from the pope in 1870 by the king of Italy. And reckoning back 1260 years, the limits of the prophecy, at the rate of thirty days for a month or 360 days for a year, it would place the beginning of this power about this time or a little before, as we must consider that 1260 years of 360 days each are not equal to the same number of ordinary years in length. This period of 1260 days or years refers not only to th

* Milman's Gibbon's Rome, ch. XLV.

great Roman empire of which we have treated, having Constantinople as the seat of government, but to this Ecclesiastico-civil Roman empire of which we are now treating; and as for the systems arising from the Protestant Reformation, which we have yet to notice, we shall leave their duration to be proved by the event.

After the so-called restoration of the Western Empire by Charlemagne and the German emperors, the latter in the election of the popes continued to exercise the powers which had previously been exercised by the Roman emperors or their representatives the Exarchs, and by the Gothic Kings of Italy; and the importance of this prerogative increased with the temporal estate and spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman Church. In the aristocracy of this church the principal members of the clergy still formed a senate to assist the administration and to supply the vacancies of the bishop. Each of the parishes of Rome, which were 28 altogether, was governed by a presbyter or cardinal-priest, a title which, though of humble origin, afterwards aspired to emulate the purple of kings. Their number was enlarged by the association of the seven deacons of the most considerable hospitals, the seven palatine judges of the Lateran, and some dignitaries of the Church. The ecclesiastical senate was directed by the seven cardinal bishops of the Roman province, who were less occupied in their diocese outside the city than by their weekly service in the Lateran and their superior share in the honors and authority of the apostolic see. On the death of the pope the bishops recommended a successor to the suffrage of the college of cardinals, and their choice was ratified or rejected by the applause or clamor of the Roman people. But the election was imperfect, nor could the pontiff be legally consecrated till the emperor, the advocate of the church, had signified his approbation and consent. The royal commissioner examined on the spot the form and freedom of the proceedings; nor was it till after a previous scrutiny into the qualifications of the candidates, that he accepted an oath of fidelity, and confirmed to the new pope the donations which had successively enriched the patrimony of St. Peter. In the frequent schisms the rival claims were submitted to the sentence of the emperor; and in a synod of bishops he undertook to judge, to condemn and to punish the crimes of a guilty pontiff. Otho the First imposed a treaty on the senate and people who engaged to prefer the candidate most acceptable to his majesty; his successors anticipated and prevented their choice; they bestowed the see of Rome on their chancellors and preceptors; and whatever might be the merit of a Frank or German, his name on the list of the pontiffs sufficiently attests the interposition of a foreign power. The competitor who found himself ex-

cluded by the cardinals sometimes appealed to the passions or avarice of the multitude. The city was stained with blood, and the most powerful Roman senators held the see of St. Peter in a long and disgraceful servitude. The popes of the ninth and tenth centuries were insulted, imprisoned and murdered by their tyrants; and such was their indigence after the loss and usurpation of the Ecclesiastical patrimony that, in many cases, they could neither support the state of a prince, nor exercise the charity of a priest. The influence of two prostitutes, sisters, Marioza and Theodora, who lived during this period, was founded on their wealth and beauty, their political and amorous intrigues. The most attentive of their lovers were honored with the popedom, and their reign may have suggested to other ages the story of a female pope. The son and grandson of Marioza were seated in the chair of St. Peter, and it was at the age of nineteen that the first of these became head of the Roman Church. The youth and manhood of the young pontiff were of a similar complexion, and the pilgrims from different nations could bear witness to the charges which were urged against him in a Roman synod and in the presence of the emperor, Otho the Great. As John XI.* had renounced the dress and decencies of his profession and had taken up the profession of a soldier, in his military character, which he sustained at the same time with that of pontiff, he may not perhaps be dishonored by the wine which he drank, the blood which he spilt, the conflagrations which he kindled, or his licentious pursuits of gaming and hunting. His open simony might have been caused by distress; and his blasphemous invocations of Jupiter and Venus might possibly not have been serious. But with all this we read that this worthy son of Marioza lived in public adultery with the matrons of Rome; that the Lateran was turned into a school for prostitution, and that his rapes of virgins and widows had deterred the female pilgrims from visiting the shrine of St. Peter, lest in their act of devotion they should be violated by his successor.

While the attention of the Emperors was directed to more alluring objects or while they were occupied with the defence of their hereditary dominions, Rome occasionally experienced intestine discords from the ambition of usurpers. Amidst the ruins of Italy the famous Marioza invited a usurper, Hugh, King of Burgundy, to assume the character of her third husband, and he was introduced by her faction into the mole of Hadrian, or castle of St. Angelo, which

* There is indeed some confusion in the history of the popes of this period. Muratori has discovered John XI. to have been the son of Alberic, the husband of Marioza.

commands the principal bridge and entrance of Rome. Alberic, her son by the first marriage, was compelled to attend at the wedding; but his ungraceful and reluctant service was chastised by a blow from his new father. The blow was productive of a revolution. "Romans!" exclaimed the youth, "once you were masters of the world, and these Burgundians the most abject of your slaves. They now reign, those voracious and brutal savages, and my injury is the commencement of your servitude." The alarm bell rung to arms in every quarter of the city; the Burgundians retreated with precipitation; Marioza was imprisoned by her victorious son, and his brother, pope John the eleventh, was reduced to the exercise of his spiritual functions. With the title of prince, Alberic possessed over twenty years the government of Rome; and he is said to have gratified the people by restoring the office of the consuls and tribunes.

His son and heir assumed with the pontificate, the name of John XII. He, like his predecessor, was provoked by the Lombards to seek a deliverer for the Church and republic. Otho II. performed these services on his coming to receive the imperial crown. The festival of his coronation was disturbed by the secret conflict of prerogative and freedom, and the Emperor commanded his guards not to stir from his side lest he should be assaulted and murdered at the foot of the altar. Before he repassed the Alps, he chastised the rebels and John XII. for his ingratitude. The pope was degraded in a synod; the præfect was mounted on an ass, whipped through the city and imprisoned; thirteen of the most guilty were hanged; others were mutilated or banished; and this severe process the Emperor justified by a reference to the ancient laws of Theodosius and Justinian. The voice of fame has accused Otho for a perfidious and bloody act, the massacre of the senators whom he had invited to his table under the fair semblance of hospitality and friendship; but the authority on which we have this is suspected. In the reign of his son, Otho III., Rome made a bold attempt to shake off the German yoke, and the consul Crescentius was the leader of the Republicans. From the condition of a subject and an exile he twice rose to the command of the city, oppressed, expelled, and created the popes, and formed a conspiracy for restoring the authority of the eastern Roman Emperors. In the fortress of St. Angelo he maintained an obstinate siege till he was betrayed by a promise of safety; his body was suspended on a gibbet, and his head was exposed on the battlement of the castle. By a turn of fortune, Otho III., after separating his troops, was besieged three days in his palace without food; and a disgraceful escape saved him from the fury of the Romans. The senator Ptolemy was the leader of the people, and the widow of Crescentius

enjoyed the pleasure or the repute of revenging her husband by a poison which she administered to her imperial lover. It is said to have been the design of this Otho to erect his throne in Italy, and to revive the institutions of the Roman monarchy; but this design he or his successors never accomplished, probably owing to their continued preference for the royal seat of their ancestors, and to the imminent personal danger to which they would be subject from strangers and Romans.

After a long series of scandals, the see of St. Peter was reformed and exalted by Pope Gregory VII., 1050–1100. This ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects: I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of the election of the Pope, and to abolish forever the right of interference on the part of the Emperors and the Roman people. II. To bestow or resume the Western empire as a fief or benefice of the Church, and to extend the temporal dominion of the successor of St. Peter over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a contest of fifty years, the first of these designs was accomplished, by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order whose liberty was connected with that of their chief. But the accomplishment of the second design, though it was attended with some practical success, was vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the progress of reason.

Gregory VII., who did so much to establish the Papal Sovereignty and to extend its influence, was in his old age driven from Rome and died in exile. Thirty-six of his successors maintained a very unequal contest with the Romans; their age and dignity were often violated; the streets of Rome and the churches in the solemn rites of religion exhibited on many occasions a scene of blood and murder. At length in the year 1309, the Popes, having abandoned Rome, took up their residence at Avignon, in France, where they remained over seventy years. When, after the expiration of this period, they effected a return, they still occasionally encountered some opposition in the city. Gregory XI., survived his return about fourteen months. After his death the conclave elected Urban VI. But after he had been installed into office, adored, invested, and crowned in the customary manner, and his supremacy was acknowledged at Rome, Avignon, and in the Latin world, the cardinals reversed their decision, excommunicated him, and elected a new Pope, Robert of Geneva, called Clement VII., in his place. The Romans were dissatisfied with the last election on account of the foreign birth of Clement, and rose *en masse* against the cardinals, the majority of whom were French. Thirty thousand rebels surrounded the conclave: "Death, or an Italian Pope" was their unanimous cry. Some preparations were made for burning the cardinals if they should not

comply with their wishes; and had they chosen another foreigner for Pope, it is probable they would never have escaped alive from the Vatican. The features of the tyrant could now be discovered in Urban, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber, six cardinals groaning on the rack. The cardinals left the matter as it was, and the merits of their double choice made a subject which was long agitated in the catholic schools. Thus a schism was created which destroyed the peace of Europe for forty years. From the banks of the Tiber and the Rhone the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword: the civil and ecclesiastical orders of society were disturbed, and the Romans had their full share of the troubles which they might be said to have authorized. By the avocations of the schism; by foreign arms and popular tumults, Urban VI. and his three immediate successors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The opposite parties at Rome still exercised their deadly feuds; the Vicar of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised the rebels with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger, and in a friendly conference eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the streets. In the year 1434, the people rose in arms against the Pope: elected seven men to govern the republic, and a constable of the capitol; imprisoned the Pope's nephew: besieged himself in the palace, and shot volleys of arrows into his bark as he escaped in the habit of a monk down the Tiber. But he possessed in his castle of Angelo a garrison, which remained faithful to him, and a train of artillery; their batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet dexterously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and scattered with a single shot the heroes of the republic. A rebellion of five months exhausted their constancy; the troops of St. Peter again occupied the capitol; the demagogues departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled, and the Pope's legate at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse was hailed as the father of the city. From this time the Popes maintained an army in the citadel which they exercised in compelling peace and obedience; and before the year 1500 they had acquired over Rome a more absolute dominion than they had ever possessed before, which they have continued to exercise till within our time.

Their temporal claims were readily deduced from the fabulous or genuine donations of the darker ages, but, to relate with particularity the steps by which they came to their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy and Europe. The crimes of Pope Alexander VI., the martial operations of Julius II.,

and the statesmanlike policy of Leo X., have been adorned by the pens of the ablest historians of the times. In the first period of their conquests till the expedition of Charles VIII., the Popes might successfully wrestle with adjacent princes and states whose military force was equal or inferior to their own. But as soon as the monarchs of France, and Germany, and Spain, contended with arms for the dominion of Italy they supplied with art their want of strength, and concealed in a labyrinth of wars and treaties their aspiring views. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the north and west, united under the standard of Charles V; the fluctuating policy of Clement VII. exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror, and Rome was abandoned during seven months to a lawless army more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals. After this severe lesson, together with that which they were being taught by the Protestant reformers, the Popes contracted their ambition which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities except in a hasty quarrel when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish Sultan were armed at the same time against the Kingdom of Naples.

Through a forgery of the Vatican and the ignorance of the times it was long and universally believed in Europe that Constantine had invested the Popes with the civil dominion of Rome. In the beginning of the twelfth century, the truth and validity of this donation was disputed by a Sabine monastery. But in the fifteenth century, with the revival of learning, this fictitious deed was completely exposed, especially by the pen of Laurentius Valla, a learned Roman; and such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that before the end of the next age, that fable, so long believed, was rejected by the contempt of historians and poets, and the modest censure of the advocates of the Roman Church; and even the Popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar on account of it. Fraud is often the resource of weakness and cunning, and on their arrival at the Eternal City with their armies, the strong, though ignorant barbarian kings and emperors had often been entangled in the net of sacerdotal policy. The Vatican and Lateran were an arsenal which, according to the occasion, have produced or concealed a various collection of false or genuine, of corrupt or spurious or suspicious acts, as they tended to promote the interests of the Roman Church. Before the end of the eighth century some scribe attached to St. Peter, thought to be the notorious Isodore,* composed the decretals and the donation of Constantine, the two

* Cardinal Baronius strangely enough suspected it to be a forgery of the Eastern Romans.

magic pillars of the ecclesiastical and civil power of the Popes. This remarkable donation was first introduced to the world in an Epistle of Adrian I. to Charlemagne, in which he exhorts that monarch to imitate the liberality and revive the name of the great Constantine. According to the legend Constantine was healed of the leprosy and purified in the waters of baptism * by St. Sylvester, bishop of Rome; and never was a physician more abundantly recompensed. His royal patron withdrew from the seat and patrimony of St. Peter, declared his resolution of founding a new capital in the East, and resigned to the Popes the free and independent sovereignty of Rome, Italy and the West. So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the dark ages that this most absurd of fables was received with equal reverence both in the Eastern and Western provinces of the Roman world. The Emperors and the Romans were incapable of discerning a forgery which subverted their rights and freedom, and the fabulous origin was lost in the substantial effects. The name of Dominus or Lord was inscribed on the coin of the bishop, their title was acknowledged by the acclamations and oaths of allegiance of their citizens, and with the free or reluctant consent of the German emperors they had long exercised a sovereign or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and the patrimony of St. Peter.

Doubtless the remembrance of the deception, whether or not any of their forefathers had been deceived by it, intensified the hatred of the German potentates against the Church of Rome at the era of the Reformation. But it appears pretty evident the Western rulers were never much influenced by the supposed act of donation or the decretals of Constantine; for they always recognized themselves as the kings of Rome and Italy; and perhaps it has been remarked there was always particular care taken that Rome and Italy should have a sovereign besides the Pope. But, on the other hand, while these secular rulers regarded themselves as the kings of Rome and Italy, the Popes never appear to have assumed that title, never assumed the crown of the Western Empire; but satisfied themselves with their bishop's tiara of three crowns, which, while it denoted their headship of the Catholic Church, also indicated their triple character of sovereigns of heaven, earth, and hell. Moreover, the Pope never represented any of the supreme secular rulers of Rome; he did not represent the kings, the consuls, the decemvirs, the military tribunes with consular power, the dictators, or the emperors; but he represented the Exarch of Ravenna, the lieutenant of the

* Our readers will remember that Constantine was not baptized till just before his death when that rite was administered to him by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia.

Emperor, who was of the seventh class of rulers by which Rome was governed; it was the Exarchate of Ravenna that the Pope acquired from Pepin, and he was, therefore, in his civil capacity, the Exarch, one of that class of rulers; but in his ecclesiastical character he was different from him, and thus constituted an eighth class of rulers for Rome.

During the era of the Crusades, A. D., 1100–1300, Rome was revered by the Western provincials as the Metropolis of the world, as the throne of the Pope and the Emperor, who from the Eternal City derived their title, their honors, and their right to exercise temporal dominion. The Pope was regarded as the Father or head of the Catholic Church; under the influence of the successive Popes the conquest of Germany and Britain and all the other barbarous nations of Europe had been gained or compelled to the Catholic faith. The secular power of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Roman Empire proper, yielded to the Crusaders in their capture of Constantinople, and their reign there for fifty-seven years may be significant of the universal conquest which this power would attain in the Empire, as denoted by the representation in the prophecy of the power which we are considering, and which had its centre of influence at Rome. The heart and arm of this power, or the German Empire, never belonged to the Roman Empire proper, but attained what it did attain of it by conquest. The Emperors and the Popes were at the head of the nations of Catholic Christendom; the secular force of this symbolic beast was essentially foreign to the old Roman Empire, formerly governed from Rome, then from Constantinople; and the Popes, after acquiring such unbounded influence as they did, used the sword of the barbarians in propagating their doctrines, and in accomplishing the objects of their ambition. It is readily seen, therefore, from this whole discourse that this symbolic beast of Rev. XVII, though having seven heads and ten horns as the one represented in ch. XIII had, signifies a different combination of power from that, though partly contained in it; a power in which the German element was essentially the secular force; for the Franks who overcame the Roman province of Gaul and settled therein, as well as the Anglo-Saxons who supplanted the Romans in Britain; and then the Normans from Scandinavia, afterwards in Britain and in Southern Europe, were all of Gothic origin. So that the great exponent of this power implied in the two horns of Rev. XIII, 11–18, and in the ten horns Rev. XVII is found in the Gothic or Germanic nations with their emperors and kings at their heads in company with the bishop of Rome governing Roman Catholic Christendom, civilly and religiously. This was largely a power

foreign to the old Roman empire, extending far beyond its limits to the north and northwest.

The symbolic representation therefore of the beast and the woman seated thereon is exponental of that new combination of government, religious and political, whereof the pope was the acknowledged spiritual head and whereof the nations principally of the Gothic race constituted the body, as well as largely the intellectual and physical force.

In considering the French nation in its connection with the Papacy I may say: That the French republic should continue to run a prosperous course for many ages yet to come is much to be desired for the good of the inhabitants of France in their successive generations. The standing army now (1889) maintained in France is, however, unnatural and abnormal for that country as a republic; but this the authorities would not think it prudent to very largely diminish while there are such large standing armies maintained in the bordering nations. A mutual agreement for disarmament among "the great powers," as they are called, with an international law to which they would all submit, on the basis of arbitration, would leave no necessity for other bodies of men under arms in those countries than their respective police organizations. Such an international agreement and law is certainly a necessity; and a general disarmament by those great powers would be nothing but what is due to their peoples, who have been too long oppressed by taxation for the support of those large armies. The money now used for the purpose of keeping those countries on such a strong war footing might much better be spent in the properly feeding, clothing, and educating their peoples; and in the missionary work at home and in foreign lands.

But although the continuity of the French republic be, as I say, much to be desired, still I fear such a crisis may come internally to France as may unfortunately lead that people to burst through the bounds of a respectable moderation; and, contrary to their real interests, resort again to an imperial administration. But this they have no need whatever to do in order to exalt themselves in the eyes of the world in a military point of view; for looking at their past history there is enough found in it to show the French one of the greatest military peoples on earth. The military glories of their Charlemague they can afford to divide with the Germans, as I find they may be willing to divide also those of their Hugh Capet; but still they have left their magnificent house of Bourbon,

beginning with their Henry of Navarre and including their great for all the ages Louis XIV. Afterwards they have their man of destiny, Napoleon Buonaparte, who appears to have been a greater military genius than either of the preceding restorers of the western empire, Charlemagne or Hugh (Otho) the great; but who, doubtless, did France much more harm than good. His glories, however, are yet fresh in the French mind at the time when he brought the potentates of Europe to bow at the feet of France; glories which dazzled; were but for the moment; and cost the French nation much more in blood, sufferings, and treasure than they were worth. But is there any preindication that the name of Bonaparte will be yet all triumphant in and for France? There may be; and if the name of Bonaparte again triumphs in France may it be in the cause of a peace-loving and prosperous republic! Looking at how well the republic has done and is doing there can be no excuse for any one in the future seeking to exalt imperialism in France. Rome as a republic gained her ascendancy among the nations and so you may say did France under the first Buonaparte; but the accursed bauble of imperialism was sought, and, having been adopted, soon brought the loss of virility to the people as a whole, and decay and destruction with it.

That the name of Buonaparte has in it some charm for theFrench people would seem indicated in the vote given in 1849 for Louis Napoleon as president of the republic. The vote of the French nation, which was then unquestionably free, was three to one for him; but having been elected to the presidency, he bent his mind upon the imperial title. As the next election approached in 1851 he applied to the legislative assembly to procure an amendment of the constitution, so that he might be a second time eligible to the presidency; but they having refused this and being about to impeach him, he sprang upon them the trap called "*coup d' etat*," by which he displaced in an hour the legislative assembly and usurped the supreme power. In his confidence for the execution of this design were only three others namely, the heads of the army, of the police, and one other person. The two first, however, may not be understood as having entered into any conspiracy with him for that end, but as simply having obeyed his orders as president of the republic. The leaders of the assembly and the high military officers of the republic he had arrested in their beds at 5 o'clock in the morning of December 22nd, 1851, and each in a separate vehicle transported rapidly from Paris. The remaining members of the

assembly coming to their place in the morning were treated with indignity, some of them being arrested and imprisoned a few days. Many of the French patriots were transported to the unhealthy swamps of French Guiana. Louis Napoleon then called upon the people to vote aye or nay to the questions. "Do you desire Louis Napoleon to hold office for ten years." The vote having been taken showed a majority for him of five-sevenths. In the next year (1852) he made the tour of France and won the people over to the restoration of the empire by his engaging manners. As emperor he was styled Napoleon III. The semblance of a constitution, with a council and lower house, which he established, was so dependent upon himself as to strengthen rather than share in his power.

Before the Roman dominion was established over Gaul there was no one government which we know of that had dominion over the whole of that country. So far as Julius Cæsar gives us the history of ancient Gaul, in connection with his wars therein, the country was evidently divided up among several, perhaps many chiefs before or at this time. We may say, therefore, that the Roman is the first government over Gaul, considered as a whole, of which we have definite knowledge. If then we begin with the Roman dynasty in Gaul and reckon the dynasties in succession we shall, I think, fairly discover the imperial Bonapartist to be the eighth, and to have arisen from the seventh, namely, the Triconsulate, Napoleon having been appointed by the Directory First of the three consuls. The dynasties are as follows: —

ROMAN PROCONSULATE OVER GAUL 60 B. C. TO 486 A. D.

Monarchy (complete) of the Franks over Gaul 532 to 1792 A. D.					
Assemblé Nationale, a sovereignty over the Franks,					May 5, 1789, to Sept. 30, 1791
Assemblé Legislative, a	"	"	"	"	Sept. 30, 1791, to Sept. 21, 1792
Convention Nationale, a	"	"	"	"	Sept. 21, 1792, to Oct. 26, 1795
Directory, a	"	"	"	"	Oct. 26, 1795 to Nov. 11, 1799
Consulate, a	"	"	"	"	Nov. 11, 1799, to May 18, 1804
Empire, a	"	"	"	"	May 18, 1804, to——— 1815

The French monarchy over ancient Gaul is usually dated from 481 A. D. in the reign of Clovis, their first Christian king, but as a matter of fact their monarchy over Gaul was not completed till the final subjugation of the Burgundians was effected late in the reign of the sons of Clovis, in about 532 (see Dec. and Fall, III., p. 580; and Willard's Univ. Hist., pp. 187–8). You perceive that

all those sovereignties are of different names, no two of them being alike as to this.

In the beginning of September, 1792 "the Legislative Assembly," which had been in session since May 5th, 1789, closed its career, and was succeeded by an Assembly still more violent, called "the National Convention:" This last body on the 20th Sept., 1792, declared the regal power abolished and a republic established in its stead. On the 21st January, 1793, king Louis XVI. was beheaded by the National Convention; his queen Maria Antoinette, daughter of the empress Maria Theresa of Austria, being executed later in the same year.

In 1794 the National Convention remodeled the Constitution so as to make it less democratic. The executive was now intrusted to a Directory, consisting of five persons, who were assisted by a legislative body of two councils, that of "the ancients" of two hundred and fifty, and "the council of five hundred." All laws were to originate with the five hundred, but not to pass without the sanction of the ancients. Some of the provisions of the new constitution were unacceptable to the Parisians and the National Guards, 30,000 of whom rose in arms. Barras, one of the five directors brought forward and placed at the head of the army of the republic in Paris a young Corsican officer, who promptly reduced them to order. This was an officer, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, and whose name was Napoleon Buonaparte: 1795. This man then for four years pursued a generally victorious career at the head of the armies of the republic, beyond the boundaries of France. But meantime France was torn by factions, which the directorial government found it difficult to manage. Buonaparte, therefore, with the Abbe Sieyes, planned another revolution, in which the Directory placed him at the head of the republican forces in Paris. At their head he proceeded to the legislature, met at St. Cloud, and, like Cromwell, expelled the members at the point of the bayonet. Upon this, in 1799, three consuls were appointed, as the executive of the republic, of whom Buonaparte was first. A victorious course abroad and a consolidation of his power by a conciliation of the great parties, religious and political, at home, procured that in four years more, 1803, he was declared by the senate first consul for life. In this year several acts of remarkable cruelty are ascribed to Buonaparte, such as his allowing Toussaint Louverture, president of St. Domingo, to die of neglect in a prison in Paris; and his condemning the young duke D'Enghien to death

on the accusation of having conspired with others against his life. The obsequious senate, in this same year, offered him the title of emperor, when he begun to prepare for the coronation of himself and his wife Josephine, which took place on Dec. 2, 1804.

In 1871 Napoleon III. and "his Holiness" fell together, in regard to their temporalities; and Napoleon III. is still of the eighth dynasty, King Louis Philip of "the house of Orleans," which intervened (1830–1848) between Napoleon I. and Napoleon III. being in male line of the house of Bourbon. With the Carlovingian house of France the Papal monarchy arose; and with the Napoleonic dynasty it fell, and during that long period there appears, on the whole, to have been a much greater unanimity between the Papal and French monarchies than between the Papal monarchy and the German empire. The time, too, of the Christian Roman empire of Constantinople is about the same in length with these two sovereignties, if we suppose 750 to have been about the year Pepin was crowned first king of France of the Carlovingian dynasty; and 328 the year when Constantine made the Christian the established religion of the Roman empire. (1871—750=1121 years): (1453—328=1125 years.) There are, doubtless, some considerations in connection with these dates of beginnings and terminations, the full understanding of which would perhaps show the deviations to be equal.

In regard to the empire of the Ottoman Turks, there are some things connected with its rise which bear to be noticed here. As is known this empire arose on the ruins wrought by Tamerlane and after his departure for Samarcaud in 1404. Bajazet, the Turkish emperor, whom Tamerlane took captive at the battle of Angora in 1402, died in 1403 leaving five sons, who reigned, in a way contemporaneously over their father's dominions. Their names in order (Dec. and Fall, VI. 278-9-280) are: 1 Mustapha; 2 Isa; 3 Soliman; 4 Mousa; 5 Mohammed. The last named, having survived the rest, became Mohammed I., sole ruler of the Ottoman empire. He was succeeded by his son Amurath II., and he by his son Mohammed II., who captured Constantinople. You, therefore, see how this appears from one point of view. "Five are fallen" (Rev. XVII., 10) the five brothers; "and one is" Amurath II., who is sixth; "the other," Mohammed II., "is not yet come, and, when he cometh, he must continue a short space," that is, without complete possession of the (Roman) empire; this was from 1451, when he took his father's place, to 1453, when he had captured the city; "and the beast that was and is not even he is an eighth," that is, as a seventh, he was Turkish emperor; as an eighth he was Turkish-Roman emperor, a variation of the seventh; "and is of the seventh, and goeth into perdition;" this last meaning that his empire will wane somewhat as the moon.

But, if we reckon Orchan, son of Othman, the first of the Ottomans, who established the Turks in Europe, as the first of the seven, we have in succession: 1 Orchan; 2 Amurath I.; 3 Bajazet I.; 4 Mousa, invested as emperor by Tamerlane; 5 Mohammed I., emperor after the Mogul's departure; 6 Amurath II.; 7 Mohammed II., the seventh and eighth also as explained.

Chapter XVIII.

V. 1–4: See Bible: This mighty angel with whose glory the earth is illumined, symbolizes the general mental energizing and enlightening which took place for the Protestant reformation and its result. The nature of the fall of Babylon spoken of is a moral

one, as we speak of "a fallen woman;" and the general proclamation indicates the system or systems symbolized as Babylon to be really in a low condition morally and spiritually. Babylon is, according to this, the habitation of demons and the hold of every foul spirit and every unclean and hateful bird. In the original the word translated cage is the same as that translated hold in the line before.

In the third verse is given the reason for the general demoniacal and impure state of Babylon: "All the nations which have drunk

of the wine of her fornication" are the nations of the Christian Roman empire, especially as here meant of its western division, symbolized in Chapter XVII. Both the kings of the earth and the Christians generally had committed the spiritual fornication; and the merchants of the earth (the dealers in spiritual wares are referred to here) who were waxed rich (in worldly wealth) " with the power of her indulgence."

Vs. 4–21: See Bible: "Another voice now comes from heaven calling the people out of Babylon; and continuing its discourse, vs. 21–24. (See Bible.) Another angel illustrates Babylon's fall by casting a great millstone into the sea, thus showing her condition consequent upon her spiritual whoredom. "And in her (Babylon) was found the blood of prophets and saints and all that were slain upon the earth."

V. 24. This appears to include all Church and State Christianity, and it may be more.

CHAPTER XIX. 1–3: See Bible.

Here there is an ascription of praise to God from a great crowd of people in the heaven, which indicates a better state of things as having taken place or as being brought about. This, too, is in justification of God for the course he has taken in his judgment of Babylon, which had corrupted the earth with her spiritual whoredom and had worn out and cruelly murdered his saints. Allelulia, praise to Jah or Jehovah, is a word used by the Hebrews to express pious joy and exultation. "And her smoke rose up forever and ever," in which a reference is had to Isai. XXXIV. 10, where that prophet utters judgments concerning Idumea.

V. 4: To all this ascription of praise to Jehovah from the great throng of people in the heaven, the four living creatures who again now appear on the scene, assent, saying, Amen, Allelujah.

V. 5: "A voice came out of the throne, saying, praise our God, all ye his servants."

In which is a reference to Psal. CXXXV. wherein David asks all to join him in an anthem of praise to God.

Vs. 6 and 7: See Bible: There is signification of deep feeling here; all nature seems pregnant with praise to God. A great multitude, many waters, mighty thunderings, all ascribing praise

to the Lord God omnipotent! who now reigns in the heart of men instead of the old idol of Babylon. This indicates an effectual change geographically and spiritually thus far.

V. 7. "The marriage of the Lamb is come," etc.

The church is the Lamb's wife which hath now rid herself of her idols and fornications and prepared herself for her own proper husband. The church cannot afford to join herself to the state nor to any other partner than Christ. If she do she makes a mistake and begins a series of crimes against God and man.

V. 8: "And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen," etc. There is a reference here to Isai. LXI. 10; and Psalm CXXXII. 9.

V. 9: "Blessed are they that are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb," etc.

Because they are thus called into union with Christ. They partake of his righteousness, holiness, and eternal life.

V. 10: "And I fell at his feet to worship him (that is the angel): And he said unto me, See (thou do it) not. I am thy fellow servant, of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: Worship God; for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

Now this angel, whom John proceeds to worship, must have been that vial angel, spoken of in Ch. XVII. 1, who took pains to show the prophet the mystery of the spiritual system of Babylon; which indicates him to have been one of those who represented the martyrs for the truth of Jesus. The martyrs are here having their prayers answered and actually in the heaven witness the justice of God administered to the nations of their old persecutors. They first witnessed for Christ and suffered persecution for this; now they witness the retributive justice of God administered on their persecutors. Who will now say that God is not just and the justifier of all who put their trust in him through Christ? Here it is certainly shown that he is; there can be no doubt of this left in the mind of any sober investigator who studies this symbolic presentation in connection with history.

Vs. 11–17: See Bible: This representation in these six verses shows the world largely converted to the true religion of Christ. The proof of this is in the fact that the rider on the white horse has on his head many diadems (not stephanoi, as always before of

religious teachers). This shows Christ ruling the world in the Millennium. Arbitration must here prevail and the nations must live in accordance with the true Christian character and religion. The nations and kingdoms of the earth here belong to Christ. He reigns supreme over them, which is indicated by the diadems. But oh, how different an era is here represented from that of carnage and bloodshed which has characterized the time, times and a half of State and Church Christianity! People in this age have rid themselves of their insane practices and live in harmony with the law of God written in their own hearts as well as in the Gospel.

"His eyes were as a flame of fire:" Omniscience beaming with omnipotent love! "Clothed with a vesture dipped n blood:" He is the same who has trodden the winepress of God's wrath against man's sin alone on Calvary! Not there did he get his vesture dipped in blood, as in the ten persecutions and in the time, times and an half he got it dipped in blood and in fire! "The armies of heaven clothed in white linen on white horses follow him." What a beautiful picture of the saints in the Millennium! In their non-carnal militancy they follow their leader whithersoever he goeth. Their kingdom is not of this world after the old Adamic fashion. Their's is a spiritual warfare; and they have conquered and do conquer through him that loved them and gave himself for them. "Out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword:" This state of things succeeds one of great missionary and educational effort. But the Lord has conquests without and within yet to make, and so he goes forth conquering and to conquer, and those nations who will not come under his spiritual yoke he will tread in the winepress of the fierceness of his wrath. This he will do as ultimately an irresistible conqueror as is indicated not only by his many diadems, but by his title written on his thigh, King of Kings and Lord of lords. The meaning of all this is clear as pointing to the great work, both of a reforming and missionary nature of the reformed systems, for the last three or four centuries; and what will go on in the Millennium.

Vs. 17–21: See Bible. The prophecy in these verses seems connected with the preceding. The angel standing in the sun has reference to the political heaven of the western Roman empire for this epoch. The political sun of this empire before 1806 was the emperor of Austria: Then, till 1815, Napoleon I. was its political sun. From 1815 till about 1852 the emperor of Austria was again regarded as head of the holy Roman (German) empire.

But after 1852, Napoleon III. outshone him; for having conquered him in Italy and vanquished Russia in the Crimea, as well as for other reasons, he took, in a sense, the first Napoleon's place. But to a reformed nation, which was now the supporter of evangelism, he, unluckily for himself, threw down the gauntlet of war; and his challenge having been accepted he was badly defeated and his protege, the pontiff of Rome, sunk, as to his temporalities, with him. In this sunken condition temporally the Napoleons of France and pontiffs of Rome are yet; and we have no doubt that in this very condition the index of their spiritual life points much higher than if they were incumbered with the cares of earthly government; and so we wish them well and long in their present unincumbered condition. After the great physical overthrow related in vs. 19–20, we find in v. 21, him who sits on the white horse, and who sits by his representatives in the Congress of Berlin in 1878, engaged in subduing the remnant with the sword which proceeded out of his mouth; which means that he is subduing them in united Italy and in united Germany, and in Republican France and in the whole Turkish empire by means of education, evangelism and a perceptible degree of justice and fair play given by the governors to the governed. "And all the fowls were filled with their flesh:" So far as nations which were monarchical, as France, become republican in the new regime, they have the spoils of royalty. But the symbolization means that those nations are entering into a higher life, an educational and spiritual life; a state of mind in which they will think much less about the gratification of their carnal propensities and appetites than they did formerly. The invitation to all the flying fowls to partake of the spoils means that there is plenty to do for all who will work in the service of Christ and of true and liberal education. This implies self-denying and godly workers.

Chapter XX.

Vs. 1-3: "And I saw an angel come down from heaven having the key of the abyss and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years. And cast him into the abyss and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season."

The angel descending from heaven symbolizes, 1st, Christ; 2nd, Christianity, as established in the empire about 340 years after the

birth of Christ. "Having the key of the abyss:" Christ says, in Ch. I. 18, that he has the keys of hades and of death, which means that he has the power of death and life. Belief in him gives men everlasting life; but their unbelief consigns them to death, which is the condition of the pit. "A great chain in his hand;" that is, the power of Christianity to hold captive sin and death and rule it as with a rod of iron. "He laid hold on the dragon." Christianity grappled with paganism and overcame it in the empire; it also overcame the old dragonic or Adamic nature in every individual man or woman in the empire who received it: Each citizen is the state on a small scale, and as the dragon symbolizes the whole pagan state so does he each pagan in the state. "And bound him 1000 years:" Now we get to the historic people of the abyss, viz., the Turks, whom, after 1000 years the dragon deceived, and who conquered the Caliphate of Bagdad in 1055 and Jerusalem in 1070 or 1076, about 1000 years after. So many devils were cast out and so many human temples cleansed by Christ and his apostles. When the devils were cast out of the two lunatics by Christ, they, through his permission, entered into the herd of swine which ran down into the sea (abyss) and were drowned. Matt. VIII. 28–33. The Turks also came into the possession of Nice, one of the old capitals of the empire of the east, in about 330 A. D.; and they occupied some of the Roman territory on the European side in 1340–1347, which is about 1,000 years after the establishment of Christianity as the empire's religion. Of course in all ages as well as in that 1000 years between the prophet John and the first crusade the dragon or old Adamic nature is dead to every one who believes in and lives to Christ; but in the Roman empire the dragonic system of paganism was legally dead after it had been legally supplanted by the Christian. It was outlawed, bound down, sealed; it could not resurrect itself until its time had come: "That he should deceive the nations no more till the 1000 years should be fulfilled." It is, therefore, a significant fact that the Turks, the people from the abyss, did not appear in the holy land till 1000 years after the promulgation therein of the Gospel; nor in Europe, to possess territory in the neighborhood of Constantinople till 1000 years after the establishment of Christianity as the empire's religion: "After that" (the 1000 years) "he must be loosed a little season." The Turk occupied Palestine for 23 years (1076–1099); he then conquered Constantinople in 1453 and Palestine and Egypt in 1517 and has occupied them ever since. The "little season," which, in the

original, is the same expression as that in Ch. VI. 11, has, however, reference to the first period of the Crusades, from 1096, just 1000 years after John had received this Revelation, to 1243 A. D., the date of the capture of Jerusalem by the Carizmians, both from the Turks and Christians; after which the crusades accomplished nothing towards their repossession of the holy city. See Dec. and Fall, Ch. LIX.

Now the first passage of the Ottoman Turks into Europe, which finally resulted in the possession of Constantinople, arose from dissensions of the immediate occupants of the throne of the eastern empire, the Paleologi, and the Cantacuzeni. Gibbon, in speaking of this juncture in the empire, says: Near six years (1341–1347) the flame of discord burnt with various success and unabated rage; the cities were distracted by the faction of the nobles and the plebeians, the Cantacuzeni and the Palæologi: and the Bulgarians, the Servians and the Turks were invoked on both sides as the instruments of private ambition and the common ruin. The regent (Cantacuzen, the steward of the palace, whom his party had made emperor in the minority of Andronicus, Jr.) "deplored the calamities of which he was the author and victim: and his own experience might dictate a lively remark on the different nature of foreign and civil war. 'The former,' said he, 'is the external warmth of summer, always tolerable; the latter is the deadly heat of a fever, which consumes, without a remedy, the vitals of the constitution.'

"The introduction of barbarians and savages into the contests of civilized nations is a measure pregnant with shame and mischief, which the interest of the moment may compel, but which is reprobated by the best principles of humanity and reason. It is the practice of both sides to accuse their enemies of the guilt of the first alliances, and those who fail in their negotiations are loudest in their censure of the example which they envy and would gladly imitate. The Turks of Asia were less barbarous, perhaps, than the shepherds of Bulgaria and Servia; but their religion rendered them implacable foes of Rome and Christianity. To acquire the friendship of their enemies the two factions vied with each other in baseness and profusion: the dexterity of Cantacuzene obtained the preference: but the succor and victory were dearly purchased by the marriage of his daughter with an infidel" (Orchan, son of Othman), "the captivity of many thousand Christians, and the passage of the Ottomans into Europe, the last and fatal stroke in the fall of the Roman empire." Dec. and Fall. VI. 188.

On this I may remark, first, that the Bulgarians and the Servians were of the same generic race as the Turks or Hunns: and, secondly, that Satan effected here under the name and guise of Christianity to introduce the Turks into Europe: For those contending emperors at Constantinople at this time all affected to be Orthodox Greek Catholics. The "little time" would here most nearly refer to the interval 1321–1453 A. D. See Dec. and Fall. Chapters LXIII. and LXVIII.: See also Finlay's Byzan. Emp., Vol. II.

Vs. 4–7: See Bible: "And I saw thrones and they sat on them and judgment was given unto them," etc. There is here a reference to the same thought as that expressed in 1 Cor. VI. 2, 3, in relation to the judgment of the world by the saints. This fourth verse refers to the 1000 years suceeeding Theodosius I., say 380 to 1380, when the martyrs were worshiped in the Roman empire. The martyrs here referred to are not those called the "two witnesses," who were martyrs to State and Church Christianity, and for whose proper commemoration during one day in the year the evangelistic world should at once make provision. The word used here for the execution of the worshiped martyrs is "beheaded," while the witnesses suffered mostly by fire. The beheading with an axe, which the word here means, was rather the pagan way of execution of the Christian martyrs than that in which the State and Church Christianity executed heretics, though there were several other ways used besides.

"The rest of the dead lived not again:" it was only those martyrs who were in those 1000 years recognized as living and reigning with Christ in heaven. No other class of people were so recognized by reverence and worship. "This is the first resurrection:" implying there was to be another resurrection of a similar character in the Millennium of evangelism, arbitration and republicism; a resurrection which of its kind and unattended by any extravagant marks of worship to, but only in very respectful commemoration of "the witnesses" should at once be provided for by their fellow servants and witnesses for Christ, the evangelistic people of the world.

The sixth verse pronounces those blessed who have part in the first resurrection; "on such the second death hath no power:" that is they will not have any portion in the lake which burns with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. Ch. XXI. 8.

V. 7: "And when the thousand years are expired Satan shall be

unloosed out of his prison." He was unloosed as seen above by the mutual and diabolical contentions of two claimants of the government of Constantinople.

V. 8: "And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth (the empire) Gog and Magog, etc.; the number of whom is as the sand of the sea." Yes, the Bulgarians and Turks and Servians were tempted, who now dwelt upon the corners of the empire, to come and assist them against each other and the ultimate result was that the Turks got the place themselves. I have spoken before as to the Turks being Magyars. You perceive this word has a physiognomy somewhat like Magog and it is a variation of that. Now, Magog is literally Mac-Edag or Mag-Egag, the last part of which is your Gog. The Mac or Mag is root of the French Magn, our Man. But the full root in the genitive is Mag-Edag-arg or Mac Edabarch, or, by transposition of Mag, Deabarcaman, that is, Turkoman. The Germanic, Hunnic or Turkish nations pronounced d as we do t and b as v, and so, we have Turk for Deabarc. So also in the Latin we have Teuton for Deutch. Speaking of the sons of Japhet, Josephus (Antiq. 1, VI. 1), says: "Magog founded those that from him were named Magogites, but who are by the Greeks called Scythians." The Turks are of that generic stock the Greeks called Scythian. "The number of whom is as the sand of the sea," which is used to express a very great number. We have seen farther back about the great numbers of the Turkish cavalry in the time of Malek Shah, when the Turkish power was divided into four empires. V. 9: "And they went up on the breadth of the earth and compassed the camp of the saints about and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven and devoured them." Of course after the Turks had attained to the headship of affairs in the caliphate, which you may reckon safely from this time, they were also at the head of affairs in Palestine and Jerusalem (the beloved city); but even in the first crusade, in 1097–1099, the Christians as it were devoured them as we may conceive a burning fire would, in their intense zeal to possess themselves of Jerusalem and the holy places. An idea of the vast numbers of Mohammedans they had to contend with is indicated in the number of the Moslem army which Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, with 20,000 Franks defeated at Askelon, namely, 300,000 horse and foot (Wilken. Vol. II.). The crusaders who took Antioch and Jerusalem from the Turks may be called in com-

parison, with their adversaries, a handful of heroes: "And (they) compassed the camp of the saints about and the beloved city." There are two separate statements here: 1. (They) compassed the camp of the saints about;" 2. (They) compassed the beloved city. It was at Antioch that the first of these things occurred and before the crusaders had advanced on Jerusalem. The crusaders having taken the city of Antioch did not find sufficient provisions therein to supply their wants, and had to delay their march while the provisions were being obtained; but before they received these they were in turn besieged by a Moslem army of 300,000 men, who had sat down before the city. Here the most horrible famine prevailed in the Christian army. Their horses were slain for food, while within their view the Turkish camp exhibited every luxury. Encouraged by their priests, however, the hearts of the crusaders took courage. Being purified by the customary rites of the church they advanced to battle full of assurance of victory against the vast hosts of the well-fed Turks. On the part of the latter the battle was fought with their usual bravery and obstinacy; but they had to yield eventually to the persistent efforts of the Franks. "A cry arose among the crusaders that the saints were seen fighting on their side. This gave their host a resistless might, and the Turks fled in confusion." Their camp fell into the hands of the victors and abundance sueceeded to famine. Two months recuperated the men when they marched southwards for Jerusalem.

The word translated "camp" (παρεμβολη) in the original, literally means an "insertion," and you see how nicely this fits the crusaders condition at Antioch; for while they occupied the city the Turks occupied the citadel, and so when the Sultan Kilidge Arslan, and the Emirs of Persia came and encompassed the city with their vast hosts of cavalry and infantry they found themselves wedged in or "inserted" between the Turks on both sides. Dec. and Fall, V. 580 to end of chapter. Willard Univ. Hist., pp. 229–30.

For 23 or according to other authors 29 years before 1099 the Turks had governed Palestine, it being directly governed for a time by Toucush, brother of Malek Shah; and it was the harsh treatment that Christian pilgrims from Europe received at the hands of the Turks that gave rise to the crusades. But the Fatimate Caliph of Egypt who was inimical to the Turks seized the opportunity of their defeat at Antioch to possess himself of Jerusalem and Tyre.

It was, therefore, from the Egyptian Moslems that Jerusalem was taken rather than from the Turks, who still, however, to some degree, continued to threaten Jerusalem with their armies. It may be to this time that the reference (v. 9) is to the compassing of the beloved city by Gog; but, in 1187 when Jerusalem was again about to be taken by the Turks under Saladin, Gibbon, in relating the causes which led to this last capture and the hordes of Turks concentrating on the city, says: "At length on every side the sinking state was encircled and pressed by hostile lines," etc. Dec. and Fall, Ch. LIX. But what happens to the Gogites now? "Fire came down from God out of heaven and ate them up." We cannot attribute this fire to that of artillery not yet in use; but it means war nevertheless, and the monarchs of France and England avenged the capture of Jerusalem upon the Turks at Acre; for, besides the vast slaughter already made in that siege during two years, "3,000 Moslems, almost in the Sultan's view, were beheaded by the command of the sanguinary Richard." Dec. and Fall, VI. 31. Richard left in the possession of the Christians all the coast cities of Palestine with freedom of access to Jerusalem.

V. 10: "And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone where the beast and the false prophet (are about to be); and shall be tormented day and night forever and ever."

The devil thought doubtless he was doing a smart trick in deceiving the Turks under the guise and profession of Christianity; but of course when the Turks came into power the serpent, that is the instrumentalities he had used to accomplish his purpose, had to get down whether they got out or not. The whole of those weak-minded people, who could not live in peace with each other, might live under the Turk if they would only accept his conditions and conform to his laws. But, in any case, the Turk would require to occupy the throne, and they should have to conform to his Koran laws or take their position in the Stygean lake if perchance it were not his supreme volition to give them a government subject to himself.

V. 11: "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them."

We read in XII. 8, that when the dragon and his angels were cast out of heaven there was no place found therein for them any more. For the old dragonic system the system of Church and

State is substituted. But here now we have another symbolization. From before him who occupies the throne now the earth and the heaven flee away and no place is found therein for them any more. He is undoubtedly a stern judge prepared to mete out judgments to mankind. A person would not think that this symbolization, (referring it for a moment to the political heaven) could have for its original the Turkish government, as established at Constantinople since 1453; for in that system the Greek church (the earth) is subjectively established under its four patriarchs as before explained, with the patriarch of Constantinople as president. In this light, therefore, the Turkish government is a variation of that which it supplanted, and could hardly be supposed to stand for such a clean sweeping out of earth and heaven as this symbolization would be thought to imply. This symbolization, as regards the celestial heaven, implies God sitting in judgment.

V. 12: "And I saw the dead small and great stand before God; and the books were opened; and another book was opened which is (the book) of life; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books according to their works."

Here is indicated a general assize before God, who sits on the throne mentioned, v. 11; and the books were opened referring to Dan. VII. 10, the books of the lives of those peoples which showed whether they have been engaged in the service of the judge or against him; and another book was opened, which is the book of the self-denying and holy life of the Lamb (Ch. XXI. 27). "And the dead were judged according to their works." There is one judge who knoweth the hearts and has in mind all the life's acts of each human being. A judgment in the political heaven has to proceed on testimony. If it be despotic and neglect testimony it cannot ordinarily be called a judgment.

V. 13: "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hades gave up the dead which were in them; and they were judged every man according to their works."

All departments of existence now give up their dead, who are judged each one "according to the works of themselves." Death and hell are not engaged in the Lord's service nor arrayed under his banner; the Lord's kingdom is that of life: therefore those who do not pertain to his kingdom have to take their place in the con-

dition symbolized by the lake of fire. This is the second death, Adam's fall by sin being the first; and as a matter of course; for "the minding of the flesh is death," and, contradistinguished is "the minding of the spirit," which is life and peace; vs. 14–15, are included in this comment. The Stygean lake condition into which these people get is simply a result of their own course or manner of thought and action.

Chapter XXI.

V. 1: "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away and there was no more sea."

The heaven and the earth fled from before the face of the judge on the throne (XX. 11): "and there was no more sea." In heaven, therefore, there will be one general language, as illustrated by one nation on earth wherein all the people can understand their common language and understand themselves as of one generic race. To the new heaven reference is had in Isa. LXV. 17–19 and LVI. 22, and 2 Peter III. 13: "For the first heaven and the first earth were passed away." Referring this to the political heaven this would indicate a polity of Church and State as supplanted by another system of government, wherein the State is severed from the Church, as in republicism, and wherein the whole people are supposed to be of one language. The religion in such a supposed polity as this would be that of the Gospel.

V. 2: "And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."

This is symbolic language, of course. The new Jerusalem is seen descending from heaven to the earth to be henceforth the abode of the regenerated and redeemed race. There is a reference here to Isa. LII. 1, and Heb. XI. 10; XII. 22. "Prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." Here there is a reference to Isa. LIV. 5 and Psal. XLV. 9–14.

V. 3: "And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying; behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them (and be) their God."

"The tent of God is in the midst of men:" This gives an impression of a very intimate intercourse and acquaintanceship of mankind with God. In the idea of God tabernacling with men is a

reference to 2 Cor. VI. 16, and Zech. VIII. 8. The great voice from heaven making this announcement indicates the nation, or part of the earth in which the new Jerusalem is, will be well known by many and supposed by others.

V. 4: "And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away."

Sorrow, pain and death are consequent upon sin: Where sin reigns not its consequences shall not be. God shall dwell among his people as a comforter and so his kingdom may be called that of the Holy Ghost, as the Christian church is usually now called the kingdom of Christ. The people of the new Jerusalem will be of the spirit, not of the carnal thought: and they will believe in Christ and live Christ everlastingly. With those people truly old things have passed away, all things have become new. Ref. Isa. XXV. 8.

V. 5: "And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful."

A complete regeneration was to be effected; a complete paradise regained. See v. 11 of the preceding chapter and v. 6.

"And he saith unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely."

Jesus Christ now occupying his throne after judgment arranges the world anew and makes it a fit habitation for his people. He here promises once more to give them that are athirst (spiritually) freely from the fountain of living waters. There is reference here to Isa. LV. 1; Jno. IV. 10–14, and VII. 37.

V. 7: "He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son."

How much there is promised in those prophecies to him that overcometh. No good thing will God withhold from those who live a godly life. And v. 8 shows that it is always better to take God at his word and trust him; for in this verse there is an exhibit of the characters that are left out of the kingdom, who did not believe in God nor live a godly life, but contrariwise.

V. 9: In this verse one of the seven vial angels asks John to come until he shows him the bride of the Lamb, and v. 10 says:

"He carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God."

How highly honored those vial-angels are. In Chapter XVII. 1, one of them shows to John the harlot of Babylon that sitteth upon many waters and upon seven mountains. Here, now, one of those seven shows him the bride of the Lamb. In those prophecies a woman symbolizes a church: Now, in the case of the harlot of Ch. XVII., he saw a corrupt church; but in this case of XXI. 9, he sees the pure and holy church, the spouse of Christ. What a contrast there is in the appearance of the woman in the two symbolizations. Any one would perceive their character from their appearance in each case. In the case of Ch. XVII. the prophet was carried into a wilderness to see the harlot, the corrupt and cruel church; but here in XXI. 10, he is carried on to a high mountain to see the holy Jerusalem descending from God out of heaven. Forcible and fit symbolization. See the great city symbolized in Ezekiel, Chs. XL. and XLVIII. This holy Jerusalem is heaven derived; it descends from God out of heaven. The system symbolized in Rev. XVII. is earth-derived, arising from the combining of the church with the state.

V. 11: "Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even as a jasper stone, clear as crystal." See Isa. LX. 1, 2. The heavenly temple is built of precious stones transparent as crystal. The new Jerusalem is the kingdom of the stone (Dan. II.) fully accomplished on earth.

V. 12: "And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel."

This wall was not like that of ancient Nineveh or Babylon, or Ecbatana, but a wall great and high, built by God himself for the protection of his people through the eternities. The gates here are well protected, having each its angel ward. If St. Peter have a position at any of these gates it is not here intimated.

V. 13: Three gates facing towards each of the cardinal points. The layout of the city somehow suggests that of the tabernacle in the wilderness.

V. 14: "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb."

The names of the apostles are very much celebrated in the preaching of the Gospel, but the final foundation is Jesus Christ, the apostles themselves being founded on him, as seen in Eph. II. 20.

V. 15: "And he that talked with me had a golden reed to measure the city and the gates thereof and the walls thereof."

He that talked with him was one of the seven vial angels as seen in v. 9. This man's reed is golden signifying the preciousness of the state he is measuring: We are not given to understand the material of the measuring reed mentioned in XI. 2, or in Ezek. XL. 3. This angel had to measure the city and the gates and the wall.

V. 16: "The city lieth four square, the length is as large as the breadth; and he measured the city with the reed 12,000 furlongs. The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal."

This is all symbolic. If it should be considered literal 12,000 furlongs is 1500 miles.

V. 17: "And he measured the wall thereof 144 cubits, according to the measure of a man that is the angel."

The wall 144 cubits high which might be symbolic of the elevation of Christianity above Judaism ($12\times12=144$). This is the measure of a man, that is, the angel.

V. 18: "And the building of the wall was of jasper; and the city was of pure gold like unto clear glass."

As to the interior of the city then it was mostly gold. The color of its jasper wall makes it, doubtless, have a royal appearance. The jasper here symbolized is doubtless much more precious and beautiful than those kinds the South Missouri quarries produce. The gold of which the city was built was clear as crystal. Gold symbolized the divine nature or glory, especially of Christ as revealed in his risen life.

Vs. 19–20–21. See Bible. Each of the twelve foundations of the celestial city was of a different kind of precious stone, each gate being itself a pearl: and the street of the city of pure gold as it were transparent glass. We can, therefore, to some extent apprehend the glories of the celestial city, even though yet distant therefrom: and thus it is allowed us to do, so that we may not be

altogether astonished by the exceeding glories it will present to us when the Lord will bring the realization of its possession home to us.

V. 22: "And I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb are the temple of it."

Here we meet with a peculiarity which distinguishes the paradisaical state from our present state, namely, that it had no temple therein. The old city of Jerusalem had its temple, this new Jerusalem had no temple therein. In this respect it might be thought to suit well our German population who delight so much in the clear cool air on the Sabbath day, doubtless meditating on heavenly things. God and the Lamb are the temple of this heavenly state. The visible Cosmos is of course a vast temple which God has built for his glory. No earthly temple can be compared to this heaven-prepared temple. Nor are the worshipers ever without light, for when the sun or moon appear not the stars are likely to shed their luster. Elsewhere I have spoken of the uselessness in my judgment of the very expensively built and furnished temples we have amongst us on earth. In this representation we see how that such temples are going to become gradually less until finally the true church of God may not think them as necessary as it has been accustomed to do.

V. 23: "And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it and the Lamb is the light thereof."

There is a reference here to John VIII. 12.

V. 24 and 25: See Bible: This celestial state is designed not for one nation alone but for all the nations of the saved. The Gospel was designed by its author for all nations; and there is no good reason why all should not receive it and so become participators in the kingdom of heaven. "The kings of the earth:" The whole of the believers in Christ since in the Gospel system all are kings and priests unto God.

It appears from the 25th verse that the gates will be left open but guarded, so that such as those mentioned in V. 8 may not be able to enter it before their repentance and forgiveness by Christ.

Vs. 26, 27: See Bible: And while all that is truly godly and glorious of all nations shall or may be there, still it cannot admit any abominable or unclean person, nor any dissembling hypocrite but only they who are written in the Lamb's book of life.

Chapter XXII.

Vs. 1 and 2: "And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it and on either side of the river (there was) the tree of life, which bare twelve (manner of) fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."

The water here symbolizes doctrines: It is to be remembered that the church is still on the earth; for you have noticed that the new Jerusalem came down from heaven to the earth. Mankind has gotten back into his Edenic state again. Hence you notice here some of the symbols drawn from the 2nd chapter of the book of Genesis, the river, the tree of life, etc. The water proceeds from the throne of God and the Lamb; the Gospel properly interpreted. This is the living water referred to. Trees symbolize men. These bore their fruits every month and even their leaves were put to a good use, viz., to heal the old sin sores of the nations. Good Gospel men have great grace to do good and they do the good they can do with a proper grace: And if they cannot do such a good turn as is sought for they say so with grace. In how many ways these living Gospel trees can bear fruit every month in sending by their contributions the bread of life to the heathen nations; in sending them even tract-leaves, bearing precious truths, which are designed to do them good. How much good is done by even our young living trees in our Sunday-schools. Only a few years ago the contributions of the congregational Sunday-school sent out the missionary ship Honolulu with its precious cargo, by far more precious by reason of its contributors. Who knows the infinite good a five cent contribution every Sunday in the Sunday-school class may do. Yes, both the older and younger living trees can do good by their fruits and their leaves.

V. 3: "And there shall be no more curse," etc. The curse came in with the fall of Adam as recorded in Gen. III. Now, the curse being removed by Christ, man has gotten back into paradise again, and, of course, there is no curse there. The throne of God and of the Lamb, as well as the throne of reason, will be there. Each one of these accompanies the others. I here now refer you to two interesting poetic works, works of genius by John Milton, viz.: "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained." These will furnish you with some sublime ideas as to the fall of

man in Adam, and his restoration in Christ. Their language also will store your mind with good words.

The Lord's servants "shall see his face and his name shall be in their foreheads." This name is to be understood spiritually. Not a mark at all such as that impressed by some churches on the forehead at baptism; but it is a forehead and a mental energy devoted to God's service, and which God knows, for he knoweth them that are his.

V. 5: The intellectual and spiritual light are here to be understood, the principle underlying which has afforded us the light of sun and candle and the universe and life.

V. 6: The Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel, which refers to chapter I. 1. V. 7: Here the blessing is promised upon those who keep these prophecies. V. 8: John prostrates himself to worship the angel who had shown him these things; but, v. 9, the angel warns him against doing this, saying that he is only a fellow-servant of his, a witness for the truth of Jesus, and tells him to worship God.

V. 10: Seeing that these prophecies are shortly to come to pass he tells him not to seal them: And realizing as any man of sound mind should that having so much revelation of duty made to them they should attend to duty to God and man: He implies, in v. 11: Supposing that men to whom this revelation should come would be intelligent enough to know that the performance of moral duties was required of them by God they should go henceforth in this line rather than in that of injustice, filthiness, etc.

V. 12: A man will be judged by God, according to his own works, not according to his parents' works or others than his own.

Vs. 13–14: He who is the first and the last says or implies that they who do his commandments will have a right to enter into the city through the gates. Such will not have to try and climb over the wall for they have a right to enter the city through the gates of pearl.

V. 15 shows the kinds of characters that are left without the walls and have no right to enter through the gates. See XXI. 8. These leave themselves without.

V. 16: The Lord in this verse announces that it is he himself that has sent his angel with this revelation to the churches; that he stands for mankind and is symbolized by the morning star (that ushereth in the light of day).

V. 17: In this verse the invitation of the Holy Spirit and the

church is given to all who will to come and partake of the living Gospel waters freely. This is a beautiful invitation, extended by the Lord of heaven and earth, to all who will be his children.

V. 18: In this verse the Lord warns all from adding to or taking from this original prophecy of Revelation, as he had given it to his servant John: For God requires the prophecy to be left as he gave it; and if any one shall add to or diminish that original God may punish him for so doing by (v. 19) taking away his right to the tree of life and the holy city. Vs. 20–21: The Lord promises to come quickly and the prophet John begs him to do so, and closes with pronouncing the benediction not only upon all his readers, but, impliedly, upon all believers in the Lord Jesus.

By the good presence and work of the Lord in liberalizing and enlightening the world, Christendom is to-day more characteristic

of the Millennium than in the first decade of centuries of our era, beginning in 96 A. D., with the Revelation to John in Patmos, and ending with the advance of the first crusade in 1096. This treatise on the Prophecies being now finished I owe especial thanks to God for having provided me with this excellent version of the Greek Testament, in the Old Greek letter and style, and published at Worcester, Mass., in 1802.

APPLICATION OF THE PROPHETIC NUMBER 666 TO THE GREEK LITERAL NUMERALS:—

$A'\ \alpha' = 1$	$N'\ \nu' = 50$
$B'\ \beta' = 2$	$\Xi'\ \xi' = 60$
$\Gamma'\ \gamma' = 3$	$O'\ o' = 70$
$\Delta'\ \delta' = 4$	$\Pi'\ \pi' = 80$
$E'\ \varepsilon' = 5$	$P'\ \rho' = 100$
$\varsigma' = 6$	$\Sigma'\ \sigma'$, final $\varsigma = 200$
$Z'\ \zeta' = 7$	$T'\ \tau' = 300$
$H'\ \eta' = 8$	$\Upsilon'\ \upsilon' = 400$
$\Theta'\ \vartheta' = 9$	$\Phi'\ \varphi' = 500$
$I'\ \iota' = 10$	$X'\ \chi' = 600$
$K'\ \varkappa' = 20$	$\Psi'\ \psi' = 700$
$\Lambda'\ \lambda' = 30$	$\Omega'\ \omega' = 800$
$M'\ \mu' = 40$	Etc., etc.

The numbers between 10 and 20, 20 and 30, etc., are obtained by adding the units to the tens; as, for example, $I'\alpha' = 11$; $I'\beta' = 12$, etc. You notice that all the letters under 1000 are denoted in the Table by a small mark, like an accent (′), placed over them; well, a similar mark placed under any letter signifies that it is multiplied by 1000; as, $A' = 1$; $A_{,} = 1000$; $I' = 10$; $I_{,} = 10{,}000$, etc. All the letters and their numbers which we shall have anything to do with are given in the above Table.

As my principal object in this Appendix is to prove more indisputably the positions I have taken in regard to the fulfilment of the Prophecies in the History, allow me to direct your attention to the last verse of chapter xiii of Revelation, which reads thus: "Let him that hath understanding count the number of the being, for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred and sixty-six."

This number represents the name of a man or a combination of men in a government, *i.e.*, the number or a multiple of it represents the appellation, whether this be simple or complex, with its adjuncts: And, although it may sometimes represent exactly the name of a man, yet since there are or may be many men of the same name, the office," etc., of the man has often to be given with the name.

Now, with respect to Revelation xiii: 1–11, if the positions I have taken in this volume (pp. 281–344) be correct, then this number may be expected to have reference to the name Constantine, which we find to be the case: —

(1.) *Κοενσταανταινος* = 1332 = 666 + 666.

By putting the proper vowel here in connection with each consonant, remembering that *στ* represents only one vowel sound, we find the number

to come out all right. *Κοενστααντεινος* is a nominative of the second declension. Constantine is often spelled in Greek with *ω* in the first syllable, but this being = *ου*, is more than an equivalent for Latin o in Con; Celtic Con, Cun, Cuin, which is the root word.

(2.) *Λατεῖνος* = 666.
"A Latin."

Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John, saith: "The name *Λατεῖνος* contains the number 666; and it is very likely, because the last kingdom is so called; for they are Latins who now reign."

But the word for Latin was spelled in a slightly different way by the Greeks, as well as in the foregoing, *i.e.*, they spelled it also in the way in which the Latins themselves did, as in the expression following: —

(3.) *Ἡ Λατίνη βασιλεια* = 666.
8 399 259
"The Latin Empire."

(4.) *Γραικη και Ρωμαικη βασιλεια*
142 31 249 259 = 681 = 666 + 15.

If, still leaving the words in their grammatical construction, we Latinize this a little as to sound by changing the Greek diphthong *αι*, wherever it occurs in the expression, into its corresponding Latin form ae, we have, —

Γραεκη και Ρωμαεκη βασιλεια
137 26 244 259 = 666.
"A Græco-Roman Empire."

I have left the *ο* in *Ρωμαικη*, as, considering the derivation of the word, it is more fitting than the long *ω*. According to tradition, Rome got its name from Romulus, the brother of Remus. Dr. Webster says as to the derivation of this word: "Rome is the oriental name Ramah, elevated, *i.e.*, a hill, for fortresses and towns were often placed on hills for security. Heb. and Chald. Rim or Reem, to be high, to raise." There is no authority, considering its derivation, for the Greek long *ο* or *ω* in Roma, and on this principle I shall act whenever, in this treatment, I shall have to do with Roma or its derivatives.

The Græco-Roman empire as established at Constantinople from say the year 300 to 1400 A. D., *i.e.*, taking the great mean of that time, could not be called a Greek empire, certainly; neither could it be called a Latin or Roman empire, strictly; but it was a mixture of both, and its character may here be indicated by the change of the Greek tongue to the Latin sound, for it is seen I have not at all changed the grammatical structure of the above expression, only the sound. A written language is only a symbol of sounds, and the symbols have to accommodate themselves or be accommodated to the sounds in the progressive change of language.

(5.) *Κοανσταανττεινοπολϊατης, ὁ Σεβασιοχράτωρ*

1827 70 2099 $= 3996 = 666 \times 6.$

"A man of Constantinople, the Chief Ruler."

The above two Greek nominatives are, the first of the first, and the second of the third declension. The first is what is termed a gentile noun, formed by adding the gentile ending, *ιατης*, to the name of a place. The expression refers to the Christian Roman emperors at Constantinople for twelve centuries. Sebastokrator was, in that government, the highest title of honor. This they adopted instead of the old title of Augustus; but it was something in addition to the old appellation. In proportion as they lost their power in that empire they appear to have augmented their titles of dignity. Wise monarchs, if they wish to hold and perpetuate their power, should rather encourage republican simplicity by setting an example of it themselves than otherwise. Good health and soundness of body and mind should be rather preferred and attended to *by all* than unnecessary personal decoration and gaudy show. There is iron strength and irresistible force in the mutual good will of a people and its central power. When manhood or womanhood, which greatly consists in the idea of personal freedom and natural equality, is lost, all is lost. There is then, in the conception, nothing worth striving for. Order and progress imply that each one be required to attend suitably to the duties of their station. True national greatness can be attained, and maintained, only by true virtue.

(6.) *Ὁ Μααγσκουηϊατης*

70 1262 $= 1332 = 666 + 666.$

"The Muscovite."

Μααγσκουηϊατης, which is a nominative of the first declension, equals *Μααγ-σκουη-ιατης*. *Μααγ* is the Celtic Magh (often spelled mogh), a plain, etc., and *Σκουη* is the Danish and Norwegian Skove, a wood, wherein the final e is to be reckoned and is equal to the long Greek e, *i.e.*, *η*. This, with the gentile, masculine ending, *ιατης*, makes up the word. I know not but that Moscow may have been so named by Scandinavians. A preceding Russian dynasty came thither from Scandinavia, I believe, about the year 860 A. D. In Celtic countries Magh, pronounced and written in English Magh, Mo, or Moy, is a very common prefix to names of places. See Magh-lena, Moydoo, *i.e.*, Magh-Dubh, Movilla, *i.e.*, Magh-Billi, etc.

Moscow is spelled in Latin, Moscua, root Moscu; in French, Moscou; in Ger., Moskau; and in Russ, Moskva. It is situated in the province of the same name, which has an area of 12,609 square miles, and is said by the Gazetteer to be "an extended plain with few undulations."

The above expression, as regards the number, I have based on the Celtic Magh (which is here reckoned the first part of the compound) and then the Danish form Skove for the second part. But if we take the complete Russ form and base upon it, we find the v in Moskva to be equal to Gr. *ου*;

and the Mo to be equal to *Μοιγ* (as Moy from Mogh), for the g with its vowel sound is entitled to appear in the word. Hence —

Μοιγσκουϊατης = 1332 = 666 + 666.

"A Muscovite."

The preceding expression is the better one, although I deem them equally true. It may, of course, be remarked that *γς* in Greek results in *ξ*, but my object was not to make or unmake *ξς*, but to obtain the just numerical equivalents for the literal elements of the words.

Skva (as in Russ Moskva) = Dan. Skove, a small wood = Sw. Skugga, Dan. Skygge, a shade = Sax. Scua, Scuwa, a shade = Eng. Shaw, a small wood or shade = Gaelic Fiadh, Feadh (originally Fuadh, *i.e.*, Wuadh; the Sc, as equivalent of digamma, being used in Sax. Scuwa, for feabh or fuabh) = shade, shield, chief, the idea of chief in this ancient root being of shade, shield, protection, in which all these forms concur. Hence, we can have for the compound Celtic Mogh, great, and root Scu = Scau or Scou, chief; and Moscow, the city of the great chief, the emperor.

(7.) *Ὁ Ῥυισσεϊατης, ὁ Αριστος Δεσπότης*

70 1434 70 881 875 = 3330 = 666 × 5.

The man of Russia, the chief Ruler." Or, —

Ὁ Ῥυσσεϊτης, ὁ Αυτοκράτωρ

70 1098 70 2092 = 3330 = 666 × 5.

"The man of Russia, the Autocrat." The compound root Russ or Ross would in the old Kelatic = Ruis-se or Rois-se; Rues-se or Roes-se.

(8.) *Ἡ Σαρματεια* "The Sarmatia."

8 658 = 666.

Ἡ Φιννϊϊχη = (*ἡ φιενενιχη*) "The Finnland."

8 658 = 666.

Sarmatia and Finnland are included in the Russian government. Also,

Σκλευια = 666. "Sclavia."

The Sclavic nation which formerly inhabited the country between the Save and Drave. The Sarmatians and Sclavs are the two strongest national elements in the Russian empire. The word Sclavic or Sclavonic has come to denote the language which is now spoken in its various dialects, in Poland, Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, etc. It is not improbable, for what may be known to the contrary, that those ancient people spelled the root with the vowel e, for dialectically at least, as in Scotland, the Celts pronounced the e as Latin a. I think, however, the root *Σκλαυ* or Sclav, as in Latin, is but a variation of Scelav, for Skelat or Kelat or Kelt, the d and t in ancient times changing with the v sound through the g. It is a very unlikely thing that the Slavs would have applied to themselves or worn a national designation implying any of the idea of our word Slave. They, no doubt, understood their national designation as implying in it all the honor implied in the words Celt, Tusk, or Turk.

In the foregoing, the Eastern Roman empire and its existing representative (*i.e.*, representative in an important sense), the Russian, are indi-

cated beyond all dispute and contradiction. And, I may add, that if the positions I have taken in this Volume (pp. 344–383), with respect to Rev. xvii, be correct, then these positions may be expected to be provable in a like manner.

(1.) *Κελατικαι* (or *Καελτικαι*) *βασιλειαι*
397 269 = 666.
"Celtic Kingdoms."

Those kingdoms apply to Gaul, Spain, etc., as well as to those of north-western Europe, which have supported or maintained the Papal, the Franco-Papal, and Papal-Germanic systems. *Κελατικαι βασιλειαι* are in the nominative plural, first declension.

(2.) *Κράτωρ Κααρελοσμεαγας*
1321 677 = 1998 = 666 + 666 + 666.
"An Emperor Charlemagne."

In *Κααρελοσμεαγας* I had to express with each consonant its vowel sound, which in this enumeration is perfectly proper. I may say that the long vowel (*ω*) in *Κράτωρ* represents two vowels, perhaps three: further, that the *ω* in the nominative *Κράτωρ*, instead of (*η*), shows that noun to be an amplificative, *i.e.*, that the person to whom it is applied is of great power and influence. It may be illustrated by a large walking-stick, which we may call a club, larger at one end than at the other; we shall then turn this into the French baton, only substituting Gr. *ω* for French o, and we have *batωn*, which looks weighty in comparison with *baton*. The first of the nouns in the above expression is of the third declension; the second, of the second and first.

But, on the other hand, —

Κάρλοσμαγας = 666.
"Charlemagne."

Here, when we change the *ε* in *μεγας* into *α*, as according to the pronunciation, which we may suppose to have been of the Greek in the Western Empire, we have Charlemagne, without any other word to distinguish him, representing the number. The Greek *μεγας* is Latin magnus, Sanscrit mahat, Ger. macht, Persian meah, our much, muckel, etc.; and so it is seen that rather the a than the e sound prevails in it. The root in full is meag, as seen in the Persian (in Gr., full root *μεαγαλ*, our mych or muckel), but it would be more likely maag in some of the old languages. This being the full root, the Greek dropped the a in the first syllable, retaining the e, and the other languages dropped the e, retaining the a, which latter, on the whole, appears the natural sound for the idea of "great" expressed in the word. But where the *ε* only appears, it is to be understood as long, and as a contraction for ae; and where the *α* only, it is to be understood as a contraction for ea or aa, and is, of course, long by

nature. Charlemagne was the only man historically known to Gibbon who had had the word "great" compounded with his name.

(3.) Aachen in the Franco-German empire, whose modern name is Aix La Chapelle, was the royal city of Charlemagne. There he was buried, and there were inauguratad the Franco-German and German emperors after being crowned by the pope. Now, Aachen is made up of the Gaelic Each, before explained, with the ending en affixed, and it means the royal city, or the city of the chief (which meaning does not interfere with the other meanings implied in its root). The chief city of Holland is Haag, which we call the Hague, and we find the same form in the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen. We gather from this, then, that the letter to be prefixed to Aachen, if we may call it a letter, is H, which makes it Haachen. If, now, we add the gentile ending, *ιατης*, to this root, we have a nominative of the first Greek declension, thus: —

Ηααχενϊατης, ὁ Κράτιστος Δεσπότητς

1184 70 1201 875 = 3330 = 666 × 5.

A man of Aachen, the chief ruler.

This means the Franco-German or German Emperor, or Emperor-King, as he was also King of Italy. In the appellation Aix La Chapelle, or the Chief's Church, you have a proof of what I have before stated as to our word axe being derived from root each; for aix may be understood as a gen. of aach, and it is only another form for word axe, although if s be added to each, as eachs, it makes eax, which was an Anglo-Saxon form of the word for axe. Aachen, as Moscow, is situated in a province of the same name, and the city is reported to have received this name from the mineral-water springs it contains. This may be so, for the meaning of water is also contained in the root, as in Latin aqua, Span. agua, root aqu, agu; Fr. eau; Celtic ai, ey, aw, which are only shorter forms of aigh or aibh, gen. of each or eabh. And ocean, Gr. *ωκεανος*, *ωγενος*; L. oceanus; W. eigion; Ir. aigein, ocein, which general word = aigh-cein = aicein or aigein, meaning "circle of waters." Root cein corresponds to cing, root of Latin cingo, I encircle. A short Celtic form of it is an, with its variations in, ein, meaning water, *i.e.*, circle of waters (root an or ann in Latin annulus, a ring), for water must needs *flow* in some kind of curve; and so we have *ωκεανος* = *ωκε-αν*, root = Celtic aige-an; and *ωγενος* = *ω-γεν* = aigh-gein. The form an is found in rivers Conan, Cwnan, etc. Root Cing in Cingo also corresponds to Heb. Chug, Chog, or hog, a circle, which word was not, that I am aware of (unless it was the root Chazir), in the Hebrew applied to an animal. But any one can see it is the same with the zend and Persic chuk, the original Arian form of the word for hog, retained in our word wood-chuck, *i.e.*, wood-hog. The word chog or hog, whether or not applied to an animal, implies the idea of a circle or curve, as does also each of its equivalent roots, as su, seu, swe, etc. See Gaelic

torc or turc, a hog, a boar, and also a ring of twisted metal, generally of gold, worn in different ways on the person. The root swe is represented notably in our language by the noun "sway" and the verb "to sway" (D. Zwaaijen; Icel. Sweigia, etc.). See this noun and verb under all their acceptations. To sway a sceptre is litterally to make it describe a curve, an arc of a circle; and to sway an assembly or a nation is to cause them to incline or *bend* to your will. To swing is another variety of to sway, and to hang is still another variety, *i. e.*, to hagg, swang, swagg. Any one can see that Gr. χοιρος is simply a slight variation of χορος, which originally means a circle, a choir, etc. But Each = Seach, corresponding to our word sea; and, moreover, as Seach (Jack) corresponds to sea, so Seaghan (John) corresponds to Eachan for ocean. And here again we find language true to itself, for aigen is used in the sense of ancient, of time long past, and is the original for that word, *i. e.*, aig-cein = aincein = ancien or ancient. And this word "ancient" is also used for the flag of a ship or of a regiment; and, moreover, for the bearer of a flag, an Ensign; Fr. Enseigne = En-seachan. Thus Seach, Seachan, and Failseach or Maelseach, is each a word not only representing a flag, but also a flag-bearer or Toiseach; for Fr. Ensigne = L. insigne (plur. insignia) = L. signum, root sign, *i. e.*, seachan, by which is shown that the prefixing of en or in to the root adds nothing necessarily to the sense, and that the word "ancient" is derived from aigen, and not from L. antiquus or Fr. enseigne. The word ancient must be akin to the word long, for the root of long, *i. e.*, loch means sea. Ancient is *long* in the past. As to Sea, Sax, Sae (contracted from Saecge); Basque Sah, contracted from Saeg, Saecg (Sax Garsecge, Garsege, Garsegg, the ocean), Webster says: "This word like *lake*, signifies, primarily, a seat, set or lay, a repository or basin." Hence you perceive the relation between sea and sack, and, in the mutations or metamorphoses of the word, you see seadh (seat) is root of seagh or sack (sea). From Sax, Saecg, Garsege, etc., by a comparison of these with the words representing séa and ocean in the other languages, one would judge the very ancient idea of sea and of ocean was that of an objective intelligent being, which being or sea-god they called by different names in their different mythologies. It is not to be supposed, however, that when they had advanced far in intelligence they confounded their god of the sea with the sea itself. The Sax, full form Saecge = Saecg or Secg, Sedge, *i. e.*, *sword*-grass (called so from its resemblance to a sword-blade), and, also, a man a speaker; with the terminal e. Now, this terminal e may possibly intimate place, and Saecge (for Sae) would thus mean the place of the sword-grass, or the place of the speaker, *i. e.*, of him who speaks from on high, thunders, the root Saecg still meaning a sword or a speaker, *i. e.*, a man.

I do not think now I can have any difficulty with either Frank or Teuton as to the derivation of the name Aachen, as they can have it either way they see fit. I will add, however, that the very ancient idea of

"ocean" was that of a great river flowing round the world, which gives the idea of "circle of waters."

(4.) *Δεεσπότητης Κυαναπόλεων Βουναπάρτευς*
880 1507 1609 = 3996 = 666 × 6.
"A despot, Napoleon Buonaparte."

Δεεσπότητης, commonly written *Δεσπότης*, is a nominative of the first declension, compounded from *Δεσὶς*, root *Δεσε*, a binding, tying, etc., and an ancient but obsolete noun, *ποτις* (closely allied to *ποσις*, a husband), a lord or master, an absolute ruler whose subjects are slaves. The feminine of *Δεσποτης* is *Δεηποινα*, just as *ποτνια*. lady, mistress, or queen, is properly concluded to be the feminine of *πόσις*, a husband, not more certainly in the sense of a house-band, than of a cause, lord, master. See Sanscrit Pati, lord, master; Patni, wife, mistress, from root pâ, akin to Latin potis, potens.

The roots of *πότις* and *πόσις* are *ποτε* and *ποσι*, or, *πόετ* and *πόις* (the latter, however, sometimes *ποσε* or *ποες*), and this contains also the root of *ποίνα*, punishment, Latin poena. Hence, in *Δεεσποητης*, the components are *Δεσε-ποετ-ης*, the ε in the root *ποετ* requiring to be lengthened to *η* for euphony, and to serve as a mean between the vowels *ι* and *ε*, actually occurring in the root of *πόσις*, genitive *ποσιος*, dative *ποσει*, which shows the vowels *ι* and *ε* to be interchangeable in this root. A knowledge of the Kelatic languages also shows the root of *ποίειν*, to do or to cause, *i.e.*, *ποίε*, to be the same originally with *ποτε*; for, while I understand the vowel *E* to be a refined digamma, or that it may arise from an aspirated Gaelic g, *i.e.*, gh, I understand the i (j) may arise from an aspirated d or t, *i.e.*, dh, th; the Heb. yod points to this derivation, as also the yod in the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan; and which the metamorphoses or mutations among the Gaelic letters as good as proves to a demonstration. The form of the e in Greek, *i.e.*, *E*, proves its digammic origin no less than does its uame, Epsilon, *i.e.*, Ef-silon, or smooth ef; so that the *ε*, *ο*, and *υ*, being derived from the digamma, are merely variations of each other. This suggests, also, the *α* to be derived from the same source; for, if you invert a small Greek *α*, you will notice the form of the gamma sharply defined, but rounded into the vowel form. All the vowels, therefore, are variations of each other, for the two characters, d and g, from which they primarily arise, are in the Gaelic, when aspirated, perfect equivalents, and used for each other indifferehtly, *i.e.*, the dh for the gh, and conversely. The name Aeneas, for example, is in the Gaelic, Aenghais, where it is plain the gh becomes e for the other languages.

Thus, *ποιε* is simply *ποdhε*, *i.e.*, *πογε*; or, to turn it round, take off the aspiration of the d, made initial, and put it on to the *π*, made final, we have deoph, *i.e.*, deuf or deuv, which would be proper, and full root of our word do.

Κυαναπολεων = Cuin-apoleon or the child of Apolyon. Cuin means

kin or child as the German kind, kinder. Its full form is Cæthan, pronounced in Gaelic Cawn or Conn, or, contracted, Cinn. I should not be surprised if I were informed that the Buonaparte family were of Greek descent. *Κυαναπολεων* is a nominative of the third declension, *Κυαν* being really a genitive, become nominative in the compound, and the word would be likely to have been commonly pronounced and spelled Napoleon. *Βουναπάρτευς* is a nominative of the third declension, gen. *Βουναπάρτεος*. But, —

Ἀρχών Κυαναπόλεων Βουναπάρτευς

1551 1507 1609 = 4667 = 666 × 7 + 5.

"An Emperor Napoleon Buonaparte."

This might go to show that N. B. was rather a despot than an emperor; but he became an emperor, perhaps, by being a despot, and was an emperor, as the following will show, viz.: Dropping out the ε from *Βουναπάρτευς* we have *Βουναπάρτυς*, a nominative, also, of the third declension, declined like *πήχυς*, gen. *πήχεος*; and, thus, *Βουναπάρτυς*, equalling 1604, has the same genitive as above, *Βουναπάρτεος*. Thus, "An emperor Napoleon Buonaparte" equals 666 seven times repeated.

(5.) *Φρέγκικη* = 666.

"France."

This means the French kingdom, some noun signifying dominion being understood. The ancient Celts pronounced the e in many cases as Latin a. The French do so now to a large extent, French en being pronounced as English an, etc. But, you will observe there is but one vowel expressed for the four consonants of the root, as in Frank. Well, if you attend to the derivation of the word and wish to have the a sound strong, you may express a vowel for each consonant representing the number. Thus: *Φαραααγαχαϊκη* in which you have a vowel for each consonant, that after *κ* being a connecting vowel, and this word represents 666, the same as the other. *Φρέγκικη*, is a proper national name, formed like *Αττικη*, and is of the first declension. We shall, as we go on, find others like this. Frank is from the same root as is "free." See Arabic Faraga, to free, to redeem, etc.; Saxon Freogan, frigan, with the corresponding roots in the other cognate languages. The root, as Webster properly remarks, corresponds in elements with *break*, Latin frango, roots frang and frég, and the nasal sound of g gives n. France (Portuguese França, which the connecting vowel (a) in the last expression would seem to intimate) means "the land of the free."

Μονοκοιρανια Φραεγκιας

492 840 = 1332 = 666 × 2.

"A monarchy of France." A monokoirany is a monarchy.

(6.) *Φρηγκῖατης, Βασιλευς*

1150 848 = 1998 = 666 × 3.

"A Frenchman, a King."

In *Φρηγκ*, root of *Φρηγκῖατης*, I substitute the long e (*η*) for the short one, which is here perfectly proper; and the necessity and fitness of this

might indicate, if nothing more, that the French king was a son and rigid supporter of the Catholic-Christian Church.

(7.) *Ἡ Ηισπηενικη Βασιλεια*
8 399 259 = 666.
"The Spanish Kingdom."

This spelling for *Ηισπάνικη* I consider a just Greek equivalent, as *πηεν* is a better equivalent for Paighen than *παιν* would be, and gives as true an equivalent of sound in the Greek. In the Gaelic histories it is usually written EsBain, which equals Es-baigh-an, and this = Es-Paidh-an, which brings us nearer to the Greek, for you see therein *παιδ*, root of *παις*, a child. Now, Paighan = Baighan, abbreviated Ben, a son, and Es = Edh or Eadh, a chief (this is the root aed of Latin aedes, a house, and if it means a house in those ancient tongues, it means, also, a chief), and so Esbain must mean the land of the chief; but to speak more correctly, Esbain itself means the chief, but Esbainia, or Hispania, means the country of Aedh or Hugh, *i.e.*, Cu, a chief.

(8.) *Ὁ Ιβαάρικος Βασιλεύς*
70 414 848 = 1332 = 666 + 666.
"The Iberian (or Spanish) King."

In *Ιβααρ*, *I* is the first root, undoubtedly a short form of Aedh or Edh, pronounced ey, a word for chief; and *βααρ* means, in the old languages, generally, a son, and in the Gaelic its meaning amounts, on the whole, to that of chief, so that the compound *Ιβααρ* means either the son of the chief or the head chief; and so Iberian and Spanish mean here the same thing. This form of the word for chief was spelled variously, as Aedh, Aodh (Eng. Hugh = Gaelic Cu, a hero, a champion), Eadh, Eadhach, Edh, Edhach, etc. But where, in Gaelic, a diminutive is formed from any word, or, in general, where a word is compounded with another, the diminutive or compound is formed from the genitive case of the first, and so changes, more or less, the form of the root word in the nominative.

(9.) *Πορτογααλια* = 666.
Portugal.

Portugal means the port or place of entrance of the Gauls. Now let us find, as near as possible, the original radical forms here: Eng., port; Latin, portus; Spanish, puerto; Italian, porto; Armoric, porz; Welsh, porth; Greek, *φορεω*, root *φορε* or *φοερ* and *πορευομαι*, root *πορευ* or *πορε*. *O* may be here considered a word in itself in the nature of a preposition, appearing as ua or o before names in Gaelic and as u in the sign of the genitive in the fourth Latin declension.

Gaalia is about the way the name of the country of the Gauls should be pronounced by the Latins or Greeks in order to have the full sound of

au in the first syllable. The way the Gaels of Erin and North Britain spell their patristic name is Gaedhal, which they pronounce Gael; but there is no doubt these Gaels are of the same stock as are the Gauls of the continent, all of them being of the stock of the Goths (Gaeth-al or Gauth-al, Gael, i.e., Gaul). These peoples, long and distantly separated from each other, came to pronounce the name differently.

The root of the name Sweden, which is an ancient home of the Goths, is usually spelled Svith, which shows plainly the root to be Sgaith, i.e., Gaeth, Gaith or Gauth with the S prefixed. In this root, as is seen, the five vowels a, e, i, o and u were exchanged. Our criterion seems to fit more exactly the Gothic nations:—

As (10.) Ἡ Συαιθίχη
8 658 = 666.
Sweden.

(11.) Ἡ Ιητᾶλιενιχη Μοναρχια
8 452 872 = 1332 = 666 + 666.
"The Italian Monarchy."

The derivation of the word Italy I have found given in Celtic literature as from Iath, a country, a region, and Ailne, of beauty. This Iath is an ancient Celtic word, which, or a fragment of which, as "ia," you find as the termination of very many words expressing the idea of country. See Assyria, *i.e.*, Assur–Iath, etc., etc. The th in this word implies in itself a vowel sound, and I have put the η to represent the diphthong implied in Iath. The word Ailne is very often spelled Aille, but the ll, nn, rr, in Gaelic words, especially at the end, usually represent a mixed combination (that is, when one of them is not redundant), as ln, ld, nd, rd, etc. The *a* in *Ιηταλιενιχη* should have the prouunciation of Celtic a, or of the first a in Latin Italia. The primitive root of Iath is, of course, aedh. Prefixing to this I (which was originally an aspirated consonant, equivalent to our y or j) we have Jaedh, for its equivalent Iaeth. In the formation of the word in Latin, the diphthong was dropped and the aspiration removed from the th. Doubtless the original word was Dhaedh, or Ghaedh, meaning at the same time a chief and a chieftaincy.

(12.) Ἰητᾶλιενιχος μεγίστος ἡγεμόνιος
714 828 456 = 1998 = 666 + 666 + 666.
"A chief ruler of Italy!"

(13.) Σαρδινιχος = 666.
"A Sardinian."

(14.) *Οεστερραικη και Ηογγαρικη βασιλεια*

819 31 223 259 = 1332 = 666 + 666.

"An Austro-Hungarian Kingdom."

The first word of this expression I have based upon the German form; and in my researches into the different languages I found that the French have the proper vowel for the first syllable of the root of Hungary, *i.e.*, o (Fr. Hongrie). I found the vowel u did not suit, but o did exactly. The Hungarian expression itself is Magyar Orszag, and, for what I know, the o in this word may be the root sound in the first syllable of Hungary. You, however, already understand that the *ο* and *υ* are simply variations of each other. *Ηογγάρικη*, therefore, equals *Ηογγ-αρικ* or *Ηογγ-ριακ* = the kingdom or territory of the prince; for *Ηογγ* = *Ηονγ* = German koenig; Sw. kung; Dan. konge. It equals gogag. *Ριακ* or rick here means a kingdom. I find the Hebrew word Hog points to a circle or ring, an enclosure, and this, of course, points to a chief. Perhaps others will know vastly more about this Hungary or Hoggarie than I do.

(15.) *Ὁ Μοναρχος Οειστερρειχιας και Ηογγαριας*

70 1131 1036 31 396 = 2664 = 666 × 4.

"The monarch of Austria and Hungary."

The first of the nouns in this expression is nom. of the second and the two following in the gen. of the first declension. *Οειστερ*, first factor of *Οειστερρειχιας*, = *Ηοισταερ*. Webster very properly supposes Oest to be of same root as hoise or hoist. Transposing *H* or *η* and inserting the *ι* which belongs to the root, we have *Οηιστ*; and *Οειστερρειχιας* equals, numerically, *Οηισταερραικιας*.

(16.) *Σγαυαινϊατης, ὁ κράτιστος δεσποητης*

1184 70 1201 875 = 3330 = 666 × 5.

"A man of Scone, the chief ruler."

This must mean the Alban Ard Righ, whether Pickish or Scotish. History informs us that King Kenneth MacAlpine made his royal seat at Scone, which doubtless, had been an old capital of the Picks before his time, after he had attained to the dominion of all Scotland, about the year 843, A. D. Now, the Gaelic word for Scone was, perhaps, Sgaithan, *i.e.*, Sgaith, genitive of Sgiath, with the addition of an, not diminitive, but denoting place. Sgaithan would, then, mean the place of the Shield, a common appellation of a fortress among the Gaels, and would be pronounced Sgawan, or Sgaune. If we put this into the Greek equivalent, transposing the *ι* we have *Σγαυαιν*, and adding to this the masculine, gentile ending *ιατης*, we have *Σγαυαινϊατης*.

But, on the other hand, I find that Scone, at least in our own age, is pronounced Scoon, which might suggest another nominative than Sgiath; and in all the Gaelic with which I am acquainted I find the nominative Cu, a hero, a champion, to be spelled without the S before the C; but if

we can imagine the Picks, who likely named the place originally, to have spelled this nominative Scu (as is likely they did, for the S belongs to the word, as is proved by the Saxon Scua, English Shaw, a wood, which is radically the same, the idea in the case of chief or wood being, shade, protection, shield), then we can have Scun, as the genitive, meaning the residence of the chief. Hence,—

'Ο Σκύνϊτης, ὁ Ἀριστοκράτωρ

70 1188 70 2002 = 3330 = 666 × 5, as before.

"The man of Scone, the chief ruler."

It may be noticed that the gentile ending to the root Scun is *ϊτης*, not *ιατης*. In regard to this, I may say that this is spelled in both ways, *ϊατης* and *ϊτης*, the *ϊτ* being the essential ending, and the *α*, a balancing vowel or, *metri gratia;* and this essential root of the ending to masculine, gentile nouns, corresponds to the root *ιδ* of masculine patronymics, which, also, is spelled *ϊαδης* or *ϊδης*. When, however, the *α* is left out, the *ϊ* is generally to be pronounced long, as our i in Hivite; as sometimes in the other way also. The necessity for leaving out the *α* here in this ending may point to the curt manner in which the Scotch Gaels are accustomed to pronounce their words, generally, in pronouncing and spelling, leaving out the last syllable. Scotch Kenneth is Irish Kennedhach (in both of which words there is a redundant n), and doubtless, also, it is the Danish Canute, and Russ Kennef. Tosh in Mackintosh, one syllable, is in Gaelic two syllables, as seen above, etc.

Kenneth MacAlpine attained his dominion about the time of the founding of the present dynasty in Russia, of the aggrandizement of the Western empire by Charlemagne, and of the founding of the duchy of Normandy in France by the Normans. All those movements seem to have been inspired by the same spirit, and to have been effected by different branches, however widely separated in time from the parent stem, of the same kelatic race.

(17.) *'Η Καλεδονικη κρατηια*

8 218 440 = 666.

"The Caledonian monarchy."

Κρατηια is a nominative of the first declension, and the word represents a strong government. The appearance of the long e (*η*) in it instead of *ε* is justified by the vowel power belonging to the root; but its necessity may signify, further, that the church was united with the state in the government.

(18.) *'Ο Τεαυαραχϊατης*

70 1928 = 666 + 666 + 666.

"The man of Tara."

The monarch of Ireland, from a very early age, on to, say, the year 1400, A. D. Counting the *υ* in this word as a consonant (it has, of course,

to be reckoned as a vowel in the Greek), there still may seem to be one redundant vowel (*a*) in the root *Τεαανραχ*, *i.e.*, one more than there is a consonant; but this is accounted for by the real form of the first root in Gaelic, which is usually written Teamh, *i.e.*, Te-amh. Now, this Teamh = Teach, a house, etc., the Teamhair, nominative, Teamhrach, genitive, being only a lengthened form of Teamh or Teach, and the ch and mh being commutable, just as the ch and bh which I have explained before. Now, Te, first root of Teamh and Teach, really equals Tedh or Teadh, which would equal in sonnd Teah, Tea, or rather, Thau, the ea having here the sound of our a in wall; and the make-up of the word for Greek would be Tea-*αν-αρ-αχ* which is correct; and it is seen there is no more than one vowel really expressed for each consonant, that primitive dh being dropped, because unsounded, as shown above. That word is usually expressed in Gaelic as Teamharach or Teamhrach, but this is for the fuller primitive form of Teadhamharach, or Teadhamhraach, which must have been pronounced by a Gael thus written in full, Thaughraugh.

Now, Teadhach, you have been shown, is the full ancient form for Teach, and as applied to a man it means a chief (or, if you please, a chief in the sense of Eng. teach-er), and this word comes into English as the appellative Teady or Teddy (which is really not a diminutive form), among the Irish; also as Thadeus, wrongly spelled Thaddeus. This is also the root Each or Eadhach, with the digammic form T prefixed. And Eadhach is the ancient name, which I understand to have come into English as the appellative Ody (which is not a diminutive, bnt), of which Owen may be reckoned a diminutive. I also understand it to be the ancient form which has come into German as the name Otho, incorrectly spelled, in modern times, Otto. The Germans, as the Latins, in forming their words from the old Celtic, would, of course, remove the aspirates, or, at least, reduce the letter-forms to their own sounds. I have explained before how that this primitive dh in Taedhach was strictly commutable with s, and how that Taedhach comes to be Taeseach, Tuiseach, or Toiseach, all these spelled with s being equivalents or indentical in sound and meaning, and how that Mackintosh, for example, did not have, necessarily, to adopt a new proper name in forming his own family name, for that the name of his father was Mac-Duibh-(sh) Taedheach (the sh, being silent, never appears in this word, and its non-appearance makes the T, also, disappear), and his is simply Mac-an-Taeseach, or Mac-an-Tuiseach, or Mac-an-Toiseach, the only change made in the proper name being that dh is changed into s, which in connection with a short vowel has the sound of sh. I know our history states that Seach or Siach, son of MacDuff, took that name, Mac-an-Toiseach, from his office of general; but he had no necessity of borrowing or adopting any new name in order to form the one he wore, and his descendants for seven centuries; for it was only a slight variation of that of his father and of his aneestors, and meant the same thing.

By a consideration of words in the Latin, Greek, and Gothic languages, it will be found there was a very frequent change of that dh, especially in connection with a short vowel, into s. So, also, as to the name Miledh, *i.e.*, Mil-edh, soldier-chief, we do not say Miledians, but Milesians, etc. And, now, as to this Miledh, whether or not he was a real man, or, whether, if he were, our family MacDuff are descended in the male line from him. This is a matter, I assure thee, dear reader, of which others may possibly know more than I can pretend to, and which I am disposed not to meddle with.

(19.) *Ηιβερνιχαι χρατηΐαι*

216 450 = 666.

"Hibernian governments."

In the ancient monarchy of Ireland there were sub-kingdoms or principalities within the kingdom. Each of the sub-kings was styled Righ, and, the monarch of Ireland, Ard Righ. *Ηιβερνιχαι* is here spelled in the ordinary way, *i.e.*, with the ordinary number of vowels expressed; but—

Ἡ Ηιβερενιχη χρατηια

8 218 440 = 666.

"The Hibernian kingdom."

That is, as I suppose, the kingdom from a very early age down to about 1400 A. D. Here, I have inserted the vowel belonging to each consonant, which is just and proper to be done.

It may be remarked here, if it be worthy of remark, that *Ηιβερενιχη* represents the same number as does *Καλεδονιχη* (see above); so that, if by this it seem to be indicated that the latter is an extension of the former, as represented in the full form *Ηιβερενιχη*; by similar reasoning it would as justly seem to indicate that the former is an extension of the latter. A just conclusion, I think, would seem to be that the same people, the same race, the Gaelic, dominated long in both countries; and this conclusion the language and traditions of both countries would seem to establish beyond a doubt. See, also, Chalmers, Vol. I.

(20.) *Ὁ Εξαρχηεπισκοπος Ρομης*

70 774 735 419 = 1988 = 666 × 3.

"The Exarch-bishop of Rome."

The position I have taken with respect to the bishop of Rome, in his capacity of a civil ruler, was that he was the representative of the Exarch of Ravenna. The number here proves this to be absolutely correct. But while the Exarch of Ravenna was the lieutenant of the Eastern Roman emperor, the Roman emperor proper, the pope, in his capacity of a civil ruler, was the lieutenant of the Franco-German and German Roman emperors. This principal, in the progression of time, was always acted upon; for the Western emperors were crowned emperors of Germany, or of

France and Germany, and kings of Italy, so that the pope, as a civil ruler, could have been only a lieutenant of the Emperor-King.

This, however, is only one side of the subject; for, considering the whole time which intervened between the years 600 and 1800 A. D., and taking the large mean of that time, we find the pope, in his capacity of a spiritual ruler, to have been much more powerful and influential than the emperor was in his capacity. This empire, therefore, as represented in Revelation XVII., had two supreme heads, the one the civil, and the other the spiritual-civil or Exarchical ruler, in his spiritual capacity, however, supreme, ranking with the emperor in his capacity, and oftentimes much outranking him. In the clear sense, therefore, of the supreme civil ruler, the emperor is the eighth of the governments which are indicated in the prophecy (Rev. XVII., 10, 11), as pertainihg to Rome, namely, Kings, Consuls, Decemvirs, Military-Consular-Tribunes, Dictators, Emperors, Gothic Kings of Italy, Franco-German and German Emperor-Kings. But, the eighth class of rulers was to be "of the seven," whlch I have proved, at least as to *class*, with respect to the pope being the successor of the exarch; for the pope became exarch-bishop; and it is true as to *race* in this case also, so far as that the exarchs and their successors, the exarch-bishops, belonged to the Roman empire proper.

Now, this is true, as to *class*, with respect to the Western emperors being "Kings of Italy." And it is, doubtless, in this case, also, true as to *race*, for both the Franco-German and German emperors were of that Gothico-Germanic race, which, beyond doubt, had proceeded from the kelatic.

But you may observe here that the emperor-kings of Italy did not succeed directly to the Gothic kings of Italy, for that there was an interval between them of about two centuries, which was filled by exarchs. Well, neither did the exarchs succeed directly to the emperors; for there was an interval of about seventy-eight years, filled by Gothic kings, or by war and tumult and confusion. There was an interval in either case during which the bishop of Rome was present; and this would seem to have given the pope the start of the emperor-kings of Italy, as being the real present representative of the ancient kings and Cæsars of Rome. Have it as you will, it seems for a long age to have been a pull and draw game between the popes and the emperor-kings, as to which was which or who should be the greater. But taking a review of that whole period of twelve centuries, during which that civil-ecclesiastical drama was being enacted, the pope appears in the estimation of Europe to have been regarded as the greater and more influential personage of the twain.

In the above expression *Ροαμης* is in the genitive case after the noun preceding; and I have inserted its vowel sound (*α*) before (*μ*), which is perfectly correct.

In the foregoing the Western Roman empire and its principal supporters

are indicated beyond all dispute or contradiction, and the positions I have taken in that department of this volume (pp. 344–383) shown to be correct. And now, if the positions I have taken (pp. 383–455) with respect to the Protestant-Reformed governmental systems, as indicated in Revelation XIII. 11, to end of chapter, have been correct, we may expect them to be capable of being verified by this number in like manner.

(1.) *Αγγελοια και Σαχαιαι βασιλειαι*
123 31 243 269 = 666.
"An English and Saxon kingdoms."

Here *Αγγελοια* is singular, while *Σαχαιαι βασιλειαι* are plural (quite a common construction in the Greek, for a singular and a plural adjective connected by a conjunction to agree with the same noun in the plural); but the necessity and fitness of this construction here evidently indicate that one of those peoples were to be understood as concerned in one kingdom only, the others in more than one; as, for example, the Saxons in Britain and Germany. It is likely the Angles applied to themselves the appellation *Αγγελοι* or Angels, as a set-off to the appellation of Goths or gods. As you will about that; all I care about in the case is this, that I know that *Αγγελος* is the proper Greek word-form for "an Angle," and *Αγγέλοιος, α, ον*, is its adjective; while *Σάχας* is the proper Greek word-form for "a Saxon," and *Σάχαιος, α, ον*, is its adjective. In relation to this, see, also, preface to Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

(2.) *Γόθιχαι και Σάχαιαι βασιλειαι*
123 31 243 269 = 666.
"Gothic and Saxon kingdoms."

This reformatory movement extended over Scandinavia, as well as Germany and Britain. You may notice that *Γόθιχαι*, plural, represents the same number as *Αγγελοια*, singular. This may probably mean that the Angles were real Goths, only self-distinguished by name.

(3.) *Σάχαια και Αγγελλοιαι βασιλειαι*
233 31 133 269 = 666.
"A Saxon and English kingdoms."

Here *Σαχαια* is singular and *Αγγελοιαι* plural, agreeing witth *βασιλειαι*. This, doubtless, alludes to the Saxon kingdom in Germany and to the English kingdom.

(4.) *Αγγελοια και Γηρμανιχαι βασιλειαι*
123 31 243 269 = 666.
"An English and German kingdoms."

Here *Αγγελοια* is singular and *Γηρμανιχαι* plural, agreeing with *βασιλειαι* This refers to the kingdoms in Germany and to the English kingdom. In *Γηρμανιχαι* I have put the long Greek vowel (*η*) for the German e, which is necessarily long, standing, as it does, for two vowels, between e and r.

the compound the first part is put in the genitive; thus, Baal, gen. **Baail**, then Baaileg or Baailge; more elegant Greek, *Βαιαλγε*.

(13.) *Συιθιχη Δεσποτεια*
657 675 = 1332 = 666 + 666.
"A Swedish monarchy."

The ancient name of Sweden its people called Svithiod, of which the root is Svith, as seen in *Συιθιχη* above. This I would judge to be for Scuth, as they put v or w for the c or g. Thus, Sweden would anciently have been a home of that part of the Kelatic race called Scythians and Goths.

(14.) *'O ΣτοεχΗōλμῖατης*
70 1262 = 666 + 666.
"The man of Stockholm."

Stock, in Stockholm, = Sax. Stoc, a place, etc., = (in a more extended sense) Gr. *Στεγος*, *Τεγος*; Gael. Teach (Steach); about exactly = Fail; Eng. Pale = in some degree, W. Ma and Mael in Maeldref, market town, etc. Stockholm means the city of the island.

(15.) *Νορυήιχη* = 666.
"Norway."

This national appellation is perfectly formed from the root, as *Αττιχη*, etc. In Saxon it is Norwaeg, root Norwae, and in Dan. Norvej, root Norve, but the e here is long, and equals Greek *η*, as above. The Norwegians were certainly a wonderful people in the ages of history, but savage and cruel in war.

(16.) *ΚοιβηνΗααυηνῖατης, βασιλῃυς*
1147 851 = 666 × 3.
"A man of Copenhagen, a king."

Here I have spelled Copenhagen as do the Danes, allowing each consonant its vowel; but I have had to lengthen the vowel e, as often as it occurs in the two words, into its long form *η*, which is proper in this enumeration, as the Gothic or Danish e is equal in sound to *η*. And as for *βασιλευς*, I find its root is given in both ways in Homer, *i.e.*, *βασιλε* and *βασιλη*; the latter of which I suspect to be the correcter form; if, as I have long supposed, its make-up is Celtic Ba-gil-each, "father of the chief," or chiefdom, whatever eadh or each might mean in the compound; or "son of the chief," &c. as Celtic ab means a son. The vocative singular of *βασιλευς* is *βασιλευ*, which would imply this supposition to be well grounded. But—

ΚοεπενΗααχενῖατης δ (Τυραννος) = Τυηρανανος
1414 70 1180 = 2664 = 666 × 4.
"A man of Copenhagen, the chief ruler."

Copenhagen; Dan. Kjöbenhavn (*i.e.*, merchant's haven); Ger. Kopenhagen; Fr. Copenhague, etc. I have given it here the ordinary spelling, allowing for each consonant its vowel sound. I deem this as correct an expression as that above, perhaps more so, owing to the nature and derivation of the limiting noun. In *Τυραννος* there would seem, at first sight, to be a redundant *ν*, but when we investigate the derivation of the word, we find this not to be the case. *Τυραννος* is no other than a diminutive formed from the Celtic word for Lord; Gaelic Tighearna, from Tighe, genitive of Teach, a house, a lord, prince, ruler, "indicating," says Webster, "that the word originally signified merely the master of a family or the head of a clan." This is the word the Gaels mostly use in addressing the Supreme Being, as an equivalent for Latin Dominus, Gr. *Κυριος*. They also use it as a title of address to men, as equivalent to Eng. Sir, Ger. Herr or Hern. The Welsh spell it Teyrn, a king, sovereign, and for house they have the form ty. Now, Tighearna equals Tighe-ar-an, root; and *Τυραννος* = *Τυηρ-αν-αν*, root, *i.e.*, *Τυηραναν* is a diminutive of *Τυηραν* by the addition of the Celtic diminutive particle an. Hence, *Τυραννος* was used in Greek for a queen, and for a king's son or daughter, as well as for the chief himself. It is of the masculine and feminine gender. Some lexicographers say that *Τυραννος* is strictly Doric for *Κοιρανος*, but this is not strictly so, for it can only at the most represent a diminutive of *Κοιρανος*. This diminutive, then, is the Irish common name Tiernan, and I find the same diminutive, or a slight variation of it, to be a common name among the Scandinavians. There is no doubt but that in early times there was a close kinship existing between the Irish, Danes, and Norwegians, and it may have been an idea they had of prior right to the country which induced the Danes in the mediæval times to strive so strenuously as they did for the possession of Ireland. There may, therefore, for what I know, be a meaning hid in the fitness of the word *Τυραννος* in the above expression; and if there be such a meaning, would that meaning be that the monarch of Denmark is ruler of a Gotho-Gaelic race? It has long been my impression that the Norwegian Yarls were originally sprung from Irish monarchs (*i.e.*, whether those monarchs were of Scandinavian or of other descent), for the very form of the word is Gaelic, *i.e.*, Iarla, full form Iarfhlaith, the fh and th being unsounded and dropped. Iarfhlaith = Iar, next, after, and flaith, a prince or sovereign; hence, a Iarla is next after the king, *i.e.*, a prince, a chief of a territory; a kinglet, as Carlisle has it. The Anglo-Saxon of it is eorl, and I don't see that the word is common to any of the other languages. These latter people are said to have received it from the Danes, although the term is not now used in Denmark. I will leave this subject to the Goths and Gaels to decide as best they can; but I may say that the word *Τυραννος*, according to its origin, can convey none of the idea of our tyrant or despot; usage has made it to convey such a meaning. Power should always be exercised with reason, justice, and moderation.

The ancient peoples of the Kelatic stock were accustomed to give their own family names or title to places, and so I find this root *Τυηρ* as the name of a province of Russia, I think not far from the province of Moskva; and of course the Russian royal name Vladimer, which name I see also applied to a province, is simply the Gaelic Flaith-mor, *i.e.*, great prince or sovereign.

(17.) *Δεααυανμαερκικη* = 666.
"Denmark."

It may appear that in the root *Δεααυαν* there is a redundant vowel, but that this is not the case will appear from attention to the derivation of the root. *Δεααυαν* would be expressed in full in Gaelic by Deadhamhan, pronounced Dhawuan, Dhawvn, or Dhawn. Deadhamhan or Deadhabhan (it being written in both ways, the bh and mh being equivalents) is a diminutive of deadhabh, or deadhamh, commonly written and pronounced Dubh, black; but this diminutive, deadhabhan, is for our word dun, *i.e.*, brown, that is, when used as an adjective; but as a substantive, the d is here often connected with the t, as in Teach, a house; for I find that, as applied to a man or to a race, the word is spelled Tedhach or Dedhach, *i.e.*, Teach or Deach, a chief or his progeny. The Latin form of Deach or Teach is Dux, root Duc, which we must say is a short form for Deadhach or Teadhach, but such is the case. It is the Gaelic-English name Teague, as in Montague, or Taidg, Deag, etc. You have seen it in the name for Tara and in other cases ere this. But still you may notice that there requires a vowel sound to be expressed before *κ* in the second component of the compound. Well, this is contained in the combination preceding *ρ*; but as it will not change the numeration in this case, I shall make a little different arrangement, illustrating as I go along, thus: *Δεαυαν-μαεραικικη* = 666, that is, I have transposed the *α*, which = 1, from the first part of the compound and put it before *κ* in the second part; but what I have to add is that the full root of the first part is Dedhabh, the a before dh being put in by Gaelic construction to balance the a which comes after it. This matter of a balancing vowel is a nice point in Gaelic construction, which sometimes leaves the nominative form of the word larger as to vowels than what its root indicates in the genitive; but this balancing vowel is often neglected in writing. In the root dedh, however, as I have had occasion to illustrate before, there is a vowel implied in the dh, *i.e.*, dedh really equals deadh, and is equivalent in our enumeration to dea. The dh, here equal to the th, lengthens its vowel sound merely, and as the e in this word is generally pronounced like a, then dedh would equal in sound daa, and it would leave it as I did at the start *Δεααυαν*, so that the vowel sound pertaining to *κ* in the second part of the compound is clearly seen to be contained in the preceding vowel combination.

Dan. Danmark; Ger. Dänemark; Dutch, Deenemerken; Sax. Marc, mearc; D. Merk; Ger. Marke; Dan. Merke; Sw. Marke; Arm. Mercg;

Eng. Mark. This word, as in Denmark, coincides in elements with March, and Marches, borders, boundaries, extent, etc. And the Dan in Denmark = Deadhabhan = Sp. Don; Dan in Daniel; Don in Donald, Donach, etc.; Dun in Duncan, Dun, a fortress. It also equals Eng. dawn (of day); Sax. dagian; D. daagen; Ger, tagen, from the root of day; the idea arises from the roof, or house; contemplated from the outside (bright, open, deabh or deagh, day); (brightish, opening, deabhan or deaghan, dawn); but, contemplated from the inside (dark, contracted, dubh or dumh); (darkish, dusky, dubhan, dumhan, duchan, dun). The primitive idea is of roof or cover (for house), and this contemplated from the outside and from the inside suggests or presents two different ideas or variations of the same general idea, but it is still of a roof or house. Eng. day; Sax. daeg; D. Sw. Dan. dag; Goth. dags; Ir. dia, di (a now obsolete word, unless in a few compounds, they using nominative la for it); W. dydd = dedhadh or dedhagh (although the Ir. and Latin have lost most of the elements of the full root, the Welsh has, in effect, retained those elements unaffected by aspiration). Sanscrit dyu = dedhaw. Walter Scott, if correct in little else in that novel, has hit upon a correct Eng. equivalent of the ancient family name of Mackintosh and his ancestors, the MacDuffs. See "Farquard Day;" Fair Maid of Perth, ch. XXXIV. The relation between the words day and teach, a house, is seen in Ger. dach, a roof; Eng. deck, the roof of a ship; thach (misspelled thatch), a kind of covering; Sax. thaec, a covering, a roof; D. dak; Sw. tak; Dan. tag, taekke; Ir. tuighe, which is simply a genitive of an old form of the word for house. "The primary sense," says Webster, "is to put on, cover over, or make close." Then, day is a covering over or vesture of brightness, light; the night the negative of day, as ne-acht, *i.e.*, ne or ni, not, and tach or teach, tedhach or dedhach, day. Eng. night; Sax. niht; Goth. nahts; D. nagt; Ger. nacht; Latin, nox, root noct; Gr. *νυξ*, root *νυκτ*; Ir. nocht, etc. Denmark means the country (or Marches) of the chief; Latin Dux, root duc; dac in Dacia. Chalmers, following Pliny and others, reasonably concludes the Gatae, Dacae, and Goths to be all one people.

(20.) *Βασιλεια μεγαλης Βρεττᾶνιας και Ερενλᾶνιας*
259 287 969 31 452 = 1998 = 666 × 3.
"A kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Βασιλεια is here in the nominative singular, and the adjective and nouns following it in the genitive singular of the first declension. *Ερενλᾶνιας* may, perhaps, be taken as an evidence of the d being not radical in land,

and of the vowels ε and ι being variations of each other. It may also be spelled *Ερελανδια* or *Ερελανδη*.

Ἡ Μονοτυηρααννια η Αγγελλανδιχη
8 1151 8 165 = 1332 = 666 × 2.
"The English Monarchy."

This is a well-marked system, the definite article being twice expressed. A monotyranny is a monarchy, but implying more of the patriarchal idea in that government.

Βασιλεια Γερμανης
259 407 = 666.
"An Empire of Germany."

Γερμανης is genitive singular of *Γερμανη*, a noun feminine of the first declension, in genitive after *Βασιλεια*.

(21.) *Ὁ Συιλταανος*
70 1262 = 1332 = 666 + 666.
"The Sultan."

The article here marks this character as well known. If left to himself, the Sultan is an autocrat; but by strange or mysterious concurrences of affairs he has long been in company with the English, and may, in this sense, be included among the Christain powers. He is, however, included among the European powers, and serves as a pivot upon which may turn "the balance of power." By him can hardly be meant "the false prophet" (a character which our number does not promise to point out), for we find in Rev. XIX., 20, that one of the marks of the false prophet should be that he should be a worker of miracles. I have never heard of the Sultan performing any miracle or pretending to any such performance, although, 'tis true, he may do many things that I may be ignorant of. Considering him as representing the Mahometan religion, he might represent false prophecy; for, doubtless, there exists in that religion, as well as in other religions of the earth, much false prophecy, so much of which we are taught was to go forth into and exist in the world. It matters not what the name the false prophet goes under, Mahometan, Budhist, or other, and however respectable the name under which he goes is deemed, there is no necessity whatever for his false prophecy.

Συιλταανος = *Συιλ-τααν* with the ending. Suil, in Gaelic, is genitive or root of Sol, the Sun (for Sol means the Sun in Gaelic as in Latin); it also means an eye (as the Sun means the eye of day), and so as applied to man it would mean an overseer, perhaps an equivalent for Gr. *επισκοπος*; but in connection with the other part of the compound, as Sultan, it means a chief or emperor; for tan or tain means a region, a territory, as we find in many names of countries, say, Brittain, Mauritania, Aquitania, etc., etc. Suil must be the the first part of the compound in the Irish name Sullivan, doubtless, originally, Suil-dhubhan, brown chief, and O'Suildhubhain, descendant of the brown chief.

(22.) *Ἀρχήγος Γραικειας*

982 350 = 1332 = 666 + 666.

"A chief ruler of Greece."

The first of these nouns is in the nom. of the second and the second in the gen. of the first declension. *Αρχηγος* = *Αρχ-ηγ*, double root. Of *Αρχ* = Eng. arch, Webster truly concludes the elements to be Rg. It is the Gaelic gen. Reach of Righ; and it is the Eng. Arch in every sense; as regards moral character as well as architecture, always implying the idea of the *curve*. We hear of "an arch wag" as well as of an arch of a bridge, etc. *Ἠγ* = Gr. root *αγ* in *ἄγω*, I lead, begin, originate, etc., = L. ag, in ago, I do, act, originate, etc., = our standard root Each.

(23.) *Ισρελιται* = 666.

"Israelites."

This is but a skeleton of the word for Israelites, but it fairly enough sets forth the number. It may also fairly represent the frame of a people, who live from their wits (not always honorably), and take no interest in agricultural production, which is what every nation has to depend on to fatten up its frame and maintain any animus in it.

(24.) *Γααμεριχόιαι Πόλεις*

271 395 = 666.

"American States." Not "The American States."

Here, when we prefix the consonant *γ* with its vowel sound, which is wanting before America, we have *Γααμεριχοιαι*, *i.e.*, *γααμ-ερικ*, etc., the root meaning roof, for house, or a chief; the idea in the root being of arch or curve. This expression may possibly have a reference to Mexico and to other governments of the New World outside of these United States. But it is certain that the people of these United States in general should guard against any one State or any combination of States asserting a dominancy over the others or even maintaining a domineering attitude towards them, which is so likely to arise from an increase of wealth and superstition, and from aping the manners and institutions of monarchial nations. There is altogether too much iniquity and folly in this country now, and no increase of these is required, but rather an eradicating than a suppression of them.

(25.) *Ὁ Γεανθηρόπος*

70 596 = 666.

"The Man." Not "A Man," in the sense of any man.

Γεανθηροπος = *Γεανθηρ-οπος*, this for *ανθρώπος*, in which last the vowel belonging before *ρ* is transposed, making the one following it long. When, in *ανθρώπος*, we put the vowels in their proper places, in connection with their respective consonants, the *η* being still to be understood as a double vowel, we have them of their proper lengths. The word, according to its

derivation, means *the erect and superintending being*, *i.e.*, animal. The root *οπ* in the compound in this sense stands for *σκοπ* in *επισκοπος*, but the full parts, as the word stands, are *γεανθηρ-οπος*, *γεανθηρ* being to be understood as a diminutive of *θηρ*, = *φηρ* (= Gaelic compound root fiadh-er) and *γεαν* or *γενα*, birth, offspring.

And supposing, as some have very properly supposed, *αν* in *ανθρώπος* to be for the preposition *ἄνα*, which means, generally, "up," or implies the idea of motion from below to above, still the consonant to be prefixed to *ανα* is *γ*, the one I have supplied; for, in the roots *γα* and *γενα*, the verbs of origination, the very idea of *origin* is from below upwards, as of the sun rising, which gives us the word orient, of the springing up of water in a well, of the coming into existence, etc. The Welsh word for man, *i.e.*, person or body, is mynw, from mwn (applied to the neck), which rises up or stretches out. According to the foregoing, *Γεανθηρ* (or *Γεναθηρ*, if you will) is a compound after the same manner as *Γενεαρχης*, from root *γενε* and *αρχης*.

I have now clearly proved to be true each general position I have taken in the interpretation of the prophecies I have dealt with; and what follows may throw some light on the general scope of this volume, so far, at least, as concerns the name and character of the originator of Christianity, and may, therefore, be not uninteresting.

(26.) *Ὁ Κυριος και Σωτηρ Ιησους Χριστος*
70 800 31 1408 888 1480 = 4677 = 666 × 7 + 3 × 5.
"The Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."

The adjective *κυριος*, root *κυρε*, which becomes a noun with the article prefixed (and is used as such without the article), is derived from *κυρος*, root *κυρε*, which may be considered first root of *κυριος*.

The verbal adjective *χρίστος*, which also becomes a noun with the article prefixed (and is used as such also without the article), is derived from the first root of the verb *χρῖω*, the *στ* being to be understood as belonging to this root in the form of F, T, or *ς*, *i.e.*, in some form of the digamma, which certainly appears in the general root of this class. See Aeolic *χραυω*, root *χραϝ*, which sets forth the primitive root most fairly of verbs of this class; also root *χρωτ* of *χρως*, a body, the human body, the skin. *Χρῖω*, as the verbs of this class generally, means to touch lightly the surface of a body, to graze, rub; hence to anoint with unguents or oil. The word graze, as well as grass, comes to us directly from the Gothic languages, and indirectly, also, from the Latinic. In connection with grass there are three primary ideas, that of *body* and its *covering* and *cutting*. In Gr. *ἀγρώστις* (grass) = *αγρ*, root of *αγρος*, the field, the country, and root *στε* of *στέγος*, a roof, a cover, in this case the compound meaning, literally, the covering of the country. Gr. *γραστις*, *χραστις*, *χρατις* (grass) = *γρα*, root of verb *γραω*, to gnaw, to eat; and *στε*, meaning, as before, a

covering (of herbage). Latin gramen (grass) is connected with γραινω = γραω, and, therefore, the Latins, as the Gothic nations, seem to have had of grass rather the idea of something to be cut or eaten than of a covering. This is also the idea of root gras in Sanscrit; Goth., D., and Sw. gras; Dan. graes; Sax. graes, graed. All these roots imply a covering which is to be gnawed, cut, grazed, etc. The word grease is only directly represented to us in the Latinic languages (Fr. graisse; It. grasso; Sp. grasa; Port. graxa). It is undoubtedly connected with Gr. κρεας, flesh, a piece of flesh, a body. The primary idea connected with both grass and grease is of body, and that in two ways in both cases. In the case of grass we have (first) the idea of body, or the surface of body; and (second) in connection with and covering this we have the idea of sod (mat of grass) as mentally distinguished from the clod or simple body. In the case of grease we have the idea of a particular kind of body in a soft state, but still of body, analogous to clod. And then we have the idea of the extended surface of any kind of body which we may endue with a covering of this soft body, as ungument, analogous to a covering of grass. That the idea is body or lump, in the case of the latter, is proved by root carn of L. caro, flesh; for this root in Gaelic means a heap or collection (of stones). In Sans. the root is kravya, and in Gr. κρεατ, there being some little transposition and exchange of letters. Now, in the operation of "to grease," this soft form of animal body is applied to the surface of body (whether of animal or other body) so as to cover it analogously to a covering of grass or vegetation where it exists. It indeed greases, grazes, shaves (radere), cuts the surface. So, also, "to graze" is to touch or cut the surface slightly, to skim lightly over it; and of animals "to graze" is to cut or gnaw (rodere) the herbage, grass, in connection with the surface.

Now, "to oil" is, literally, to apply to a body the product or fat of the olive tree; L. oleum, root ole; Gr. ελαιον, olive oil, from ελαια (root ελα), the olive tree. In oiling, therefore, we, literally, apply a vegetable substance. But "to anoint" is, literally, to apply to a body an animal substance; for the root oint we have directly through the French from Latin ungo, root ung, to anoint; and this, donbtless, comes to the Latin from the Gaelic ung, unga, ointment, which, in its turn, is from un, flesh. To anoint, therefore, properly speaking, is to apply an animal substance or body to the surface of another body; but in the case of this verb it cannot be used with any elegance except of the human body. "To anoint," therefore, or "to oil," is to apply to body a covering of body, and when this covering is of animal matter, when applied to other things than the human frame it is with propriety called grease.

The Hebrew noun M'Shach, Mishchah, or Mashchah means (1) *pellis, cutis*, the skin or outer surface of a body; or, as Buxtorf explains it, that which is drawn out and extended above the surface of the body (from M'Shach, to draw, draw out, etc.). And it means (2) *oleum, ungumentum*,

ointment; but whether it meant, literally, ointment or oil it is not easy to determine, from the difficulty of tracing the pedigree of words in a language so long unspoken as is the Hebrew. But I find that M'Shach means, also, to measure, having as another meaning a portion of land (L. gleba). But it appears plain the noun M'Shach is an inflection of Shach, of which, or another similar form, I find the meaning to be curved or something curved. The form Shchach means to devastate, etc., and it appears to be root of Shachal, and Shachatz, a lion, a wild beast. M'Shach, as above, doubtless means, literally, *ungumentum* rather than *oleum;* and we find the Mashiach, Mashuach, or M'Shiach a literal equivalent for the *Χρίστος*.

In the case of *χρῖω*, as I have said, the primary sense is to rub, graze, etc., and the noun representing the ointment seems, in this case, to be derived from the verb itself, *i.e.*, *χρισμα*(=*σύειον*); the holy anointing oil of the Christian Church. *Χρισμα* is, however, literally, anything to be smeared on as an unguent. Now, with the article prefixed, *ὁ χρίστος* means "the anointed one," and as a representative of Mahshiach it must mean "the anointed king;" it must mean anointed in the sense of a king anointed. In this sense, therefore, *χριστος* is a veritable noun, and as such the root *χρι* has to undergo an analysis and a synthesis. It is evident, then, that the consonants *χρ*, with their proper vowels, must represent a word for king, according to the ancient idea, and in finding the vowels we must seek the original, radical ones.

First, I may say, the letter *χ* is a letter resresenting kh, *i.e.*, an aspirated k. It was introduced into the Greek alphabet about the year 403 B. C., and was largely used by grammarians and critics to mark a passage or a book as spurions, and, with a dot on each side of it, to mark fine passages, etc. But this k in the different Indo-European languages represented different sounds, from its hard sound in Eng. k to sk, sh, ch (which in Fr. is pronounced sh), etc. From this it may at least be concluded that the same word, representing the same idea, had a great variety of pronunciations, its initial letter being sounded in such a great variety of ways.

Now, there is a verb in the Greek, a primitive word, which means to pour, spread, heap up, etc. This verb is *χεω*, root *χε*, but its full root is written *χευ*, *i.e.*, *χεϝ*. This I take to be the same with French chef, a head; Sp. jefe; Nor. Fr. and Eng. chief. There is another Greek verb meaning "to flow" as applied to water, liquids, and, metaphorically, as to eloquence and the progress of change in general; as also to living beings flowing or flocking together; this verb is also used transitively, *i.e.*, to cause to flow, pour, or shed. This verb is *῾Ρεω*, root *ῥε*, but full root *῾Ρευ*, *i.e.*, *῾Ρεϝ*. If this be the second component of the compound *χριϛ*, it is as likely to be so in the sense of heaping up or flocking together (for we speak of the "crest" of a wave and of a "flood" of almost anything) as it is in the sense of a source, origin, or essential change.

There is a Gaelic nominative Cu, a chief or leader, gen. con, and another righ, a king, gen. reach. The former might be represented in the

root of χυτος, heaped up, etc., verbal adjective of χεω; and the latter in the root of ἔρυω or Ῥυω, which means to draw to ones'self, and so protect, shield, save. We would thus surely have in the root of χριστος the double meaning of anointed, or poured over, and of Savior. If, now, we take the nominative Curigh, chief-king, and decline it, we have gen. Cureach. first root Cure, which I have shown to be the first root of κυριος. As the χ is merely the aspirated form of the K or C (which was also anciently used for S) and the Cu, pronounced by the Scots Cau, and often so written, is, in effect, equivalent to χεϝ, *i.e.*, Chef, we have thus for our compound χευρευ, or, by syncope, χρευ or χρεϝ (*i.e.*, χρεαϝ, to equal the full sound Cureach). But χρεϝ is χρεϛ, χρεστ or χριστ, and adding ος, the nominative masculine ending, we have no verbal adjective, but a noun equalling Curigh, who, according to monarchial usage, must needs have been anointed in order to be king. The Mahshiagh must needs have been the anointed one in being the chief ruler.

The result is precisely the same, as, according to the foregoing, if the second part of the compound be Ῥυ or Ῥευ, root of ἔρυω, to save, etc.; and not only so, but if it be Ῥευ, root of Ῥεω, to flow; for if we could trace back far enough, I doubt not, we should find this root to contain the primitive or identical idea of Righ, a king (Latin Rex, root Reg; Sp. Re; Fr. Roi); for this same Righ might very properly be written Riv, the root of our word river; and in Eastern Scotland it may have been occasionally so written, for the gh and ch they there often represented by v, and the s by st, after the Scandinavian fashion. The Scottish name Fergus was the Pickish Fergust or Vergust; and Aengus was their Aengust or Ungust, etc.

Now, in accordance with the heaping up idea implied in the roots χευ, etc., I may say that our word head is properly heav-ed (Sax. heafod, hofed. heafd), or that which is heaved up or elevated; and heaven is heav-en (Sax. heafen hefen, heofen), from Sax. heafen, to heave, signifying elevated or arched. See Ger. haupt and kopf; Goth. haubith; L. caput; Gr. κεφαλη, *i e.*, κεφ-αλ, with the case ending, a root which is equivalent to κεφ-αρ, since λ and ρ are commonly interchangeable; and, thus, κεφαρ would be but a longer form of καρ, root of καρη or καρα, also meaning a head; for we can here consider the φ only the f sound of the digamma, and so κεϝαρ or κευαρ, by the dropping of digamma, would naturally become κεαρ or καρ.

But the Sanscrit Cura, Cirsha, bring us round again, *pro illustratione*, from χεω, ερεω, and Ῥεω, if not to κυρος and κυριος, yet to Corsica, root Corsic, *i.e.*, Cuirseach, which, in the one sense, may possibly represent the χοιρ and the Σευ (see Ζευς); and in the other sense, two principal appellations of the ancient Ard-Righ. I would think that Corsica might also mean a habitation of some kind, say = Eng. church; and that the root Se (originally Su; as Fi in Fiadh was originally Fu) derived its sense of cutting primarily from the tusk, then from the chase, which includes the idea of cutting as well as of driving, pressing, etc. Compare the mean-

ings of Σευω, root Σευ, and θεω, root θευ, which are to each other akin, the the former of which may be derived from Συς, which would show full root of that word to be Σευ. The full root in Greek is evidently Σευ, which is equivalent to Goth. root Swe, perhaps root of Svea, an ancient name of Sweden, and of Swein, a name common of Scandinavians and their kings.

Some lexicographers suppose Συς to be derived from Σευω; but I consider snch a derivation at least improbable. Συς is simply ὑς, more justly ὗς, with the Σ prefixed, and so from the fuller form of the root, namely, Σευ (the ε in this root being a variation of υ), it is not unlikely the verb Σευω proceeds. It is more reasonable in this case that the verb should arise from the idea of "rushing" implied in the noun than that the latter should arise from the verb. We sometimes may think a noun arises from a verb which really does not, as will appear from what follows: When we speak of the *chase* we properly speak in relation to the boar; but when we speak of the *hunt* we properly speak in relation to the hounds (Sax. hundes). It might, to some, appear at first sight that chase is a metamorphosis of χοιρ, the χ being ch, and the s being in early times interchangeable with ρ; but it is much more likely that chase is the representative of either of other two forms, namely, Chuk or the Heb. form Chazir, which may be regarded as the same root. In relation to the word chase, opposite to which he arranges (Fr. Chasser; Arm. Chaçzeal; Sp. Cazer; Port. Caçar, etc.), Webster says: "The elements are cg or ck, and the change of a palatal to a sibilant resembles that in brace." It is seen that among the Kelatic people, althoug cu or cun had a double meaning, yet when applied to a man it was their highest title of honor; and so appears clear the affinity between the roots gog, cog, hog, cun, kung, koenig, konge, etc., among the Asiatic and European peoples.

Now, in relation to the number word χξς (p. 451 of this volume), it has been shown that the ξ is, or rather has been, commutable with the ῥ, for to the ῥ belongs the aspirate (῾), which makes it equivalent to γς or ks, *i.e.*, to ξ. In ancient times it was simply an interchange of equivalents. But while the simple, firm sound of the ρ sets forth unity or a simple idea or relation, the complex sound of the ξ or ks sets forth complexity or a complex idea or relation. So, while the word χρίστ, the root of χριστος, sets forth a simple idea and unity, the χξιστ sets forth a complex idea and confusion, *i.e.*, confusion taken strictly in its literal sense; for, doubtless, the confounding of the γ and ς sound, in order to form the complex sound of ξ, is meant principally to symbolize the confounding of the church with the state, which is in contradistinction to the simple idea of the kingdom of God on earth implied in the church of Christ itself. But it was designed to symbolize much more, namely, all that would result from the union of the church with the state, which would tend to the setting up, existence, and prevalence in the world of a religion, falsely called by the name of Christ. The religion of Christ is a simple religion, namely, "the life of self-denial and of active godliness in the case of human beings indi-

vidually and collectively, in their relation to each other and to God." But what a Babylon did take the place of this simple religion, and has long and widely prevailed under the assumed name of Christ, but acting at variance with his precepts and spirit! We, in our age, from the change things have taken for the better in the good providence of God towards us, can hardly form a just judgment of the spirit and action of governmental Christianity during the fifteen centuries preceding our time.

We are now advanced far enough to know that the roots of the words κύριος and χρίστος were either originally identical or that they are equivalents, *i.e.*, that root κυρι is equivalent to χρις or χριστ, and conversely. And our word to create, Latin creo, root cre, is the same with root κυρε, *i.e.*, κρευ or κρεϝ, for Webster very properly considers (judging from the root in Irish, which language, with the Gothic, as to roots in our modern languages he generally uses as a convenient criterion) that the Latin root is shortened by the loss of a letter. See Welsh creu; Ir. cruth; Arm. croui; and Heb. bara (in which last we have the root consonants of the others if the b be changed into c, a very common change indeed). And the root χρε or χρευ, from its origin and history, is equivalent to either of these other forms; for each of these roots represents a being who begins or originates; and in the ancient idea, at least in regard to worldly affairs, the king or χριστος was decidedly he who begun and originated. The king or χριστος was the κυριος, κρατωρ, or κρεατηρ. To begin is simply to gin or originate. In the Greek the ancient root is γα, which implies simple existence, and we may, for illustration, represent it by the Gaelic Cu or Cau. But the common Greek root is γενε, γενα, or γειν, which means to generate, to produce, to originate, and may for illustration, likewise, be represented by the Gaelic Cun, Cean, gin; Welsh Cun, gen, gan, etc. All those words are related to our word Can, which represents ability and leaves no doubt of it.

All men are satisfied that Christ was both prophet and priest. Now I have proved him to be king from the implication of his title, χριστος, of which, in this sense, the root is χριστ, not χρι. Of course he was neither king nor priest in the worldly sense of these terms, but in a sense infinitely higher, as he was also a prophet superior to all prophets. All this being so, the very roots of the name χριστ should reasonably imply that all good may be expected to flow from Christ to those who live an actively godly life.

But all we have seen now may show us that the roots κυρι and κυρε are simply variations of the root vowel to set forth a variation of ideas which at the same time sets forth the real case with respect to roots χριυ and χρευ or χρις and χρες, Now this last character in this last root is no other than the Chal. and Oriental Vau, Gr. digamma (F) turned over (for those ancient Orientals, contrary to the Greek method, wrote from right to left); and this Vau, especially as written in this last way, which approaches the form of the Samaritan Vau turned over, comes into English as St, thus,

χριστ for χριF or χριτ. Compare, for illustration, στα, first root of *Ιστημι*, and of Latin sto, which means to stand, *i.e.*, to stand out or exist; and *Za* (for *Τσα*), root of *Ζαω*, to live, *i.e.*, to stand out or exist; also, root γα of *γαω*, mentioned above, the primitive form of *γενα* or *γειν*, which first-named root means simply existence, and the second, with this signification, means also to cause to exist, to beget, etc. Also, θε or θα, first root of *Τιθημι*, which first root means simply to exist, *i.e.*, in place; and Sanscrit dadhama from dha. (I may remark here for the benefit of some readers that the reduplication of the root, either in Sanscrit, Greek, or Latin, changes its meaning from intransitive to transitive.)

This illustration tends to show the mutability of these consonants and consonantal combinations, and it is certain that in the Oriental and Celtic tongues, the c or γ, and S, T, D, and F, were very closely akin. As I took occasion to state before, the Arabic gimmel appears to be an aspirated form of the Gaelic T, and the Samaritan or ancient Hebrew T and D, having changed place at least as to apparent form, leaves us not to wonder at what really has place in the German, that the sound of their D and T, as compared with those sounds in the other languages, are completely interchanged. The form of the T in the Hebrew, leaves us to suspect that it originated in a kind of S, and that it may have been originally pronounced with a kind of an St sound.

See, farther, *Στεαρ*, root *στεατ*, fat, as tallow or suet; and *πιαρ*, liquid fat, indeclinable, but the root, for what we know to the contrary, may be *πιατ*; also, Ir. meith; so that we have στ, π, m and f, as in our word fat, all equal to each other. Taking now the expression, *Ὁ Κυριος και Σωτηρ Ιησους Χριστος*, which $= 666 \times 7 + 5 \times 3$, and Latinicising it by changing the ι in *κυριος*, *και*, and *χριστος* into ε, we have —

Ὁ Κυρεος καε Σωτηρ Ιησους Χρεστος

70 795 26 1408 888 1475 $= 4662 = 666 \times 7$.

But this would be openly violating the expression and degrading the heavenly man to the earthly idea; a bringing down of that sublime and celestial idea of the Son of God to that of the mere carnal and worldly man. *Χριστος* is not written otherwise than as *Χριστος* in any language, so far as the vowel i is concerned (Sax. Crist; W. Crist; Ir. Criost), and it will be proper that this uniformity be always maintained, and that the mind be kept elevated from flesh and sense, from the mere man, to things divine, to Him who is infinitely superior to mere man and to all angels and spirits. While the particular affinities, if we may so speak, displayed by our criterion in the above general demonstration, might be thought to indicate especially that portion of our species, which, relatively to the masses from age to age, constitute the predaceous; yet the allinclusiveness of the language might be thought as surely to indicate that God hath concluded as more or less under sin all mankind, so that none might glory in his presence, but that all should stand toward him in the position and relation of obedient and dutiful children to a wisely-disposing and benevolent parent.

The Importance of the Study of History in Connection With Prophecy.

We who are here present have lived in a transition age, our own generation having been occupied in passing from an old state of things to a new. We have now completely overstepped the threshold of a new era. If our grandfathers were now resurrected from the dead and placed among us again in life and intelligence they would doubtless be no little surprised at the state of things in which they would find themselves, a state of things so variously different from what they had been accustomed to in their former terrestrial existence. Whether or not those speak correctly who say the spirits of deceased ancestors continually watch over their descendants I may remark that in the revolutions of the ages, in the epochs which characterize the great precessional cycle, some such changes have place in the history of man as might appear to be cyclical. We have, in due order, the alternations of day and night, the seasons and the precessional epochs. So, analogously, the changes in human history. Although people generally observe with admiration the precision — far more exact than clock-work — with which occur those changes in nature called, for example, the day and night and the seasons, yet most people seem to think that within this cosmical order, so remarkable withal, the history of man runneth at random, being left to take care of itself as if subject to no controlling influence or law.

Investigation, however, appears to prove what the experience of the wise in all the historic ages concluded there was good ground for supposing, namely, that a certain law underlies the history of man, or a certain controlling will by which the events of human history come about in some such definite order as theologians might be thought to indicate in the expression, "the fulfillment of prophecy in history." In this way prophecy might be called history in the germ. Prophecy expressed is the apparent seed. History developed is the full-grown tree of prophecy in all its ramification and foliage. From what a small seed springs the large tree! From what a brief prophetic reference, symbolically set forth, springs the ages and volumes of human history! The same intelligent power, which gives birth to and developes the tree, is the power of prophecy, which originates and developes human history.

That intelligence knoweth the beginning, the progress and the issue of all things.

But, as I have said before, the results of investigation coincide with the experience of the wise in all ages that human history cometh about in a way, which may be called cyclical; and the doctrines of the founder of Christianity, properly understood, go to prove that within such apparent necessity man is a free agent. The old Greek philosopher, who wrote the book upon the subject "Man a Microcosm," was not unintelligent. According to this definition man is a little cosmos, a cosmos in miniature. This definition is correct in its way; but a man is not so diminutive a cosmos as is a microscopic animalcule nor so great a cosmos as man aggregated or confederated into a body politic. The fundamental idea in the word cosmos is order; a secondary meaning is beauty, which, mainly, is understood to arise from symmetry and proportion of parts in an object or organism. The common meaning given in our age to the word cosmos is the world, the universe being always in perfect order as to its principal phenomena of day and night, the seasons and the other phenomena that occur cyclically.

But man, being a free agent within certain limits, within a cosmical order, which underlies and is the foundation of his existence, has the power as well as privilege of living either well or ill, of being either a good or a bad person. The living well, the living a life of active godliness, which is that of true manliness, implies self-denial; for, man has, to a great extent, to deny himself as well as deny the world in his progress towards the accomplishment of good objects. He has also the power as a body corporate of inaugurating a good or a bad system of government, or of, betimes, introducing bad laws into an originally good governing code. How many laws there do appear upon the statute books of every organized state of the world to-day, laws that should not there appear, or, if they did, it should be with modification by explanation, contraction, pruning, or the like. But in order that men appointed as legislators have the ability to prepare and enact just and proper laws, it is necessary that they be well versed in history, which teaches them what course to pursue, and what to avoid in the conduct of life, and in the preparation, enactment and execution of laws.

Aristotle was a man well versed in the constitutions, laws and histories of the various Grecian republics. It is after we have read his Nichomachian Ethics, that we may apply ourselves with

the greater profit to his Politics and Economics. The conclusion which a thorough study of his works enables us to arrive at concerning him as a man of genius and many sided ability is, as of a man of the highest order, and in this respect the conclusion is somewhat different than that at which we arrive concerning the bearing or tendency of his Ethical and Political systems. As a profound and careful thinker and consummate philosopher we find none of his successors or of our contemporaries to surpass Aristotle in manysided ability to bring to bear in illustration of his subjects and in proof of his positions his remarkably varied stores of learning. For many things put forth in the systems of Ethics and Politics which he advocated, we have neither use nor place. For his class institution of slavery we have as little use or place as for his class institution of monarchy, and just as little for his adhesion to the opinion prevalent in his day (in opposition to the more correct opinion of Anaxagoras and Pythagoras expressed before his time) of there being no Antipodes. The formers of the codes of Diocletian, of Constantine and of Justinian; of Charlmagne, of Alfred and of Napoleon, in the aftertimes, were all students of Aristotle, were imbued with some of his spirit and adopted some of his doctrines.

When first I entered upon my collegiate course Locke's theory of ideas held the boards in our highest educational institutions; but by and by came on Victor Cousin's Analysis of Locke's theory, and behold the latter, so long celebrated work, vanishes from the educational institutions and is no longer found therein as a textbook.

With the publication of Cousin's Analysis of Locke's theory of Ideas human thought had decidedly advanced in the proper direction. Society, like a man with a blind-man's buff over his eyes, which is there with his own consent, long held on to the coat tails of Locke's theory of ideas; but in Victor Cousin's Analysis society thinks more rationally and independently concerning this very important and interesting subject, becomes more intelligently positive in its assertion that the mind cannot act or rather perceive where it is not present; that language is true to itself if the literal meanings be given to the roots; that the same language will be found true to itself in its progressive stages or ages and all languages true to each other when the root meanings are given. By this advance society became, on the whole, more intelligently self-determinative. Locke's theory of ideas is, however, reasonably

decided to have been an improvement upon the systems which had preceded it for many centuries. The Ecclesiastical schoolmen had effected remarkable mystifications in the philosophical, moral and cosmical systems.

Not only the Old Testament but the New is found to be consistent with itself, when the proper interpretation is given to the parts respectively, according to the nature of the language in which each component part is set forth. But the second century somewhat mystified the Gospel's Christianity of the first, the third perceptibly that of the second, and so they proceeded with their refinements in mystification. In the fourth century Constantine embraced Christianity, substituted it as the State religion instead of the old medley of Polytheism of the republic and empire; removed his seat or government from Rome to Byzantium, which old city he rebuilded on a much enlarged scale and magnificently adorned. This city he now constituted his capital of the empire under the name of New Rome, but after his time it was called in honor of him Constantinople. Here he instituted a code of laws, effected the unification of the state and church, which afterhis time culminated in one of the most oppressive systems of government of which we have knowledge in history. How different this system of government instituted by Diocletian and perfected by Constantine and his immediate successors from the old system of the Roman republic; how different the system of religion inaugurated by Constantine and his successors from that of the Gospel of Christ! Constantine the first, the the son of Constantius Chlorus, has the reputation, as you are aware, of having been the first Christian emperor and a passing strange exponent of Christianity he was? The government of the people of the old Roman republic was substituted for by a government of class, headed by monarchy. The simple system of Gospel Christianity, which is founded on fraternal love and active godliness, was substituted for by the coldness, arrogance and exclusiveness of class. It is true that the old system of the Roman republic may be considered as subverted from the time that Cæsar crossed the Rubicon in his pursuit of Pompey; but it is aptly remarked by Gibbon and other historians that Diocletian introduced into the courts of the emperors the court ceremonial of the oriental despots. Before him the manner of life of the Roman emperors was wont, for the most part, to be comparatively simple and democratic; but after Diocletian each emperor would seem to have improved upon the barbaric splendor, ostentation and arrogance of his predecessors

while claiming to be, in his person, the head of the church and the representative of Christ on earth. Under the assumed name of Christ, therefore, great cruelties began early to be practiced. Thus was introduced the reign of Antichrist, which means literally "against Christ," but came to mean a regime carried out under the name of Christ, but acting diametrically in opposition to his teachings and character. Unlike the simple leaders of democracy who are so ready to speak to every one either for a vote or through good nature, but more unlike Christ himself, the prime representative of the equal rights of all men, the so-called Christian emperors were either unapproachable by the masses of the people or approachable by them only with great hesitation and fear.

The setting up of the empire instead of the republic, was, however, only the beginning of sorrows for the people; an augmentation of those sorrows was the unification of the state with the church in the government. Then and after that it was that the governmental geniuses, ecclesiastical and secular, were exercised in the invention and enaction of cruel laws, which to a great extent prevented the masses of the people not only from acting and investigating but from thinking. As the middle ages passed along there was inaugurated and came into action that well known institution, styled by a monstrous abuse of language, "the Holy Office of the Inquisition," but which was one of the most atrociously cruel and murderous institutions that ever existed on the earth. The ecclesiastico-civil authorities had so refined upon and mystified the doctrines of the gospel that these doctrines became incomprehensible to the common mind. They then proceeded to cruelly torture and burn at the stake men and women because they could not conscientiously profess to believe what they could not understand or what their minds conceived differently from the explanation given in the ecclesiastico-governmental authorities. This state of things went on for hundreds of years in succession until vast multitudes of persons, male and female, had suffered tortures and deaths of the most cruel kinds on account of what they believed to be the true meaning of the Gospel of Christ.

As we advance from the "Middle Ages" towards the time of "the Reformation" the Crusades arose, expeditions of armies arrayed under the name of Christ, whose professed business it was to slay the Turks and possess themselves of Palestine. For nearly two centuries these expeditions continued to rage and roll along until countless numbers were slain on both sides, Christians and Infidels so called.

It is true that these expeditions, though productive of great suffering and loss of life and treasure, were not entirely unproductive of good effects. They energized Europe from a lethargy into which it had been more or less sunk; and tended to retard for some centuries the progress of the Turk westward. But whoever inquires where it is to be found that Christ ever by word or deed authorized any one to go and do violence to another will see how entirely different was the spirit that prompted the crusades from that of the founder of Christianity. The spirit of class and of monarchy had suppressed or crushed the spirit of thought. Any course or system adopted by the ecclesiastico-civil authorities was sure to be followed blindly by the unthinking masses, and those who perceived harm in their systems or courses and opened their mouths against them were sure to be stigmatized as bad citizens.

But even the few references, so far given, will show the importance of the study of history in unmistakingly indicating what courses should be followed, while their opposites should be avoided in life and legislation; and will, to some extent, indicate the natural bent of the human mind for the acquisition of power and for the exercise of this power too often in a malicious and wantonly cruel way to the great detriment of the people.

We have the experience of one century of the working of this government, a system of government, in its inception, the most equitable of all which history records. So far it has, on the whole, worked admirably well and effected much for the amelioration of the condition and the civilization of mankind, even far beyond the bounds of its own jurisdiction. Under its name and authority many things have been done which should not have been done, as under the name of Christianity many things have been done which should not have been done. But, speaking analogically, although having already accomplished more than the work of a full grown man, our republic is, as to age, yet in its infancy. Let us begin to estimate what progress it may yet make within the second century of its national existence. Then what in century third? in century fourth? in century fifth; in century sixth? in century seventh? Here have we, perhaps, gone too far in speaking of a republic at the end of a week of centuries from the beginning of the republic's existence? Hardly too far, we think, for then, doubtless, the government of this country will bear to be called a republic although of a more inflexible character than it is now. In that age the machinery of the government will be much more compli-

cated and its work to be done vastly more than at present; but if our republican civilization shall have done its duty during that week of centuries it will have accomplished a vast work for the civilization of mankind. After century seventh will our republican government go on acquiring more of the iron in its already inflexible composition, until say by century tenth, it may, through external force (oh would that the men of our county might not then be women in spirit), or for policy sake (a shallow policy, indeed!) have recognized one religious sect of that age more than any other and have become in effect a state and church combination of government? Will that government be of foreign composition and air and will our people of that age have become so devoid of self-respect as to pay attention to externals in the religion then set up as national — to hoods and capes and cloaks and outward show of sacerdotal paraphernalia, which some even of the present age attend upon, but the vast majority decide should be elevated immediately to sublimation by the igneous process, if not put to better use? How much need there is that education shall continue to be promoted in all the States! and that such modest self-respect and self-reliance should be encouraged as leads our people to think and reason independently and to self-determinateness of character as to conduct and action. After class system has been once introduced freedom and independence of thought fast die out in the masses of the people. The upper classes, so called, are then supposed to be the repositories of all knowledge and the people generally to know little or nothing.

But, in our own age and country it is observable that multitudes of the people are impulsive and fast to act, which, doubtless, arises to them partially at least, from their neglect of the study of history. Of the three steps of the syllogism, the major premise the minor premise and the conclusion, they very often, in their reasonings neglect the middle step altogether and pass directly from the major premise to the conclusion. For example, I hear one remark: "The Democrats will vote for Cleveland and Thurman; therefore, John will vote for Cleveland and Thurman," the minor premise not being here expressed but implied namely: "John is a Democrat." "Nor when such reasoners find themselves "suspended upon one of the horns of a dilemma" are they accustomed to permit themselves long to remain in such position, but quickly find a way of extricating themselves whether or not by a correct and logical process. Our people, male and female, are

generally not only fast, but expert in talk, especially concerning the ordinary topics of the day. It is good to be able to say and say well, on each proper occasion for speaking, what a person may have to say and nothing less nor more than enough. But there is a habit prevailing in many people of talking too much. Self-restraint in talking as well as in the exercises of the passions, is absolutely necessary to propriety in youth, maturity and old age. But the impulsiveness and quickness to act of large multitudes of our people, a person would think, might at some time tend to endanger the stability of the government or have a tendency to introduce many unnecessary if not unrighteous laws into the different State codes and that of the nation. This inconsiderateness and impulsiveness in political partizanship may frequently have the effect of placing in the State or national legislatures men who are unfit for such positions, and who having got there, are by virtue of such positions the makers of the laws for the government of the good living and intelligent masses of the people.

A study of the histories of the Greek commonwealths will teach us to guard against such State pride as may become displayed in angry rivalry of one State with another or with the confederation. Witness the rivalries and contentions of the Athenians with the Lacedemonians, for example, and of either or both of these with the minor States of Greece, which in later times weakened the Grecian arm in its operations against the Persians and finally left all Greece subject to Philip of Macedon. The great historians of the Roman Republic, down at least to the Antonines, may be studied by us with much profit. We can follow that history as contained in the diffuse and MacCauly-like style of Livy; in the beautiful concise style of Tacitus, and in the peculiar historical style of Pliny, the younger. In those immortal historic works we see that mighty Roman nation exhibiting itself as a republic, and, as far as we now go down in it, as a very mild sort of empire. In the republic we observe great Rome not only subjugating the Italian States, but finally, after very long and bloody wars, the empire of Carthage and all of the world included between the Euphrates and the Grampians, between the Rhine and the Atlantic. These, be it remembered, were the doings of the Roman republic, for little if anything was achieved by conquest beyond these borders by Rome, become an Empire. From the time Julius Cæsar became sole dictator, down to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus there appear as emperors a few notorious tyrants, of whom the names of Nero and

Domitian will go down to everlasting infamy; but these were only exceptions; for the rulers generally for this period were far from being entirely undemocratic in their life and manners and some of them accomplished important and imperishable work in literature, science and civilization. The names of the Antonines as that of Augustus shall descend with praise to all time.

In the rebellion or secession of Cataline are depicted the dangers to which a republic may be subject by a designing and inordinately desiring and aspiring few. It would appear that a few fires may be at any time ready to burst out and burn with all the fury possible to them. Hence is perceived the danger to which a republic may be liable from what is called State or individual pride. I am not here insinuating a word against the practice or propriety of States recognizing some "favorite sons" whose integrity and useful industry has been long conspicuous on the bench, in the legislature or elsewhere; but the general confederation must be eternally vigilant and, in all sobriety, carefully guard against the assumption of too great a show of self-importance or self-aggrandizement by any one State or person in the confederation. Politically all sections of the country should be kept on a level, no disposition towards sectional or personal political aggrandizement of any one section or person over all the rest being favored. The government of the republic de facto, or in office, should know only the country as a whole, there being in its mind neither party lines nor sectional prejudices, no matter by which party it has been elected to office. To the executive of the nation, therefore, there is properly no northern or southern, no eastern or western section, only the republic, as a whole, one and inseparable. When any disturbance should from any cause arise in any one section of the republic the confederation (I do not mean in this case the executive) should take care to preserve an equipoise so that the disturbance may not be allowed to spread or to become general, and this too without any interference on the part of the national executive being necessitated. The whole of the republic should exercise a loving, fraternal care over each of the parts, by coolness and moderation preserving an equal balance and allowing an equal and righteous distribution of the offices of government to be given to each section of the country without complaint, regarding it as a matter of right and justice that the administration of the public offices should fall to those places and persons to whom by right they belong.

Our position, historically speaking, in the latter part of this 19th

century, is as it were on the summit of a lofty hill, whence we can in our extended survey of the past ages observe in succession the rise and flourish and decay of nations and languages. As history is found to repeat itself, at least to a remarkable degree, then (unless the events likely to occur may be in some degree counteracted or prevented), by a close observation and study of the past history we can, doubtless, attain to an approximate knowledge of what is most likely to take place in the future and so may learn what is necessary to be avoided and what to be followed in life and legislation. Nations last longer than individual men, but they, as well as the languages they use, have an end in time and are supplanted by others. As the ages pass along historians record what they regard as the most remarkable facts and transactions of their nations individually and in their interrelations with other nations. Philosophers of the various classes record their systems of ideas. Plato, for example, is, as far as we know, the best exponent of the intelligence of Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. Plutarch, in his "Morals," would be a fair exponent of the intelligence of both Greece and Rome in the first century of Christianity, besides being, to some extent, a fair commentary on Plato's Philosophy. This last-named author (I mean Plutarch) had the advantage of the study of the authors of the four centuries intervening between himself and that celebrated disciple of Socrates. But we have not only them and Plutarch, but all who have come after the latter to our own time for our study, contemplation and advantage.

If before Plato and Herodotus I follow the chronological thread of the ancient Egyptian history I have eighteen centuries at least of comparative clearness in which I can trace from the throne of the Shepherd kings, so called, of the race of Menes, which are found 38 in succession in the historical list of Eratosthenes, the principal dominating races with their peculiar civilizations of Western Asia and of Europe. This may seem a startling announcement, but it will not appear so wonderful when it is discovered that the race spoken of as of the Nile's Valley are descended to thence from the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and from eastward and northward of the latter, and that people of the same stock as those who gave that awful magnificence to Thebes and Memphis and to 2,000 miles of the Nile's Valley, had founded Nineveh and Babylon and were the originators of the peculiar civilization found in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and farther north in those of the Oxus

and Jaxartes; that they were, in short, of the Indo-European stock. Going farther north still (for we are aware that climates change very remarkably in the course of time), we find the root of the name Eber, which is identical anciently with the root of the name Abraham and of the word Arab, in the root Siber, the root of the name Siberia, which may point to the conclusion that those peoples had inhabited the regions farther north before they occupied the hills of Kurdistan whence they descended into the valleys of the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile.

Having descended from the steppes of high Asia and taken to the avocation of shepherds they occupied the valleys along the streams, where their flocks and herds obtained provender and water enough. This is the race, whose origin is spoken of in the 2nd chapter of Genesis under the name of Adam or Edom, which then occupied the garden of Eden; wherein you can identify the rivers spoken of as flowing through that garden, the Hiddekel as the Tigris; the Gihon as the Araxes; the Pison as the Yoruk, and, fourth the Euphrates. By this we find the river which divided into four "heads" or sources to have been really the water shed of the mountains of Armenia or Caucasus, which drained off in four different channels one towards the north-east into the Caspian, one towards the north-west into the Euxine and two towards the south-east, which united in one before they reached the Persian Gulf, their debouchure. These rivers enable us very easily to locate the garden of Eden, geographically considered. It is, speaking geographically, comprehended in the territory lying between the Euxine and the Caspian seas and a line drawn parallel to the northern shore of the Persian Gulf to some indefinite distance towards the east and west. It would, doubtless, fall between 30° and 42° of north latitude and 34° and 54° east longitude. The original says that the Gihon or Araxes encompasses the whole land of Cush, i. e., Caesh or Caeth, which is translated Ethiopia. Now this is all true, as according to the present territorial names even, for Caucasus is Caeth-Caes-us, and Ethiopia, with its parts transposed is Japheth-ia. Hence you see the origin of the Ethiopians or Cushites of the Nile's valley and that the original Ethiopia or Cush was in Asia. Aeth is Caeth or Cuth and Aes is Caes or Cush and so Aesia or Cusia is the same originally with Ethiopia or Japhethia. The 2nd chapter of Genesis indicates the home of the ancestors of our race at the time referred to. In Sanchuniatho's theological history of the Phœnicians we find indications which lead us to suppose that

before this race took to the pastoral way of life they practiced agriculture. The change from agricultural to the pastoral would be indicated in the Bible by the dispute which ended so tragically between the brothers Cain and Abel. But if, according to the idea of Castes, we are to understand the shepherds, at least in this connection, as sacerdotal pastors we shall find this to be largely allegorical and to be the more difficult to understand in that the name Cain is a name in the old language not only to express the king-priest, but in more modern language to express a priest. It means also the same as the name Seth (which is Chaeth or Chaethan) and is exchangeable therewith, which was anciently one of the names of the Sun or the Sun-God, as well as of the sea or ocean, which, you perceive, must be originally Seth or Cain respectively. It is one of the cosmogonical appellations as well as being the name of a man, while Abel, besides being a man's name, is the name they have wantonly transposed into Bael.

When, therefore, we begin with the history of ancient Egypt or Chaldaea we have a vast scope of time to contemplate the rise and flourish and fall of nations; and when we study this subject of the history of mankind in connection with the Bible and Natural Theology and closely observe every step of the progress of the history of nations, more especially of this shepherd race which we trace in the first book of the Bible, we have surely sufficient data to enable us to pursue an investigation, perhaps to a reasonably satisfactory conclusion, as to whether or not any law underlies the life of man, according to which the events of history come about in some such cyclical way as may be implied in the theological expression, "the fulfillment of prophecy in history."

And now in regard of what is called "the providential dealings of God in relation to men" it is well known there are recorded in the Bible two captivities of the Israelitish people to Assyria and two captivities of the Jewish people to Chaldaea, all on account of the sins of commission and omission of those people against God; from the time of the Exodus of the Israelites, which I in my "Critique of the History of Ancient Egypt" have found to have taken place, sometime in the reign of that Shepherd-pharaoh called Sesostris the great, to the revolt of the ten tribes under Jereboam the son of Nebat from Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, there intervened, as according to my computation, about 519 years. From this time to the first captivity of the Israelites to Assyria by Tiglath Pileser, in the reign of Pekah, the son of Remaliah, there

passed about 200 years, which would leave that event to have taken place in about the 770th year B. C. In about 28 years later, or say in about 742 B. C., the Israelites, now the subjects of Hosea, the immediate successor of Pekah on the throne of the kingdom of Israel, were carried away captives in large numbers by Shalmaneser, the then king of Assyria. This is the captivity designated as that of the ten tribes, from which there is no historically recorded return or restoration. In about 623 B. C. Nebuchadnezzar, the first of that name who was King of Babylon, carried captive into Chaldaea Jehoiachin the king of Judah and, as the narrative says, "all the princess and mighty men of valour in Jerusalem" — ten thousand captives of this sort — "and all the craftsmen and smiths, leaving none remaining except the poorest sort of people of the land." At this time Nebuchadnezzar appointed Mataniah, the uncle of Jehoachin, to be king at Jerusalem instead of his nephew and changed his name to Zedekiah. It was in about 11 years later, or say in 612 B. C., that the same Nebuchadnezzar sacked Jerusalem, burned its temple, broke down the city's walls and transported to Chaldaea all the people left in the city after the captivity of 11 years before. This captivity at Babylon is said to have lasted for 70 years, so that it is doubtful if any of those taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar ever saw again their native land, while it is reasonable to understand in accordance with the narrative that their children and grandchildren were restored to their patrimony. It was in the beginning of the reign of the Medo-Persian King Cyrus over the Chaldaeans that the restoration of the Jews to the land of their fathers took place, and it was some years later that, acting under a commission issued by Artaxerses, Ezra, a priest and Nehemiah, a chieftain of the people, with a large company descended of the same nation, went up from Chaldaea to Jerusalem and effected a much-needed reformation among the disorderly elements of the returned Jews, at the same time strengthening the hands and encouraging the hearts of the orderly and patriotic who were endeavoring to build again the city and temple and to newly organize and establish their own old national theocratical polity.

Our learned investigators agree that the Hebrew became a sacred language only after the Babylonian captivity, that is after the old thought of Phœnicia had returned from Babylon clothed in a Chaldaean garb. The old Hebrew or Phœnician alphabetic characters were in the interval exchanged for the Chaldaean, which is what amongst us now is called the Hebrew alphabet.

Now, as I have mentioned before, all of those captivities enumerated are set down in the book of books as properly retributions on account of the sins of commission or of omission of the Israelitish and Jewish peoples, by which it might appear that the law referred to as underlying the life of man, whereby the events of his life, as well as the history of nations do come about, may be occasionally attempered with justice as well as mercy and that this law is on the whole, but the will of the supreme God. It is, however, certain that only after the advent of Christ and through means of his revelation man's free agency became so apparent as that it must have been apprehended by all.

But now, if it be true, as perhaps nobody doubts it is, that it was on account of the sins of those peoples and of their rulers the captivities referred to took place, then it may be reasonably asked why might not those captivities have been avoided by those peoples and their rulers having lived in a godly and acceptable way and manner? Or does any one of sane mind argue that those peoples were necessitated by some law underlying their life to be sinners by omission and by commission against God, against their own will and against themselves? Would not such an argument point to a *reductio ad absurdum;* for God being the source of all reason and the foundation of all reasoning, it is evident not only that he does not contradict reason but is not unreasonable in his requirements?

It will of course be kept in mind that there are two captivities recorded of the Israelitish kingdom to Assyria and two of the Jewish kingdom to Chaldaea; and that between the captivity of the Israelites in the time of Pekah and that of the ten tribes in the time of his successor Hosea there intervened about 28 years; while between the partial captivity of the Jews in the days of Jehoiachin and the more complete captivity in the reign of Zedekiah, his successor, there intervened about 11 years, thereby making this last captivity to have begun in about 612 B. C.

It is to the time of this great tribulation, called "the captivity at Babylon for 70 years," that the events of new revelation for that time recorded in the book of Daniel belong. In the 2nd chapter of that celebrated book we find Daniel not only discovering but interpreting to Nebuchadnezzar his dream of the great historic image, which foreshows the four great historic monarchies in succession, ending with a fifth, which is the kingdom of the son of man: this fifth supplants and exists in the place of all that had

preceded it upon the earth. In his VIIth chapter is his vision of the four great beasts (which is a repetition of the general idea contained in the historical image) and which symbolize in their chronological order the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian and the Roman empires. This last (or rather the empires which grew out of it) is supplanted by the everlasting kingdom of the Ancient of Days or of the son of man, referred to in the other by the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and which may be called in reference to the preceding, the fifth kingdom upon earth.

Daniel's vision of the ram and the he-goat, contained in his VIIIth chapter, refers, in the order of the symbols, to the Medo-Persian and Macedonian empires. The ram had two horns, of which the second was higher than the first and it came up last. Persia became in time a more renowned and more powerful monarchy than ever Media, the more ancient monarchy of the two, had been. The he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground with his feet in his progress; and between his eyes he had "a notable horn." The one empire of Alexander the great is here referred to in the he-goat and the single horn and the remarkable rapidity with which that renowned son of Philip and pupil of Aristotle conquered Asia, in the way in which the he-goat passes over space without striking the ground with his foot. The he-goat has one remarkable horn between his eyes; he came from the west on the face of the whole earth and with such rapidity that his feet touched not the ground. And this he-goat came to the ram that had horns, which (ram) says the prophet, I had seen standing before the river, and ran into him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram and he was moved with anger against him and smote the ram and broke his horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground and stamped upon him and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great and when he was strong the great horn was broken and instead of it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven." This plainly shows Alexander's rapid conquest and his remarkably sudden demise. The prophet sees the two-horned ram standing before a river. A person would think this referred to the river Euphrates, which was afterwards regarded as the boundary on the east of the Roman Empire; but it was on the banks of the river Issus in Asia Minor that Alexander after crossing the Hellespont attacked and defeated

Darius at the head of his Medes and Persians and the flower of the chivalry of Asia. Alexander during his life did not lose the dominions he acquired in battle; but he lost his life through indiscretion. Having subdued India and the ancient lands of the Aryans he returned and died at Babylon, it is said, under the influence of wine and as the effect of general self-indulgence. On his career of subjugation Alexander appears to have started wrong. He should have first subdued himself and then kept in subjection his passions and desires. He should not have been so stiff-necked and stubborn as to refuse to his preceptor, Aristotle, the privilege of accompanying him on his Asiatic campaign. He should have taken him along and betimes considered his dictations at least on non-military matters. In thus doing he would have given proof of sagacity in statemanship; but the young man was carried away by his military projects and the anticipation of the glory to be acquired by him on the fields of Asia by the skillful manipulation of his deep-standing and long-speared, invincible Thracian and Grecian phalanxes. He accomplished his vast military projects, but his vanity conquered him, left him lying beneath the earth, despoiled of all his vain grandeur.

The lesson the life and death of Alexander teaches to men of all time is that they should deny themselves of what is evidently injurious to their health or morals or anything by the use of which they might injure others: that they should moderate and govern their desires in order that they might enjoy the longer and the more.

In the prophecies of Daniel not only the whole ground of the consecutive history from the time of the seventy years' captivity to Christ, but down along the course of time to the final triumph of Christianity, is clearly foreshown symbolically. For any one acquainted with the history to fail to apprehend the meaning of the prophecies is, we should decide, impossible. The spirit of prophecy has its own peculiar way of setting forth symbolically the combinations of polities and the events in history or, symbolically, the complicated way in which the events would in their times be developed.

After the four empires which arose instead of that of Alexander, namely, the Egyptian or African, the Assyrian or Asiatic, the Lydian or that of Asia Minor, and the Macedonian or Grecian of Europe, there arose the Roman Empire into which Christianity was first introduced. But the prophecies of Daniel extend farther down in time than the Roman Empire proper and embrace, as a

wheel within a wheel, though obscurely, those developed more fully in the Book of Revelation. These are known in history as the state and church Christian systems of government, viz.: the Greek-Catholic system, the Roman Catholic system, the Anglican Catholic system and the Lutheran-German Catholic system. The Lutheran system, as well as the Anglican, is Catholic as is expressed in their creeds, and was understood by their founders who never claimed to have separated from their so-called mother church of Rome. The prophecies of Daniel, I say, extend farther down than those systems of government, called of state and church, even to the final triumph of true Christianity in a general government of the people, for the people, by the people, which may be called a Christian democracy. Such a dominion those prophesies give us to understand will supplant all earthly kingdoms, and may properly be called the kingdom of the Son of Man, or the Ancient of Days, God and his Christ being recognized therein as the supreme, spiritual governors.

In the prophecies of Revelation is a fuller setting forth of the fourth empire of Daniel, symbolized by the legs and feet of the historic human image; from the dust of which, when ground into powder by the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, arises the everlasting kingdom of the Son of Man.

And now for a while speaking in reference to those who claim that the prophecies of the book of Daniel, with their parallels of the book of Revelation, which evidently point to the state and church Christian systems enumerated, are not yet fulfilled in history I may say that as it is undeniably evident that those prophecies point to those systems, so it is quite as evident to one who soberly and in an unprejudiced spirit considers the subject that those prophecies have, to a large extent and very notably, been fulfilled. But it is answered with a triumphant air to one who maintains this such fulfillment, that the church of Rome is still standing erect in great strength, and that only a short time ago, for instance, the foundation of a Catholic university was laid at the city of Washington, on which occasion were present to see and to be seen and to hear Cardinal Gibbons deliver his address, a large number of leading Roman Catholics from the United States and elsewhere. It is thus asked with an air of triumph: "If the church of Rome has been overthrown, as according to your application of history to prophecy, how does it happen that this church is making such conspicuous progress in the world, how adding such large

numbers from other religious denominations to its faith by conversion, how so greatly aggrandizing itself by wealth and numbers?" But the idea of the church of Rome, considered as a religious body, is not quite the same as that of the temporal sovereignty of the pope of Rome, a sovereignty which he exercised independently, and for such long ages in his own right; and all this bluster as to the increase in numbers and wealth of its members which is largely of the earth earthy, is of no account when confronted with the simple fact of the temporal power, so called, having been taken away from the Pope by Victor Emmanuel, the king of Italy, in 1871 A. D., at the time at which the prophecy indicated it should be taken away. Consequent upon the fall of Napoleon III, the then supporter of the Pope's temporal power, in his war with Prussia, occurred the deprivation of the Pope of his temporal power, and this has been reckoned by some able chronologers to have been in 1260 calendar years after the assumption of temporal power by the bishop of Rome, which would leave that assumption to have been in effect, although not then recognized by international law, in the person of the immediate successor of Pope Gregory, called the great, in about the year 610 after the birth of Christ. For 610 years, therefore, before the bishop of Rome had, in effect, become temporal chief magistrate of that city (which temporality was afterwards enlarged into that Italian territory well known as the Papal States) Christianity was existent at Rome. It does not from the prophecies appear that the temporal power can ever again be assumed by the bishops of Rome or if assumed that it can be exercised by them for any remarkable length of time. It has had its day and in regard to its branches of England and Germany and its kindred institution from the same root of Constantinople, now and long established in Russia and elsewhere, it will as to its present arbitrary status of church and state, like the waning moon, go on waning unto the end. As the Anglican and Lutheran churches express in their creeds they are branches of the Catholic church, branches from the same stem as was the church of Rome, which has so recently lost the Pope's temporal power. It appears, therefore, as if the branches of the Catholic church, called Anglican and Lutheran, will ultimately become dissociated from the temporal power and the kingdoms of which they are will become Kingdoms of the Son of Man. Instead of the monarchical systems of government, of which they are, it appears as if there would arise governments

of the people, after the manner of republics, governments wherein the prevailing religion (being that of God and his Christ) will be supported by the people themselves and in which true religion will largely prevail. What a happy change for the peoples of those countries if the governments now existent in most of them were changed into republics; then would the peoples subject to the monarchical governments now of Europe and Asia rejoice and be glad when they would find themselves in the possession and exercise of their natural rights.

It does not seem to me that the religion promulgated by Jesus Christ is at all in its proper place when allied to monarchical power. Its genius is that of democracy and represented fairly, as according to the spirit of its founder, is generally sure in all quarters of the world of a fair appreciation and support. Its spirit being so much contrary to that of the natural man as to be fairly opposed to many of the natural propensities in which worldly men and earthly rulers indulge, it is no wonder that the head of the church, become head of the state, should find himself in such position oftentimes as not to be conducting himself or acting on the side of Christ, but against him, and so should be fairly called Antichrist. The spirit of Christ is repugnant to the inclinations and propensities of the natural man in which so many people and rulers of this world indulge. How ineffably wicked religion (improperly so called) must become when it finds itself not only allied but bound by law to all the oppression and hypocrisy implied in monarchy and all the ramifications subservient to its support and aggrandizement! We have this abundantly exemplified in the case of the Inquisition spoken of before, which existed actively for hundreds of years in succession, and was largely administered in its offices and operations by priests applied to whose character the terms unfeeling and brutal are not sufficiently strong. Organized class necessitated ignorance in the people, while taking care to punish severely the people for their ignorance. Where can it be found recorded that Jesus Christ either persecuted or authorized the persecution or punishment of any one on account of ignorance or on account of what is commonly called "unbelief," which last, of course, arises from ignorance and as such should not be regarded as criminal, even if it should in some cases be regarded as culpable in its nature. But how ineffably wicked must be the priest of any so called religion who necessitates the ignorance of the people and then countenances their persecution and punishment, even by means of the cruelest of deaths, on account of their ignorance,

nominally on account of their "unbelief," unbelief however of something whereof they were ignorant and did not apprehend the principle or comprehend the bearing. And this is exactly what the priests called Catholic did for long ages by means of the Inquisition and by means otherwise named. And why did they do this? Simply because of their then position in their unrighteous and unholy bond with earthly powers. And more or less has it been the genius of ecclesiasticism in all the historic ages and systems whereof we have knowledge to attach itself as far as possible to the governing classes and to favor the keeping of the masses of the people in ignorance in order to their subjection to themselves. Of course this remark does not noticeably refer to the priesthoods existing in this republic, where they are dependent for existence and for support upon the will and the voluntary contributions of the people; but even in these systems, such and so simple as they are, I have heard it remarked that the sacerdotal class, except in the case of a comparatively few notorious exceptions, are seldom found leaders in any movement which has in view the simplification of old doctrines or their explication from an apprehensible and practical standpoint. If there be anything in this account it would appear that this class clannishness must needs be chronic and that it was sacerdotal clannishness on the one hand and his own broad humanity and unprejudiced unsectarianism on the other which occasioned to Jesus Christ in his day so much trouble from the Rabbis, Scribes and Pharisees, and will occasion to those who follow in his steps in all ages the like kinds of troubles from the like classes of persons.

The artificiality of class in the old monarchical-sacerdotal systems of government so tended to rigid adherence to rule in proceeding that it was not a difficult matter for the well balanced and astute mind to divine, or at least to guess, what a man of a given class would be thinking about on a given occasion, what kind of question he would ask, or what kind of answer return to the query of another. I have sometimes myself, though being a comparatively simple person in my habits of life and of thought, deemed it unnecessary to ask questions on occasions from individuals of certain classes, resting assured that I already knew the answer I would receive, and when other persons of considerable mental acumen would most likely have asked the questions.

Monarchical class ideas or notions are growing too fast in this republic. There is this remarkable distinction yet, however, between our men, whose education has been accomplished in our best

institutions (which are rightfully conceded to be equal in effectiveness to the best institutions in foreign lands), and those whose education has been accomplished in those foreign institutions, that the former are generally so democratic in their manners that they will through policy or good nature associate with almost all classes of the people, or through ideas of utility or advantage undertake and carry on any kind of honest business; while the latter are unwilling to associate with those, whom they would deem (as according to the class system of ideas entertained in their own old patristic institutions), below their own place in the scale of dignity or to undertake to do any business or exercise themselves in any employment which they would deem below their dignity. This is the general rule, which, of course has very many exceptions — the product of monarchical-sacerdotal institutions sometimes turning out a true republican in principle and practice, while the product of the simple republican institutions may develop in principle and practice all the feelings and notions peculiar to monarchical-sacerdotal class. I, for instance, have had a young and comparatively inexperienced parson, a son of this republic and of its educational institutions, tell me confidentially and in what I would understand as not only an undemocratic, but an unchristian spirit, that he had no desire for a great proportion of poor people in his congregation, while, on the other hand, I knew a professor of the learned languages, who had occupied certain "chairs" or positions in certain colleges of high standing in this country, and who had been of English birth and educated at the University of Oxford, and this man I thought to be as christianly humble and as truly democratic as any son of the republic or of its institutions could be supposed to be.

But, now, those who assert that the propehcies of Daniel and Revelation have not been fulfilled, at least in the Roman system, go on triumphantly asserting that the church of Rome stands there to day as firm as the rock whereof St. Peter spake, as that rock against which the powers of hell should not prevail. But did not St. Peter evidently speak of the primitive church or the church of Christ at the time of its origination, and not of the state and church systems of government, which arose out of that in several centuries after? Even the doctrines of the church, as established in the state and church systems of Constantine and Theodosius in the fourth century, were so mystified as to be in effect considerably different from the doctrines of Christ. And so

they went on still more obscuring the doctrines of the gospel, their object evidently being to confine all knowledge concerning the doctrines of the established religion to one class of men, who, in company with the monarchs, should hold the reins of government and keep the masses of the people in a state of complete submission and subjection. Woe, then, was sure to accrue to any commoner, who, having acquired any true religious knowledge, undertook to apply it publicly to the enlightenment of the masses. And even down to the time of our immediate fathers, when the public school system was first introduced in this country, with all is privileges made common to all, the education, such as it was, in all countries was carried out in a theoretical way, the object being evidently to keep knowledge principally confined to one class of men at the head of affairs. Text-books on the arts and sciences were, therefore, until comparatively recent times very puzzling as well as stately and bombastic in the language of their formulæ. Common people were, of course, known to be averse to such language and the greatest nervousness existed among those who assumed to themselves to be the upper or ruling classes, lest the agriculturist, the mechanic and the hackman should, by dint of self-effort and self-denial in process of education attain to the position in which the title of gentleman could not, on their own principles, justly be denied him.

The objectors to the positionof the prophecies referred to as fulfilled are, of course, generally ready to allow that Jesus Christ, when on earth, introduced a new dispensation instead, and as a modification of the old Jewish one introduced eighteen centuries before by Moses, while they cannot help admitting nor shut their eyes to the fact that the Jewish church is still existing in the world. All Christian peoples allow that Christianity is that dispensation which supplanted Judaeism and still they cannot help admitting that Judaeism has come down through the ages co-existent with, although understood as distinct from Christianity. Even so may it be understood in the future that in our age even in this last quarter of the 19th century of Christianity, is introduced instead of the state and church systems, which have hitherto existed under the Christian name, the dominion of the Son of Man or the more fully recognized and acknowledged kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth, while other systems which may represent extravagant and baseless assumptions, as well as false doctrines may be co-existent with it. This is all plainly foreseen and foretold by the prophet Daniel in the VIIth

chapter and 12th and 13th verses of his book; where it says in reference to this period and the downfall successively of the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian and the Roman empires: "As concerning the rest of the governments they had their dominion taken away, *yet a prolonging in life was given them.* I saw in the night visions and behold one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven and came to the Ancient of Days and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom that all peoples, nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Here it is literally said that "a prolonging in life" was given to those old supplanted systems and so in the prophecies of the Book of Revelation which are parallel to or mean the same as these, it is always said or implied that the old supplanted systems should coexist with the new dispensation, but in a waning condition. The argument at any time brought forward, that the Greeks, the Roman, the Anglican, the Abyssinian, the Armenian or the Lutheran church-systems, for example, continue to exist in a flourishing condition proves absolutely nothing against the position that in our age is the beginning of a new era, an era which in its fullness will realize the objects of the introduction of Christianity nearly nineteen centuries ago. And as a true and just system of government and of religion will, as consequent, descend in time, even so there is not unlikely to be co-existent upon the earth, to a less or a greater extent, unjust and oppressive systems of government as well as systems of religion more or less fraudulent and false.

A fair examination into the subject of the orgin of Christianity by an examination (and comparison with each other) of the four Gospels and the book of the Acts of the Apostles from the original Greek, such an examination as that carried out in my work entitled "Cosmotheologies and Indications of Judgment," shows clearly that the only real historical origin which can with justice be claimed for Christianity is that or such as that claimed for it by the primitive sect of Jews known in history as Nazarenes. This is the only historic origin claimed for it which the analysis and comparison with each other of the four Gospels and the book of the Acts, and the ultimate synthesis of these showing wherein their unity consists, will justify any one in assuming. This result removes, at the outset, a great deal of difficulty out of the way of a full acceptance of the doctrine of a real historical origin for Christianity, showing

that it is no fiction, for by this Nazarene account it is shown there is no reason whatever adducable to prove that it did not have such an historical origin as the Nazarene account thereof set forth. This account it must be remarked (unintentionally perhaps and without mentioning it in words), relegates all miracles, so called, to the cosmical phenomena and operations, which we, of course, in our view, yet understand as the operations of the Almighty God, well knowing that the simplest cosmical phenomena are such stupendous miracles as man cannot produce or account for. Is not the way and manner or the phenomena of the existence of man himself such an astounding miracle as he has not yet been able to account for? Whence the universe or whence himself he cannot tell; what the destination of it or of himself puzzles him to find out. The cosmos itself, with its ever changing phenomena, is the great, the astounding miracle ever present to our senses, and which man is never able to account for. Is it not, however, fairly supposable that the power which has originated all those things and which does effect all the changes in them can at will effect some remarkable changes in and through the instrumentality of man? While accepting the account of the origin of Christianity handed down by the Nazarenes, which gives such origin a fair historical significance, we are at liberty to consider the supposability of the miraculous fillings in in the narratives of the Gospels and the book of the Acts, the authorship whereof, at least to some extent, is perhaps truthfully attributable to some Christian Israelites of the Alexandrian school, who did such work additional to that of the authors of those books whose names are to them appended.

The order with which those prophecies of Daniel and Revelation referred to have been fulfilled and the precision as to time with which the events of their fulfillment have happened, evidently suggests some such law as underlying the life of man, whereby the events of human history do come about, as that by which we have in their seasons the cosmical phenomena of day and night and the seasons of the year. That some such law as that referred to, therefore, exists there would appear not only fair but, as some might think, demonstrative evidence; while at the same time there may be reason to believe that the action of the will of man may effect to modify that law, at least to some extent.

And, as to this, the general conclusion we are disposed to draw from the whole is that man may, to a certain extent, avail to counteract the law which would otherwise limit and govern him,

"and this brings us necessarily to the theological idea of the law, so called, being the ever present will of the Supreme God, and of the position of Christianity among the religions and peoples of the earth being that of prayerful aggression, and its mission that of prayerful militancy.

Christianity properly apprehended teaches man who he is as well as his susceptibilities of refinement and improvement. It is eminently an aggressive religion, being the proclamation of a king, whose rightful dominion is the whole world which is now to a large extent up in rebellion against him and whose undoubted right it is to subdue it to obedience to himself. The weapons of its warfare are not carnal but spirtual, being love and faith and active godliness. It is eminently a civilizer, in its progress, at the same time, subduing the world to its rule and to its genuine civilization. That it makes the wilderness and the solitary place to flourish and the deserts to rejoice and blossom as the rose can be proved and illustrated from numberless sources in its present and past history.

What a weedy and thorny garden is the human mind if left to itself or until it has been subjected to the process of culture! The mind must needs be plowed and harrowed, the weeds plucked up with their roots, the bad or superfluous branches pruned off, the thorn bushes completely eradicated. The tender grasses and fruit must be allowed to spring up without being smothered or choked by weeds, thorns or brambles.

The mission of true Christianity is to bring man back into the blessed and Eden-like condition in which he was originally created. The first Adam by his disobedience lost his estate of innocence and human perfection, his estate of Eden. The second Adam has now possession of Paradise and is bringing all that will obey him back into that state again. The second Adam has Paradise in possession and is so entirely unselfish as to being its sole possessor that he is giving a deed in fee simple, out of his possession, to all who will obey Him. To every man, woman and child on earth, or that ever will be on earth, who will obey him and fight under his banner, he will give a deed in fee simple of Paradise, so that all who will may become with him joint possessors of his estate. The estate of Paradise, is practically unlimited, being of such a nature and extent as that giving of it doth not diminish its area; so that the estate which each one may come into possession of by belief in and obedience to Christ is practically unlimited. Christ, therefore, may and will be forever, disposing of estates in

Paradise to his followers and yet his own estate be nothing diminished thereby. The possession and exercise during life in one's own person of all the graces of the true Christian character is no beggarly estate assuredly, but it implies self-denial in its use, and will have its reward. It is by fighting for it also, fighting I mean not with carnal but with spiritual weapons, that one comes into the possession of this Paradisaical estate. By fighting under the banner of Christ, imitating his leader in all self-denial and active godliness, being with him in all the phases of the battle of life and gaining the well-fought victory with him there one comes into possession of the estate of Paradise. Without Christ one can do nothing and if one try to obtain the spoils of victory without him one will ultimately awake to the realization that he has simply dissipated his energies, has scattered his powers abroad. All this is plain and will be acceptable to the minds of all truth-loving men when properly presented to and conceived by them.

But, speaking of this subject in no theological tone or aside from any theology, so-called, I may say briefly that the world is a vast battle-field, each human being in this field, when in proper condition, being in battle array to subdue what is called nature, which if his fully bended powers and energies succeed not in doing it will surely subdue him. Man's opponent in this great contest is subjective and objective and in this order must this opponent be reduced to subjection; for man must first subdue the irregular and wild tendencies of nature in himself and then and not till then is he prepared to subdue them in others. When, then, he preaches he means what he says; for he practices and has been accustomed to practice what he preaches. People trust that preacher who they have reason to believe practices what he preaches, lives out in his own life what he inculcates for the practice and life conduct of others.

The doctrine of the omnipresence of God, which necessarily includes his omnipotence and omniscience, I, with all true religionists, have reason to believe. This very position renders it necessary for us to understand the nature and the character of Christ. Where in John's 1st Epistle, chapter V., verse 19, it reads: "We know that we are of God and that the whole world lieth in wickedness," the proper translation would have it: "The whole world lieth in the wicked one." This plainly suggests how very near to us the devil, our great adversary, may be; and how that the nature of Christ is that he is the opponent of the wicked one; and that his office is to

lead his followers on to victory, to supreme dominion over the world, the flesh and the devil, to lead them on to supreme dominion ultimately over earth and hell. The knowledge of this fact, namely, of the nature, character and office of Christ, the knowledge simply of who he is, what he is and what he is about, may be called the climax or ultimate of science and should leave us to listen with as much gladness, contentedness and complacency to the gospel's message from the unlettered man, who feels himself commissioned by Christ to its promulgation, as to the most finished and elaborate theological discourse of the most accomplished, college educated doctor of divinity. Christ's mission is to the poor; for all must needs become poor in spirit before they will give any attention to his message or become fit subjects for his kingdom. The subjects or citizens of the kingdom of Christ are in the world but not of it. Those who are in and of the world belong to the kingdom of the wicked one. The kingdom of Christ in the world is, therefore, always easily distinguishable, by various marks, from the world itself, which is the kingdom of the wicked one; and these two kingdoms are always in conflict with each other, "the old serpent" trying to persist in holding the fort of the world, wherein he has been so long and so strongly intrenched, and the forces of God and his Christ, the forces of faith and of active godliness striving continually to dislodge him therefrom, a feat they have no doubt they will ultimately accomplish.

Things come in their order in the physical cosmos and, as said before, some such order appears to have place in the course of human history. But man is a free agent within this such order, the Christ, his representative, being He who was past, is present and is to be, the beginning and the ending, the first and the last. And, in this way you can clearly perceive, that all the natural sciences do come within the circle of Theology, natural Theology, you say; very good, and Science, commonly so-called, so far as it is true, must be always consonant with theology, when all is properly understood.

One great advantage of a proper and extended study of history in connection with religion is that it cannot fail to show to man his proper position in existence, uniting, as it were, earth with heaven; his real relation to the supreme and to all the objects of creation, which are objective and relative to him; what sort of a life he should live, subjectively considered in relation to himself, and objectively in relation to all other persons and things; what courses

he should pursue and what avoid in regard to the governing and ordering of his conduct and manners in life; and in regard to his making, executing or obeying laws; what duties he owes in particular to his family, to his race and country, and in general to the world at large; what reason he has for the recognition of God and of his claims upon *him*, in particular, for the promotion of his cause and the accomplishment of his will in the world; and for the recognition of the religion of the Gospel of Christ, as, when properly apprehended and understood, the simplest, the truest and the best religion for mankind in general that has ever been promulgated on the earth.

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